Ex Libris

Bibliothecae Facultatis

Juridicae Edinburgi.

[redacted]

Ai. 2.16.

THE

# MODERN PART

OF THE

# UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

Compiled from

*ORIGINAL WRITERS;*

BY THE

## AUTHORS of the ANTIENT.

Which will perfect the WORK, and render it

## A Complete Body of HISTORY,

FROM THE

EARLIEST ACCOUNT of Time, to the PRESENT.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχεσθαι μὴ κατανόει, ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ ἐυρήσεις ἀκόπως, ἅπερ ἕτεροι συνῆξαν ἐγκόπως.
Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.

VOL. X.




LONDON:

Printed for T. OSBORNE, C. HITCH and L. HAWES, A. MILLAR,
J. RIVINGTON, S. CROWDER, B. LAW and Co.
T. LONGMAN, C. WARE, and S. BLADON.

M.DCC.LXII.

# MODERN HISTORY:

BEING A

# CONTINUATION

OF THE

# UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

## The HISTORY of ITALY.

a UPON the death of pope *Martin* V. the fourteen cardinals who were then in *Rome* entered the conclave on the 1ſt of *March*, and next day elected *Gabriel Condelmero*, of an ancient *Venetian* family, cardinal prieſt and biſhop of *Siena*, who, aſſuming the name of *Eugenius* IV. was conſecrated on the 11th of the ſame month (A). Immediately after his election a *Franciſcan* treacherouſly conſpired againſt his life, by exciting animoſities betwixt him and the *Colonnæ* relations of *Martin*, and by endeavouring to ſeize the caſtle of *St. Angelo* by ſurprize, with the intention of delivering it to that family. The deſigns of the *Franciſcan* being diſcovered, he was ſeized and put to death: after which *Eugenius* put an end to the tumults, by concluding an accommodation with the *Colonnæ*. During this inteſtine diſturbance, the pope had written to cardinal b *Julian*, confirming his legation in *Germany* againſt the *Bohemians*, and regulating what regarded the holding of the council at *Baſil*. The cardinal, being deſirous to proceed againſt the *Huſſites* before he went to the council, earneſtly ſollicited the *German* princes to ſend the quota of troops to the general rendezvous, which had been fixed upon the former year in a diet at *Nuremberg*. But altho' the expedition had been appointed for the 24th of *June*, yet, upon account of the delays of the allies, the army did not aſſemble before the 1ſt of *Auguſt*; when, according to ſome authors, it amounted to 40,000 horſe and 50,000 foot, while others affirm, that it conſiſted of 130,000 men. *Julian* in the mean time ſent the auditor of the ſacred palace, and the general of the *Dominicans*, to *Baſil*, to open the council in his name, and in that of the apoſtolic ſee, and ſoon after entered *Bohemia* with a *Ger-* c *man* army, which, in return for the barbarities committed by the *Huſſites*, ravaged their territories without mercy. But, after they had advanced a conſiderable way into the kingdom, *Procopius*, who had aſſembled his forces, attacked them with ſuch impetuoſity, that, after a weak reſiſtance, they were intirely defeated, with the loſs of their artillery, proviſions, and baggage; amongſt which was the pope's bull, and the legate's croſs and veſtments, which ſerved for ſubjects of deriſion to the victors [a]. After this victory the *Huſſites* ravaged *Moravia*, *Auſtria*, and *Sileſia*, and likewiſe made an irruption into *Hungary*. Cardinal *Julian*, deſpairing to reduce them by force, upon his return to *Nuremberg*, propoſed

Eugenius IV. *is elected.*

*He confirms the legation of cardinal* Julian;

*who enters* Bohemia *with a* German *army which is entirely defeated.*

[a] Cochl. Hiſt. Huſſ. l. vi.

(A) *Eugenius* came to *Rome* during the pontificate of his uncle *Gregory* XII. who made him his treaſurer, and afterwards biſhop of *Siena*, and then a cardinal.

*Spondanus* relates, upon the authority of an author of *Bourdeaux*, that the cardinals, before they proceeded to the election of *Eugenius*, drew up certain articles which they ſwore to obſerve; among thoſe, that the pope ſhould, for the future, inſert in the apoſtolic letters, not only the words *by the advice*, but *with the conſent*, of our brethren; that the pope ſhould not create new cardinals, without the concurrence and approbation of the old; and that the cardinals ſhould enjoy one half of the patrimony of the church.

to the emperor to invite them to the council of *Basil*; and, soon after arriving at that city, he wrote to the *Bohemians* from thence, offering them a safe conduct, and a free conference upon the articles of their faith, before the general council. a

*A general council held at* Basil.

THIS council, according to the decrees of that of *Constance* and *Siena*, ought to have assembled on the 2d of *March*, without any citation: accordingly, on that day, a *Benedictine* abbot, with some other clergy, assembled at *Basil*, and declared that they were ready to wait for other prelates, and in the mean time would consult together for the safety of the Christian people. On the 23d of *July*, the two deputies sent by *Julian* solemnly opened the council, and the cardinal himself arriving in *October*, by the authority of the fathers then assembled, wrote to the catholics in the neighbourhood of *Bohemia*, not to enter into any treaty with the *Hussites*. The offering a free conference to the *Bohemian* secretaries, and some other proceedings of the council, began already to give umbrage to the pope; therefore, on the 12th of *November*, he sent a full power to *Julian* to dissolve the council, and to summon another to meet at *Bologna* within eighteen months (B), alleging, as his reasons for this translation, that he was informed few prelates had arrived at *Basil*; that there was not a safe access to the city, on account of the war betwixt the dukes of *Austria* and *Burgundy*; that many of the citizens were *Hussites*, and persecuted the catholics; and that the *Greek* emperor and patriarch, who proposed to treat of an union with the *Latin* church, had desired that the council might be transferred to *Bologna*. The pope wrote on the same subject to the emperor; but *Sigismund*, who had entered *Lombardy* with the intention of receiving the *Italian* and imperial crowns, returned an answer to the reasons alledged by the pope, and declared, that the reformation of manners, and re-union of the *Hussites* to the church, ought to precede any treaty with the *Greeks*, who would even despise the *Latin* church when they observed it corrupted and divided; that, if the council was dissolved, the *Hussites* would triumph; and that all *Germany* would be infected with their doctrines, several of which already began to meet with approbation from some princes and states, who had concluded a truce with the secretaries. Cardinal *Julian* likewise hesitated to execute the pope's orders; but, considering that the number of prelates and deputies of the kings and princes was daily increasing, and that the continuation of the council was absolutely necessary to quiet the troubles in *Germany* and *Bohemia*, he determined to proceed, as the pope had not peremptorily required him, but only given him a power to dissolve the council: he accordingly appointed the first session to be held on the 14th of *December*, and informed the pope and the emperor of his proceeding; the last of whom wrote to the cardinal and the fathers, exhorting them to persevere in their design, and to cut off as rotten members all those who should endeavour to defer or dissolve the council. *Sigismund*, before he had passed the Alps, had sent his deputies to *Basil*, and had appointed the duke of *Bavaria* as protector and defender of the council. They having arrived at that city, the first session was held according to appointment; in which, after the celebration of mass, and the performance of the usual prayers and ceremonies, the bishop of *Coutances* ascended the pulpit, and read the decree of the council of *Constance* for the celebration of general councils, and other writings confirmed by the authority of the popes *Martin* and *Eugenius*, appointing the city *Basil* for the place of convocation of the present council. He then proceeded to declare the purposes for which the present assembly had met, and read several decrees of former councils for the security of the members, for regulating the manner of proceeding in the sessions, and for preventing disturbance and disputes about precedency. The ministers and officials of the council being then appointed, the session was dismissed.

*which the pope desires to be dissolved.* b

*Cardinal* Julian *continues the council.* c d e

*The emperor is crowned at* Milan.

MEAN while the emperor, having received the iron crown at *Milan*, proceeded to *Parma*, where he spent the winter. *Eugenius* likewise, continuing fixed in his resolution to remove the council from *Basil*, on the 18th of *December* published a bull, with the consent of the ten cardinals who were with him, dissolving that council by the plenitude of the apostolic authority, and appointing another to be held eighteen months afterwards at *Bolog-* f

(B) *Martin*, a little before his death, had created four cardinals, who were then absent from *Rome*. As *Eugenius* suspected they were not in his interest, he endeavoured to exclude them from the college, and for that purpose, on the 23d of *October*, published, that those, who were promoted to the cardinalship in a private consistory, should not be accounted cardinals, till they had received the ensigns of their dignity; namely, the red hat, the title, and ring, and that even then they could not have an active voice in the election of a pope, or in any other public affair, till the pope had granted them leave, and solemnly opened their mouth. In consequence of this bull, *Dominicus Capranica*, one of the new promoted cardinals, was not allowed to enter *Rome*; but being, nevertheless, received as a cardinal by the council of *Basil*, *Eugenius* began to be apprehensive lest his authority should be attacked by the fathers, and himself treated in the same manner as *John* XXIII. had been by the council of *Constance*. This shutting of the mouth has since been declared to be only a ceremony, to teach the new cardinals modesty and reserve at their first entrance into the consistory (1).

(1) *Spond. Annal.*

na.

a *na.* The reaſon he gave for this proceeding, was the invitation given to the *Bohemians* to confer upon the diſputed articles, which he alledged was injurious to the apoſtolic authority, and to the councils of *Conſtance* and *Siena*, by which theſe ſame *Bohemians* had been already ſolemnly condemned; and therefore, according to the canons and decrees of the fathers, ought to be denied all farther audience. *Eugenius* was intreated by the emperor, and *Henry* king of *England*, to revoke this decree; and a certain doctor publiſhed a treatiſe, juſtifying the invitation given to the *Bohemians*. Cardinal *Julian* likewiſe wrote with great freedom to the pope, urging the neceſſity for celebrating the council at *Baſil*, declaring that it could not be diſſolved without the greateſt ſcandal, and that it ought to be ſupported, even though *Rome* and the patrimony of the church were ſure to be loſt; that to b raiſe 30,000 crowns, that were demanded for the *Bohemian* war, he ought to ſell the croſſes and chalices; and that, if he did not revoke his bull, there was very great danger of a ſchiſm, as the fathers at *Baſil* were determined to continue the council. Accordingly, the fathers that were there aſſembled, on the 21ſt of *January*, publiſhed a letter, addreſſed to all the faithful, informing them that they were firmly determined to continue the council which had been lawfully aſſembled, and would not leave *Baſil* till they had completed the work for which they had come together, deſiring all men to aſſiſt them, and enjoining the prelates, under the penalties of the canons, to haſten to the council.

*The pope diſſolves the council by the plenitude of his power.* A. D. 1432.

*The fathers at* Baſil *refuſe obedience to his bull.*

In conſequence of this letter, the clergy of *France* aſſembled at *Berry*; and having declared, in ſeveral propoſitions, that the council was lawfully aſſembled, and ought not to be c transferred, they exhorted the king to ſend ambaſſadors to the pope, to intreat him to order the council to be continued, and in their own name appointed the archbiſhop of *Lyons* to ſollicit the pope. They likewiſe intreated the king to allow the prelates of his kingdom to go to the council, and to ſend his deputies thither, granting a fourth part of a tythe of the eccleſiaſtical revenues for their expences. A few days before the prelates of *France* had publiſhed their propoſitions, the ſecond ſeſſion of the council was held at *Baſil*, on the 14th of *February*, in which, after maſs, and the uſual prayers, the biſhop of *Periqueux* aſcended the pulpit, and read the decrees of the council; among which there was one, declaring that, upon the authority of the apoſtolic ſee, and the decrees of the councils of *Conſtance* and *Siena*, the ſynod of *Baſil* was lawfully aſſembled. That no doubt of its authority might remain, d he then read two propoſitions from the decrees of the councils of *Conſtance*; the one, that a general ſynod, lawfully aſſembled, received its authority immediately from Chriſt, and ought to be obeyed by the higheſt dignity, the pontifical not excepted; the other, that whoever, of whatever dignity, ſhould refuſe obedience to its decrees, ought to be puniſhed. In the third ſeſſion, which was held on the 29th of *April*, the proceedings of the council with *Eugenius* and the cardinals were read; how that, upon hearing that the pope, moved by falſe information, had by a bull ordered it to be diſſolved, they had ſent ſeveral nuncios to his holineſs, petitioning, but without effect, the revocation of that bull; the fathers therefore, upon the authority of the decrees publiſhed in the former ſeſſion, warned the pope to revoke the ſaid bull, and to come perſonally to the council within three months, or, upon a lawful im- e pediment, to ſend his legates with a full power; they likewiſe cited the cardinals to come to *Baſil* within the ſame time, otherwiſe they would provide for the neceſſities of the church as the Holy Spirit ſhould direct.

*The prelates of* France *declare for the council;*

*who ſummon the pope and cardinals to come to* Baſil.

During theſe proceedings of the council, their legates, who had been ſent to *Germany* to invite the *Bohemians* to ſend deputies to the ſynod, after ſeveral difficulties, at length prevailed with the *Huſſites* to appear at the diet at *Egra*, which was held on the 27th of *April*. The *Bohemians*, after complaining of the unjuſt war which they had been obliged to ſuſtain for ſo many years, declared their willingneſs to appear at the council of *Baſil*, to prove their four propoſitions by the authority of the ſcripture and the doctors of the church; but they demanded ſeveral princes and nobles as hoſtages for the ſecurity of their deputies at the coun- f cil. The catholics thought the demand of hoſtages diſhonourable, and inſiſted that it was a preſumption in the *Huſſites* to undertake to reform the church; but that they ought implicitly to ſubmit in every thing to the deciſion of a general council; which laſt propoſition was rejected with diſdain by the *Huſſites*, who thought it abſurd, that divine and ſelf-evident truths ſhonld be ſubject to human deciſions, or that they ſhould chuſe their moſt bitter enemies for their judges, who had already unjuſtly condemned them and thoſe truths unheard [b]. At length it was agreed, that, for the ſecurity of the *Bohemian* deputies, the council ſhould grant a ſafe conduct, in the moſt ample terms, and the princes and deputies of the cities then preſent ſhould engage their word of honour for their ſafety.

*The deputies of the council have a conference with thoſe of* Bohemia *at* Egra.

g The council being informed of the proceedings of their deputies at *Egra*, on the 20th of *June*, held the fourth ſeſſion, in which they granted a ſafe conduct to the *Bohe-*

*The council grants a ſafe conduct to the* Bohemians.

[b] Epiſt. Boem. & Morav. ad Chriſt. fid. ap. rer. Boem. ſcrip. p. 233.

*mians*,

*mians* (C), and appointed a nuncio to go to the emperor in *Italy*, to deſire him to grant them his imperial protection. As *Eugenius* at this time was dangerouſly ill, the council decreed, that, if the ſee ſhould happen to become vacant, the future pope ſhould be elected no where elſe but at *Baſil*; and that the pope, during the continuance of the council, ſhould create no new cardinals; they then ordered a bull or ſeal to be made for the letters and acts of the ſynod, and, as they did not approve of the nomination of the cardinal of *Foix* by *Eugenius* to be vicar and governor of *Avignon*, they granted that commiſſion to *Alphonſus*, cardinal of *St. Euſtachius*. In the 5th ſeſſion, which was held on the 9th of *Auguſt*, the judges were appointed for the cauſes relating to the faith, and a decree was made, prohibiting the members to be called from the council to the *Roman* court. A few days after, four nuncios arriving from the pope, they were admitted to a public audience; and after enlarging upon the advantages of peace and union, and the authority of a pope above a council, they then declared, that, as *Eugenius* could not, on account of his bad health and other reaſons, quit *Italy*, he offered the council the choice of any city in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate for holding their ſeſſions, and, upon their fixing the place, he would not prorogue their meeting, but would immediately go thither himſelf. The council refuſed to comply with the pope's requeſt, and affirmed that their authority was ſupreme, and that thoſe, who endeavoured to diſſolve them, ſinned againſt the Holy Ghoſt, and created a ſchiſm in the church. In the next ſeſſion, which was held on the 6th of *September*, and at which were preſent, beſides the legate, two cardinals and thirty-two mitred prelates, the proctors of the council ſtood up, and accuſed the pope of contumacy, becauſe he had not revoked the bull for diſſolving the council, nor had appeared perſonally, or by others, within the time appointed at the third ſeſſion. The council, however, at that time deferred any further proceedings againſt the pope and the cardinals, as the nuncios of *Eugenius* declared that they could produce reaſons juſtifying their abſence.

*Several decrees againſt the authority of the pope.*

THE ſeventh ſeſſion was held on the 6th of *November*, in which was renewed the decree of the fourth ſeſſion, prohibiting the election of a pope to be made but at the place of the council's reſidence. In the eighth ſeſſion, which was held on the 18th of *December*, ſixty days more were granted to *Eugenius*; within which time, if he did not revoke his bull for diſſolving the council of *Baſil* and convoking another, the fathers would proceed againſt him without any farther warning or citation. They then declared all his promotions and ordinations of churches to be null; ordered the partriarchs and biſhops to come to the council under the penalties of the canons, and the cardinals under the pain of loſing their benefices; and decreed, that, during the continuance of the council of *Baſil*, no other council could be convoked, and that the pope could not deprive thoſe of their benefices who adhered to, or were preſent at, the council of *Baſil*, nor lay new taxes on the territories of the *Roman* church or others, under any pretence, nor alienate or mortgage them; and any ſuch acts were declared null. It is probable the council was encouraged to theſe proceedings by the countenance of the emperor; who, on the 22d of *November*, publiſhed a bull, declaring, that, as he had from the beginning favoured the council of *Baſil*, ſo he would ſtill protect it to the utmoſt of his power. This bull was dated from *Siena*, where *Sigiſmund* had reſided ſeveral months, having been occupied the whole ſummer in ſmall ſkirmiſhes with the forces of the *Florentines* and *Venetians*, the pope himſelf favouring them, being apprehenſive leſt the emperor, after his coronation, ſhould exert himſelf ſtill farther in defence of the council of *Baſil* [c].

*The deputies of the* Huſſites *arrive at* Baſil.

WHILE the emperor was ſoliciting the pope by letters and meſſengers to agree to his coronation, the deputies of the *Huſſites* ſet out from *Bohemia* for *Baſil*, where they arrived on the 4th of *January* with great pomp, being attended by 300 armed gentlemen, and the people running out without the city, and crouding the walls and the ſtreets through which they were to paſs, and looking with aſtoniſhment at their fierce and marſhal [d] appea-

[c] BLOND. Dec. iii. l. 9. RAINALD, ad an. 1432. n. 20. [d] ÆNE. Hiſt. Boem. c. 49.

(C) The ſafe conduct granted to the *Bohemians* was expreſſed in the moſt ample terms. The council ſolemnly engaged the public faith for the ſecurity of all thoſe who ſhould be ſent from *Bohemia* and *Moravia* to the ſynod, to the number of 200 perſons; they were allowed to celebrate the ſervice after their own manner in their houſes, provided divine ſervice, according to the catholic form, was not interrupted by them, neither in *Baſil* nor on the road; and if any of the retinue committed any thing to violate the ſafe conduct, the criminal ſhould be judged by themſelves. On the other hand, if the catholics ſhould do any thing to the prejudice of the ſafe conduct, the council ſhould judge them, with the conſent of the deputies: the catholics ſhould not, in their ſermons or conferences, declaim againſt the four articles of the *Bohemians*; and the deputies ſhould be allowed freely to give their proofs from ſcripture and the holy doctors in defence of the ſaid four articles; namely, that the euchariſt ought to be adminiſtered under both kinds: that the goſpel ſhould be preached freely and publicly; that the clergy ſhould be deprived of all civil dominion; and that public and heinous crimes ought to be extirpated from the faithful, by thoſe to whom it belongs (2).

(2) *Theob. Bell. Huſſ. c.* 79. *Conc. Labb. t.* xii. *p.* 482 & 484.

rance

a rance. They were received with great hoſpitality: a few days after, being introduced to the council, cardinal *Julian* made a long diſcourſe to them, recommending peace and union; and as the catholic church, which could be no where better repreſented than in a general council, could not err in the faith, he exhorted the *Bohemians*, as ſons of the church, to hearken to her voice, by ſubmitting to the decrees of the council of *Baſil*. *Rockyſanus*, one of their deputies, anſwered in a few words, and, after expreſſing his gratitude to God for his favours, and to the legate and council for their hoſpitality and kindneſs, he aſked a day when they might be heard upon their four articles. The council aſſigned the 16th of the month, when *Rockyſanus* began his diſcourſe on the firſt article, which he continued for three forenoons ſucceſſively; *Nicholas*, the *Taborite*, diſcourſed up-
b on the ſecond article for two days; and *Udalricus*, a prieſt of the *Orphans*, upon the third article for other two days. Laſtly, *Peter Payne*, an *Engliſhman*, illuſtrated the fourth article in three forenoons. The catholics then proceeded to their defence, and *John de Raguſa*, general proctor of the *Dominicans*, ſpent eight days in anſwering to the firſt article; *Ægidius Carlerius*, dean of *Cambray*, diſcourſed four forenoons on the ſecond article; and *Henry Kalteiſen*, a *Dominican*, employed three days in diſcuſſing the third article. Laſtly, *John Palomar*, archdean of *Barcelona*, diſcourſed three days on the laſt article. The *Huſſites* not being convicted by theſe anſwers of the catholics, *Rockyſanus* impugned the diſcourſe of the *Raguſan* for ſix days; and, one diſpute begetting another, they debated fifty days without any appearance of an accommodation [c]. At length the duke of *Bavaria*, the protector of
c the council, propoſed to terminate their differences by a friendly conference; but this method alſo failing of ſucceſs, the *Bohemians* urging to return, both parties agreed, that the council ſhould ſend deputies to treat with the *Huſſites* in a diet to be held on the 7th of *June*. Accordingly the fathers named ten of their moſt learned brethren, who, on the 14th of *April*, ſet out for *Prague* with the *Bohemian* deputies [f].

Besides theſe proceedings with the *Huſſites*, the council, in the ninth ſeſſion, which was held on the 22d of *January*, had ſolemnly taken the emperor under their protection; declaring all the cenſures publiſhed againſt him by the pope to be null and void, and ordering all his ſubjects to obey him as formerly. In the following ſeſſion, which was held on the 19th of *February*, the proctors of the council again accuſed the pope of contumacy, *The pope is accuſed of contumacy.*
d and ſome prelates were appointed to draw up the proceſs againſt him. Tho' no perſons appeared at this ſeſſion for the pope, yet a few days after, three legates arrived at *Baſil* from him, with propoſals to transfer the council either to *Bologna*, or to ſome other city of *Germany*, which the council would not agree to. He himſelf, in the mean time, after the departure of theſe legates for *Baſil*, had thought proper to confirm the council by a bull, which he publiſhed two days before the ſixty days were elapſed. Notwithſtanding this condeſcenſion, in the next ſeſſion, which was held on the 27th of *April*, the council publiſhed ſeveral decrees to the prejudice of the papal authority. They confirmed the decrees of the council of *Conſtance* for holding of ſynods, and determined that the pope was bound to come to the council in perſon, or by his legates, as well as all others who had that pri-
e vilege, under pain of being, *ipſo facto*, ſuſpended from the pontificate, and other benefices and dignities, unleſs they repented within four months; that a council could not be transferred or diſſolved by a pope, without the conſent of two-thirds of the members; and that, for the future, the popes ſhould be obliged to ſwear to obſerve theſe decrees. A few weeks after, the ſynod received a letter from the emperor, dated at *Viterbo*, informing them that the pope had appointed legates to preſide at the council in his name; but as ſome interruption had prevented their journey, he had ſent others in their room, whom *Sigiſmund* entreated the council to receive with reſpect. Notwithſtanding this letter, the fathers at *Baſil* rejected the pope's bull confirming the council to be captious and deceitful, and would not admit the deputies appointed by him to preſide; alledging, that, by their commiſſion,
f they came rather to hold a new council than to confirm that which was already held.

Mean while in *Italy* a peace was concluded betwixt the duke of *Milan*, and the *Florentines*, *Venetians*, *Lucceſe*, and other allies on both ſides; and *Sigiſmund* having ſworn to two cardinals at *Viterbo* to defend the catholic faith and the holy ſee, not to make any treaty with heretics, ſchiſmatics, *Turks*, and pagans, and to renew the privileges and donations granted by his predeceſſors to the *Roman* church, the pope at length conſented to his coronation. He was accordingly received at *Rome* with great pomp, and crowned on *Whitſuntide* with the uſual ceremonies. Having continued ſome time in that city and created ſeveral knights, he returned through the territories of the *Venetians*, to whom he was now reconciled; and, croſſing the *Alps*, arrived at *Baſil* on the 11th of *October*. *The emperor is crowned at* Rome.

g During theſe proceedings in *Italy*, the deputies of the council arrived at *Prague*, and, in a numerous aſſembly of the *Bohemian* nobles, clergy, and commoners, which was held

[c] Cochl. Hiſt. Huſſit. [f] Æne. Hiſt. Boem. c. 50.

*The deputies of the council arrive at* Prague.

on the 7th of *June*, propoſed an union with the clergy previous to the diſcuſſion of the four articles. But the *Bohemians* abſolutely refuſing to agree to this propoſal, the deputies then required that they would draw up the articles in what manner they thought proper to be ſent to the council. This requeſt was complied with, and on the 11th of *Auguſt*, the *Bohemians* delivered their four articles to the deputies, together with the conditions of the union; namely, that they would obey their legal governors in every thing as far as they were bound by the law of God; but if a council, a pope, or the prelates, ſhould command what was prohibited by God, or omit what was written in the canon of the Bible, they would not obey; and that, after the concluſion of the union, the council ſhould prohibit all princes and prelates to ſcandalize the *Bohemians* as heretics, or to commit hoſtilities againſt them. The deputies having departed from the council, the *Bohemian* nobles, during their abſence, rejected the arbitrary authority of *Procopius*, and, by the advice of *Mainard* of *Newhouſe* choſe one of the nobility as their annual governor, and appointed ſeveral others as his counſellors, to whom they truſted the adminiſtration of the government. The *Taborites* and *Orphans* in the mean time ſtill acknowleging *Procopius*, under his command beſieged *Pilſen*, while ſome of them ravaged *Hungary*, and others aſſiſted the *Poles* in their war againſt the *Teutonic* knights. Soon after the deputies returned to *Bohemia* with the remarks of the council upon the four articles. In the laſt, inſtead of the words, *by thoſe to whom it belongs*, they had ſubſtituted, *according to the law of God and the inſtitutions of the holy fathers*; and to that about preaching the goſpel they had added, *by proper perſons ſent and approved by their ſuperiors, freely but not irregularly, and ſaving the authority of the pope.* As to what regarded the dominion and ſecular poſſeſſions of the clergy, the council had altered that article, and declared, *that eccleſiaſtics, who are adminiſtrators of the poſſeſſions of the church, ought to adminiſter faithfully, but theſe poſſeſſions cannot be uſurped without ſacrilege.* As the *Bohemians* were leſs anxious about theſe articles, they inſiſted upon having the explication of the council upon the article concerning the euchariſt before they would give their anſwer. The deputies then declared that the council gave permiſſion to the *Bohemians*, namely to thoſe who had arrived at the years of diſcretion, to communicate under both kinds, on condition that their prieſts ſhould always declare to the communicants, *that they ought firmly to believe, that the fleſh of Chriſt is not under the bread alone, nor his blood under the wine alone, but that he is wholly under each kind ſeparately.* After much diſpute on both ſides, theſe alterations in the articles were at length agreed to by the *Bohemian* nobles, who ſent three deputies to *Baſil* to inform the council of their ſubmiſſion. The fathers received this news with great joy, and drew up the treaty of peace under the title of *Compactata*; which was agreed to by the nobles, and ſome years afterwards received by all the *Huſſites*.

*The council make alterations in the articles of the* Bohemians;

*who at length ſubmit to the church.*

The council of *Baſil* during theſe tranſactions with the *Huſſites*, were not unmindful to ſupport their authority in oppoſition to the pope, and being informed that he had publiſhed a bull, declaring all their proceedings null and void, excepting in thoſe things which he had allowed them to treat of in the twelfth ſeſſion, which was held on the 13th of *July*, they intended to proceed to his depoſition: but, in regard to the emperor's requeſts, they granted him ſixty days more, within which time, if he did not revoke his proceedings againſt the council, they declared him, *ipſo facto*, ſuſpended from all adminiſtration of the pontificate in ſpirituals and temporals. A decree was likewiſe made for the legal election and confirmation of biſhops and prelates, without any reſervations, and according to the eccleſiaſtical canons, concerning age, learning, and manners, thereby putting a ſtop to annates. In the next ſeſſion, which was held on the 11th of *September*, the proctors of the council again accuſed the pope of contumacy; but the fathers, at the interceſſion of the duke of *Bavaria*, granted him thirty days more. At this ſeſſion two nuncios appeared from the pope, who brought with them two bulls from his holineſs. By the one, *Eugenius* confirmed the council from its firſt opening for the extirpation of hereſies, wars, and bad morals, as though no tranſlation or diſſolution of it had ever been ordained, on condition that the legates, whom he had appointed, ſhould preſide at the ſeſſions; and all decrees made by the council, againſt the authority of the pope, cardinals, or others adhering to him, ſhould be reverſed. The ſecond bull gave authority to three prelates to demand the ſaid revocation of the proceedings of the council, and to revoke and declare null all that had been done againſt the council by the pope.

*The pope annuls the proceedings of the council.*

As the fathers at *Baſil* ſtill inſiſted, that nothing that they had done could or ought to be revoked, *Eugenius* annulled their decree, made in the twelfth ſeſſion, againſt the pope and the cardinals; and ſoon after a long letter was publiſhed, addreſſed to all the faithful, in defence of the pope, aſſerting that the fathers at *Baſil* were greatly deceived, when they imagined that a general council was ſuperior in every thing to a pope; and concluding with an exhortation to the princes and faithful, to adviſe the council at *Baſil* to admit his legates, and, in caſe they ſhould refuſe to comply, to oppoſe them to the utmoſt of

their

a their power. The pope afterwards diſowned this letter; but the fathers judging it, as well as others, to be genuine, on the 11th of *October* aſſembled in the church to proceed finally againſt the pope, when news being brought of the arrival of the emperor, they deferred the affair for ſome days, and went out to meet him. In the fourteenth ſeſſion, which was held on the 7th of *November*, and at which the emperor was preſent, the term for proceeding againſt *Eugenius* was again prorogued ninety days, on condition, nevertheleſs, that within that time he ſhould adhere to the council, and revoke all that he had decreed againſt it, eſpecially the laſt three letters, and likewiſe confirm all its proceedings. On the 26th of the ſame month was held the fifteenth ſeſſion, in which ſeveral decrees were made, appointing provincial ſynods to be celebrated every three years, and dioceſan aſſem-
b blies twice or thrice, or at leaſt once, in a year. The manner of celebrating thoſe ſynods was likewiſe determined, and matters about which they were to deliberate was ſpecified, particularly the cenſure of manners both in eccleſiaſtics and regulars. At this or the preceding ſeſſion, muſt have happened what we find related by *Krantz*, namely, that the king of the *Turks*, having not only concluded a truce, but agreed to a perpetual peace with the emperor, ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to the council to have the treaty confirmed. The ambaſſadors brought very rich preſents for the emperor, who, after the buſineſs for which they had come was concluded, diſmiſſed them with magnificent gifts for their maſter[g].

*The emperor receives an embaſſy from the* Turks *at* Baſil.

Mean while the duke of *Milan*, imagining that the pope had favoured the *Florentines*, and his own countrymen the *Venetians* in the late war, and finding that his authority was
c greatly leſſened by the oppoſition of the council, he ſent all the biſhops in his dominions to *Baſil*. Under pretence of marching an army into *Apulia*, he ſeized the *Picene* territory, and ſeveral other places of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, pretending that he had received a letter from the council, conſtituting him their vicar in *Italy*. He likewiſe ſent another army, under the command of *Fortebrace*, who took poſſeſſion of *Tivoli*, and made himſelf maſter of the greateſt part of *Campania*. Very few cities of the patrimony continuing faithful to the church, and the *Romans* ſeeming to threaten a revolt[h], *Eugenius* in this extremity at laſt conſented to adhere to the council, and about the middle of *December* publiſhed a bull according to the form preſcribed in the fourteenth ſeſſion, revoking all his proceedings againſt the council, and declaring it lawfully aſſembled. This bull being
d read in the ſixteenth ſeſſion, which was held on the 5th of *February*, the fathers declared that the pope had thereby ſatisfied the citation and requeſt of the council; and on the 24th of *April*, the legates of the pope incorporated with the other members of the council, but not in their public character: they were likewiſe obliged to ſwear to act faithfully, for the honour of the council, and to defend its decrees, particularly that of the ſynod of *Conſtance*, about the ſuperiority of a council over a pope, and not to depart from *Baſil* without leave. Accordingly in the next ſeſſion, which was held on the 22d of the ſame month, the legates, together with cardinal *Julian*, were allowed to preſide, but without any coactive juriſdiction, and ſaving the manner of proceeding hitherto obſerved in the council, and that all acts ſhould be paſſed under the council's ſeal. The eighteenth ſeſſion was held on
e the 24th of *June*; and the emperor being abſent, the fathers renewed the decree of the council of *Conſtance*, concerning the authority of a general council over a pope; and at the ſame time received a treatiſe compoſed by the patriarch of *Antioch* in ſupport of that doctrine.

*The duke of* Milan *ſeizes the church patrimony.*

*The pope adheres to the council.* A. D. 1434.

Mean while the pope was harraſſed by various misfortunes, which are minutely related by his ſecretary the hiſtorian *Blondus*[i]. *Fortebrace* having, by the aſſiſtance of the *Colonnæ*, taken poſſeſſion of *Ponte Molo* and the *Flaminian* gate[k], the *Romans* were prevailed upon to revolt, and had reſolved to ſeize the pope. *Eugenius* being informed of their deſign, diſguiſed himſelf in the habit of a benedictine, and embarking on board a ſmall veſſel ſailed down to *Oſtia*, but not without great danger from the *Romans*, who purſued him,
f and ſhot ſeveral arrows into his veſſel. At *Oſtia* he went on board a galley, and ſailed from thence to *Piſa*, and afterwards to *Florence*; from whence, on the 20th of *June*, he wrote to the council, informing them of what he had ſuffered, and confirming his former purpoſe of countenancing the proceedings The *Romans* in the mean time plundered all his effects, impriſoned his nephew cardinal *Condelmero*, and endeavoured to get poſſeſſion of the caſtle of *St. Angelo*, but without effect. The council having received the pope's letter, ſoon after ſent two cardinals, as their legates, into *Italy*, to accommodate all differences betwixt *Eugenius* and the duke of *Milan*, and to prevail with the revolted cities to renew their allegiance[l]. About the ſame time three deputies having arrived at the council, from the emperor and patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, to treat of an union with the *Latin* church,

*Is obliged to fly from* Rome *in diſguiſe.*

[g] Saxon. Krantz, l. ii. c. 22. an. 1433. [h] Rain. Annal. Eccleſ. t. xviii. an eod. Blond. Dec. 3. l. 5. Platina in vit. Eugen. Pogg. Hiſt. Flor. ap. Murator. t. xx. p. 384. Leon Aret. Comment. ut ſupra.
[i] Blond. Dec. iii. l. 5. & 6. [k] Rain. Annal. Eccleſ. ut ſupra. [l] Sigon. vit. Nicol. Alberg. c. 14.

*Deputies arrive at* Baſil *from the* Greek *emperor.*

after ſeveral private conferences betwixt them and the legates, and other members of the council, it was agreed, that an œcumenical council ſhould be held in the Eaſt, namely, in *Calabria*, *Ancona*, or any other maritime city, at *Bologna*, or *Milan*, or *Buda*, *Vienna*, or, laſtly in *Savoy*; and if the *Greek* emperor could not be prevailed upon to come to *Baſil*, then the fathers of the council ſhould go to any city the *Greeks* ſhould chuſe, within a month after the arrival of the eaſtern prelates: that thoſe of *Baſil* ſhould ſend 8000 ducats for defraying the expences of aſſembling the eaſtern prelates at *Conſtantinople*; that the weſtern church ſhould ſupport thoſe of the eaſt at the council, to the number of 700 perſons, and bear the expence of their voyage both in coming and returning. Theſe, and ſome other leſs material articles being agreed to, were approved and confirmed by the council in the nineteenth ſeſſion which was held on the 7th of *September*, and afterwards ratified by the pope. In the ſame ſeſſion a decree was publiſhed, whereby the *Jews* were compelled to hear ſermons, and ſeveral former decrees were renewed, prohibiting all communication with them in faith, manners, converſation, commerce, dreſs, or lodging. A decree of the council of *Vienne*, about the ſtudy of the *Hebrew*, *Arabic*, *Greek*, and *Chaldaic* languages, was ordered to be obſerved.

*The* Huſſites, *who had agreed to the compactata, defeat the* Taborites.

DURING theſe proceedings, the ſynod having been informed that the *Orphans* and *Taborites*, who had refuſed to agree to the compactata, had been attacked and entirely defeated by the other party, under the command of *Mainard*, together with the catholics, they ſent twelve deputies to *Ratiſbon*, who had ſeveral diſputes with thoſe of *Bohemia* of the party of the *Taborites*, who inſiſted that, for the ſake of uniformity, the catholics ſhould be compelled to communicate under both kinds; but their demand was rejected by the emperor, and the other deputies [m]. *Sigiſmund* at the ſame time complained to the deputies of the council againſt ſome proceedings of the fathers, that were derogatory to his authority; namely, that, while he was in *Italy*, they had written to the duke of *Milan* to reſtore the patrimony of the church, and not to the emperor, although it was the emperors who had granted that donation to the popes; that, while he was at *Baſil*, the council had ſent a cardinal to *France*, and others to the pope, without acquainting him; and that they had aſſumed the cognizance of cauſes that did not belong to their juriſdiction, particularly the diſpute between the two pretenders to the duchy of *Saxony*. As he could not allow of theſe proceedings, he declared he had therefore left *Baſil*; but if the council would diligently attend to the reformation of manners, he would come moſt willingly, even from paradiſe, to aſſiſt at their deliberations [n].

A. D. 1435.

*Several decrees againſt the concubinage of the clergy.*

WHAT ſatisfaction the emperor received from the council is uncertain; but the following year we find he deſired the fathers again to appoint deputies to treat with the *Bohemians*. His requeſt was complied with; and on the 23d of *January* the deputies departed from *Baſil* for *Beronne* in *Bohemia*, the place fixed for the congreſs. The day before they departed the twentieth ſeſſion was held, in which ſeveral decrees were made againſt the concubinage of the clergy. Thoſe who were publickly convicted of keeping concubines, or refuſed to diſmiſs thoſe women with whom they were ſuſpected to have an unlawful commerce, were deprived of their revenues for three months; and if, after that, they neglected to turn off their concubines within a limited time, they were, *ipſo facto*, deprived of their benefices, and rendered incapable of ſucceeding to others. Mean while *Eugenius*, being informed of the death of the queen of *Naples*, he ſent a nuncio immediately into that kingdom, requiring the nobles and people not to give their allegiance to any prince, but to him who ſhould be confirmed by the apoſtolic ſee. This meſſage was not agreeable to the *Neapolitans*, who declared that they would accept of no king but *René* duke of *Anjou*, who, upon the death of his brother *Lewis*, had been adopted by the late queen, and was at this time a priſoner to the duke of *Burgundy*. Before his arrival, *Capua*, and ſome other places in that kingdom, were ſeized by *Alphonſus* king of *Arragon* and *Sicily*, who on this occaſion renewed his pretenſions to the crown of *Naples*. Hoſtilities in the mean time ſtill continuing betwixt the troops of the duke of *Milan* and thoſe of the pope, and the *Venetians* and *Florentines*, *Piciniuus*, the duke's general, had formed a plot with the biſhop of *Novara* to ſeize *Eugenius*, when he ſhould go to the country for the ſummer [o]; but their deſign being diſcovered, the biſhop was apprehended and ſent back to *Milan*, his life having been ſpared at the interceſſion of the cardinal *Albergatus*, who ſoon after paſſed the *Alps* to be preſent at the famous congreſs held at *Arras*, for negociating a peace between the kings of *France* and *England*, and the duke of *Burgundy*. The general council likewiſe ſent ſome cardinals and prelates to be preſent at this congreſs: and on the 21ſt of May gave a mandate to the cardinal of *Arles*, who was commiſſioned by the pope to go to *Arras*, ordering him to cauſe the libraries and archives of the univerſities, churches, and

[m] WINDEC. c. 102. ÆNE. Hiſt. Boem. c. 51. [n] SPOND. Annal. ex act. Binian. [o] BLOND. Dec. iii. l. 6.

mona-

a monasteries, to be searched for books relating to the conception of the blessed virgin, and to send such as he could find to the council.

THE twenty-first session was held a few weeks after, on the 9th of *June*, in which a decree was made, prohibiting for the future the payment of any money, under any pretence or name whatever, for the confirmation of elections, admissions, *&c.* or for the provision, collation, or investiture, of any churches, monasteries, dignities, benefices, or ecclesiastical offices, or for a benediction, pall, or ordination, allowing only a competent salary to the writers, abbreviators, and registers of the letters, for their trouble: whoever acted otherwise were declared to incur the penalty of simony, and ordered to be punished by their superiors; and, if the decree was violated by any pope, a complaint was ordered to be
b made to a general council. Decrees were likewise made in the same session, about the modesty and gravity to be observed in celebrating the divine service, about the decency of apparel, and the punishment of those who were negligent or absent on that occasion. Besides the above-mentioned decree, abolishing annates or first fuirts, others were made in the general congregations, ordering the collectors of the revenues of the apostolic chamber to come to the council, to give an account of their receipts and disbursements, and annuling all appeals of causes that had been decided by the council. These decrees were not passed without long and warm disputes, the legates of the pope protesting against the injustice of the proceedings of the fathers, in not previously acquainting the pope: but their opposition was without effect; for the council having published the decrees, sent two legates to *Florence*
c to obtain the concurrence of *Eugenius*. *John de Bachenstein*, one of the legates, declared, that if the pope would acquiesce in the demands of the council, they would provide for his holiness and the cardinals, by some more honourable means; but if he would not concur, they would, nevertheless, cause their decrees to be inviolably observed. *Eugenius* sent his answer to the council by two nuncios, who discoursed warmly in favour of the apostolic see, and remonstrated against the injury done to it by abolishing annates; but they were answered by cardinal *Julian*, in the name of the council, who refused absolutely to revoke the decrees, which were the occasion of a new breach betwixt the fathers and the pope. About this time the council sent nuncios to *Constantinople*, to intreat the emperor to agree to the articles that had been concluded with his deputies, and to prevail with him,
d if possible, to consent to celebrate the œcumenical council at *Basil*. During their absence the twenty-second session was held, on the 15th of *October*, in which the council condemned a treatise of an *Augustine* monk, concerning Christ and the church, as containing many erroneous and scandalous propositions (D); but they did not proceed against the author, though he did not appear, as he alleged canonical excuses for his absence. The council having, about this time, taken cognizance of a dispute betwixt the republic of *Venice* and the patriarch of *Aquileia*, ordered the republic to restore all the possessions which it had usurped from the patriarchate, under pain of an interdict against the state, and a sentence of excommunication against the doge, senate, and nobles; but notwithstanding this sentence, the republic neglected to make any restitution.

*Annates are abolished by the council.*

*Their decree is opposed by the pope.*

*The* Venetians *contemn their authority;*

e WHILE the authority of the council was contemned by the *Venetians*, it was on the other hand courted by *Alphonsus* king of *Arragon*, who not being able to prevail with the pope to favour his pretensions to the kingdom of *Naples*, in resentment resolved wholly to addict himself to the council: he therefore wrote to the fathers, desiring them to send one to take the government of *Rome*, and of the patrimony of the church, as he was resolved to reconquer and restore both. At the same time he charged *Eugenius* to adhere to the council, and not to oppose him in taking possession of *Naples*, otherwise he must blame himself for the consequences. Whether the council was influenced by these declarations of *Alphonsus* is uncertain; but in the twenty-third session, which was held on the 24th of *March*, they altered the bulls then in force, with regard to the manner of election of a pope and
f conclave, prescribing a form of an oath to be taken by the pope at his election, to be renewed every year on the same day, or the day of his coronation. By this oath the pope obliged himself to observe the decrees of all general councils, particularly that of *Basil*, and to endeavour, to the utmost of his power, to extirpate the heresies, reform the manners, and procure peace to Christendom, and the frequent celebration of general councils. Several other articles were added, prescribing the manner of reforming the pope'e family, and the *Roman* court; and concerning the administration of the patrimony of the church, particularly that the pope should not appoint his own relations or kindred within the third de-

*which is courted by the king of* Arragon. A. D. 1436.

*New restrictions laid upon the pope and cardinals by the council.*

(D) These were some of his propositions, namely, that Christ sinned daily, and always had sinned, not asserting this of our Saviour in his person, but in his members, which, being united to the head, he affirmed made one Christ; that all those who were justified were not members of Christ, but only elect; that the human nature in our Saviour was real Christ, and the person of the word (3).

(3) *Trithem. & Bellarm. de Script Eccles.*

gree, as dukes, counts, governors, generals *&c.* of provinces and cities of the eccleſiaſti- a
cal ſtate; that the half of the revenues of all the poſſeſſions of the church ſhould belong to the cardinals, by whoſe advice all ſerious and important matters ſhould be tranſacted, and whoſe number ſhould not exceed twenty-four, to be elected from all the provinces of Chriſtendom by the other cardinals, after a ſtrict examination of their morals and learning; and that they ſhould not be relations either of the pope, or of thoſe cardinals already in the college: laſtly, the decrees concerning the liberty of elections, and the total annulling of papal reſervations, were confirmed. In the next ſeſſion, which was held on the 12th of *April*, one of the nuncios having returned from *Conſtantinople*, and informed the council that the emperor had at length agreed to hold the œcumenical council in ſome maritime city of *Italy*, the fathers publiſhed a ſafe conduct for all the *Greeks* who ſhould come to that b
*Indulgences granted by the council, to defray the expences of the* Greeks.
aſſembly; and at the ſame time granted plenary indulgences, with full remiſſion of all ſins once in life, and at the point of death, to all thoſe who ſhould grant one week's expences of their family towards the holy purpoſe of the union of the *Greeks*. But that the indulgences might not ſeem to be given away entirely for money, ſome pious works were alſo enjoined; nevertheleſs, the legates of the pope exclaimed againſt the decree as a baſe and venal proſtitution (E). A few weeks afterwards *Eugenius* ſent two cardinals, as his legates, to *Baſil*, to make freſh remonſtrances againſt the decrees concerning elections, confirmations, annates, and indulgences, and to deſire the fathers to appoint tne place for celebrating the council with the *Greeks*, offering, if they would agree with him as to the nomination of the place, and transfer themſelves thither directly, to give 60,000 crowns c
towards the expences of the eaſtern prelates; which ſum he affirmed was more than the indulgences would raiſe. This offer however was rejected by the council, who perſiſted in their own juſtification, and anſwered, that it was not yet proper to determine the place for the œcumenical council.

*An entire reconciliation is effected betwixt the* Huſſites *and the emperor,*
During theſe diſputes with the fathers at *Baſil*, *Eugenius* had again got poſſeſſion of *Bologna*, and by the prudence of the archbiſhop of *Florence*, who commanded his troops, had recovered ſeveral places that had been ſeized by the king of *Arragon*. About this time likewiſe, the deputies of the council, who had been ſent the former year into *Bohemia*, and had broke off the conferences upon a diſpute about ſettling the article concerning the uſurped church-lands, now aſſembled, with thoſe of *Bohemia*, at *Iglavia*, where a complete d
reconciliation was effected betwixt the *Huſſites* and the church. Tho' one of the deputies had brought with him from the council a mitigation of the article rejected the year before by the *Bohemians*, yet, from *Æneas Sylvius*, one of the members of the council, it would appear, that the reconciliation was chiefly owing to a private treaty between the *Huſſites* and the emperor, which laſt promiſed that the church-lands ſhould be poſſeſſed by the preſent occupiers, till they were redeemed by money; that the exiles, monks, and nuns, ſhould not be permitted to return to *Bohemia*; that the pope ſhould have no authority to diſpoſe of the churches in that kingdom; and that *Rockyſanus* ſhould have the archbiſhop-
*who is crowned at* Prague.
rick of *Prague*[p]. The *Bohemian* deputies were diſmiſſed with magnificent preſents, and the emperor ſoon after proceeding to *Prague*, was crowned in that city with great ſolem- e
nity; but he quickly violated the private treaty, by recalling and protecting the monks, expelling *Rockyſanus* from *Prague*, and acting by force againſt the remains of the *Taborites*, to whom he had granted a five years protection[q].

A. D. 1437.
While *Sigiſmund*, by his perfidy, was rendering himſelf odious to the *Bohemians*, the diſſenſions revived with great warmth betwixt the council and the pope, about determining the place for celebrating the œcumenical council, *Eugenius* wanted to fix upon ſome city in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, or in *Tuſcany*: but in the twenty fifth ſeſſion, which was held on the 7th of *May*, the majority of the fathers decreed, that the council ſhould be celebrated, if poſſible, at *Baſil*, or at *Avignon*, or laſtly, in *Savoy*; and for the ſupport of the *Greeks*, all eccleſiaſtics, even the pope and cardinals, ſhould give a tenth of their revenues: and as the f
city of *Avignon* offered to lend 70,000 florins of gold, they mortgaged ſo much of the money, to be raiſed by the indulgences for their payment. Theſe decrees were publiſhed by a
*The council at* Baſil *divided into factions, who publiſh ſeparate decrees.*
factious party of the council, who had ſeceded from the preſidents, and celebrated the ſeſſion by themſelves. They were by far the moſt numerous, but among them there were very few prelates of any rank. As they had refuſed to be preſent at the deputations and general congregations, the other party, who adhered to the preſidents and legates, fixed upon *Florence*, or *Utinum*, in *Friuli*, for the reſidence of the council, or any other ſafe place mentioned in convention betwixt the pope and the *Greeks*, which could ſooneſt furniſh the money, and fit out the gallies, for tranſporting the eaſtern prelates. Both parties perſiſting ob-

[p] Æne. Sylv. Hiſt. Boem. c. 52. [q] Idem ibid. Spond. Annal. hoc an.

(E) According to one of the editions of the acts of the council, there were preſent at this ſeſſion only ten biſhops and thirty abbots (4).

(4) *Act Patrician.*

ſtinately

a ſtinately in their opinions in the above ſeſſion, they ſat apart, and each ratified their own previous reſolutions; but the decree of the minority was confirmed by *Eugenius*, who appointed a nuncio to go, with two others of that party of the council, to *Conſtantinople*.

*Nuncios ſent by each party to* Conſtantinople.

About a month after their arrival, the nuncios, of the factious part of the council, landed from two gallies of *Avignon*, and intreated the emperor to come to that city, or *Baſil*, or *Savoy*, declaring, that, before he could arrive at *Italy* in the ſhips of *Eugenius*, that pope would be depoſed; but if he would agree to ſail with them to any of the three places above-mentioned, the princes, whoſe letters they brought, would furniſh ſuccours againſt the *Turks*. The *Greek* emperor however, notwithſtanding theſe declarations, adhered to the other party, and in the end of *November* embarked, with ſeveral prelates, for *Venice*, on board nine gal-
b lies furniſhed by the pope. During theſe proceedings at *Conſtantinople*, the factious party of the council having been informed that *Eugenius* had confirmed the decree of the minority, they were greatly irritated againſt him; and in the twenty-ſixth ſeſſion, which was held on the 31ſt of *July*, they publiſhed a monitory accuſing him of ſeveral crimes, and citing him and his cardinals to appear within the ſixty days. In the following ſeſſion, which was held on the 25th of *September*, they declared the late creation of the archbiſhop of *Florence* to the cardinalate to be void, as being contrary to a decree of the council; they likewiſe annulled the decree appointing *Florence*, or *Utinum*, for the reſidence of the œcumenical council, as being ſealed clandeſtinely, and againſt the appointment of the council; and to procure the favour of the emperor, they wrote to him, informing him of their proceedings
c againſt *Eugenius*, and deſiring him to protect the council by his authority. *Sigiſmund*, who was then languiſhing in his laſt illneſs, and died a few months afterwards, in the 70th year of his age, wrote to the fathers to act with more moderation, to ceaſe their proceedings againſt the pope, and to take care leſt, inſtead of uniting the *Greeks*, they ſhould occaſion a ſchiſm among the *Latins*. Notwithſtanding this advice, the ſixty days granted to the pope being elapſed, the council, in the next ſeſſion, which was held on the 1ſt of *October*, declared *Eugenius* guilty of contumacy, the other party proteſting againſt their proceeding, and the deputies of *Spain* declaring their diſſent, in the name of their king and the prelates of their nation.

Eugenius *transfers the council of* Baſil *to* Ferrara;

Mean while *Eugenius*, being encouraged by the ſucceſs of his nuncios at *Conſtantinople*,
d on the 16th of *September* publiſhed a bull, wherein, after recapitulating the violent proceedings of the council, he transferred it, by the plenitude of his power, immediately to *Ferrara*, which city he aſſigned for the future œcumenical council. The fathers at *Baſil*, inſtead of giving obedience to this bull, in the twenty-ninth ſeſſion, which was held on the 12th of *October*, publiſhed a decree, wherein, having accuſed the pope of being the author of the diſſenſion, they declared the tranſlation and diſſolution of the ſynod to be null, and charged the pope to revoke his bull, which if he did not do within four months, they declared him, *ipſo facto*, ſuſpended: they likewiſe prohibited, under pain of excommunication and interdict, any one from going or ſending to *Ferrara*, or from acting contrary to the decrees of the council of *Baſil*. A few days after they publiſhed a letter in juſtification of their for-
e mer monitory againſt the pope; and in the thirtieth ſeſſion, which was held on the 21ſt of *December*, they publiſhed ſome explications of the article concerning the euchariſt, in the treaty formerly concluded with the *Bohemians*; but theſe explications were not different from what had been already agreed to by the *Bohemian* deputies.

A. D. 1438.

The following year was remarkable, not only for the diſſenſions betwixt the pope and the council of *Baſil*, but alſo on account of the warm diſputes in the council of *Ferrara*. On the 22d of *January* the fathers at *Baſil* celebrated the thirty-firſt ſeſſion, in which they publiſhed three decrees; by the firſt, they annulled all frivolous appeals to the *Roman* courts, and ordained, that thoſe who were above four days journey from *Rome* ſhould terminate all their ſuits at their proper reſidence, and all legal appeals ſho uld be carried to *Baſil*, and not
f to the pope. By the ſecond, they prohibited the pope from granting any reſervations of benefices, and ordained that livings ſhould be given only to prudent and learned men. The third was expreſly againſt *Eugenius*, whom they ſuſpended from the pontificate, aſſuming the adminiſtration thereof to themſelves, and appointing three perſons out of each of the nations as adminiſtrators of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. At this ſeſſion, and ſome weeks before, there were great conteſts and confuſion among the fathers. Cardinal *Julian*, and the other cardinals, being apprehenſive of a ſchiſm, left *Baſil* about the beginning of *January*. The cardinal of *Arles*, who was the only one that remained, was created preſident by the fathers, who cited the archbiſhop of *Tarantaiſe*, and the two nuncios that had been ſent by the minority to *Conſtantinope*; the firſt for having put to the torture a deputy of the duke of *Savoy*,
g ſent by the council into *Greece*, and the two laſt for having falſely called themſelves nuncios of the council to the *Greek* emperor.

*he is ſuſpended by the council of* Baſil.

In

In the mean time ſeveral prelates having aſſembled at *Ferrara*, in conſequence of the ci- a
tation of *Eugenius*, cardinal *Albergatus*, who had been appointed legate *a latere* by the pope, preſided at the firſt ſeſſion, which was held on the 10th of *January*, and in which it was decreed, that the council of *Ferrara* was lawfully aſſembled, as that of *Baſil* had been tranſferred for neceſſary and juſt reaſons; that it ought to endeavour to procure the union of the *Greeks*, and to accompliſh thoſe matters which had been begun, but not finiſhed, by the council of *Baſil*; all the tranſactions of which, after the tranſlation, were declared null, excepting thoſe which regarded the *Bohemians*, if they were confirmed by the council of *Ferrara*; laſtly, all were abſolved from the oaths they had taken to the council of *Baſil* [f]. A few weeks after, *Eugenius* came to *Ferrara*, and having in a general congregation com- b
plained of the injurious proceedings of the council of *Baſil*, he declared, that if he had done any thing amiſs he ſubmitted himſelf willingly to the correction of the fathers. Two days after he regulated the order of ſitting in the aſſemblies; and preſiding in the ſecond ſeſſion, which was held on the 15th of *February*, he not only declared the ſeditious decrees of the council of *Baſil* to be null, but alſo that thoſe who continued at that aſſembly had incurred the penalties of excommunication, and privation of dignities and benefices, which they were rendered incapable of poſſeſſing for the future. All thoſe who were aſſembled at *Baſil*, under pretence of the council, were ordered to depart, under pain of excommunication, within thirty days, after which time the magiſtrates of the city were ordered to expel them, under the ſame penalty; which was alſo denounced againſt thoſe who ſhould carry any merchandize or proviſions into the city, if the above-mentioned perſons c
ſhould continue contumacious. The *Greek* emperor and patriarch, with the prelates of that church, having about this time arrived at *Venice*, ſent five deputies to the pope to inform him of their arrival; and ſoon after ſailing up the *Po*, they landed at *Ferrara*, where they were received with the greateſt honours by *Eugenius* and the cardinals [g] (F). The pope, at the intreaty of the emperor, ſent nuncios and letters to the kings and princes of Chriſtendom, exhorting them to ſend their deputies to the council within four months. In the mean time the fathers at *Baſil*, in their thirty-ſecond ſeſſion, which was held on the 22d of *March*, condemned the conventicle, as they called it at *Ferrara*, and declared, whatſoever ſhould be done in it by the ſuſpended pope, or in his name, to be null and void, at the ſame time denouncing penalties againſt thoſe who repaired to *Ferrara*. d

*The Greek emperor, with the eaſtern prelates, arrive at Ferrara.*

*The œcumenical council is opened in that city.*

Their decrees, however, were deſpiſed by the other council, who appointed the œcumenical council to be opened at *Ferrara* on the 9th of *April*, on which day, both the *Latins* and *Greeks* having aſſembled in the church of *St. George*, and being ſeated according to the order previouſly agreed upon (G), a decree of the patriarch of *Conſtantinople* was firſt read, by which he declared that he conſented to the celebrating of an œcumenical council at *Ferrara*, to which aſſembly he ordered all who were concerned either to come or ſend, within four months, under pain of excommunication. Another decree of the pope was then read to the ſame purpoſe, and both received the aſſent of the fathers (H). After *Eaſter* the *Latin* fathers propoſed to employ the time, till the arrival of the deputies of the princes, in examining the controverted doctrines betwixt them and the *Greeks*; to this the eaſtern e
prelates, after ſome difficulty, aſſented, and twelve perſons were choſen on each ſide, who aſſembled twice a week, and diſputed about purgatory and the bleſſedneſs of ſaints; but, after they had ſpent two months in thoſe diſputes, they left the queſtion undecided.

Mean while the *German* electors having aſſembled at *Frankfort*, choſe *Albert*, duke of *Auſtria*, as emperor. After his election, a general diet being held in the ſame city, it was agreed to adhere both to the pope and the council of *Baſil*, but not acknowlege the

[f] Spond. Annal. ex Cod. Vatic. & Act. Patrician. Spond. Annal. ex act. Concil.

[g] Chalcond. l. i. & vi. Phranz. l. ii. c. 14.

(F) The *Greek* prelates would not condeſcend to kiſs the pope's feet; ſome of them gave him only a common ſalutation, and others kiſſed his hand and cheek (5).

(G) There were great diſputes betwixt the *Greeks* and *Latins* about the order of ſitting. The pope propoſed that the *Latins* ſhould ſit on one ſide of the church, and the *Greeks* on the other, and that he himſelf ſhould be ſeated at the head before the altar, in the middle betwixt both; but this was objected to by the *Greek* emperor, who claimed that place as due to him. At length it was agreed that the pope ſhould ſit at the head of the *Latins* on the right ſide of the church, and the emperor at the head of the *Greeks* on the other, and that the book of the goſpels ſhould be placed, with lighted tapers, betwixt the heads of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, upon a throne erected before the altar.

Beſides the proxies of the eaſtern patriarchs, there were preſent, according to *Krantz*, the metropolitan of *Kiovia* and of all *Pruſſia*, with ſeveral *Muſcovite* and *Ruſſian* prelates, and a retinue of 200 horſe. The metropolitan of the *Georgians* was likewiſe ſaid to be preſent, and deputies from the emperor of *Trebiſond*, and from the *Iberians* and *Walachians* (6).

(H) The *Patrician* acts call this the third ſeſſion, counting the two that preceded the coming of the *Greeks*; but others begin the firſt ſeſſion only at the 8th of *October*, when the diſpute commenced about the proceſſion of the holy ſpirit. The council itſelf is known by the name of the *Florentine*, having been transferred to that city on account of the plague, which raged in *Ferrara*.

(5) *Spond. Annal.* (6) *Krantz* 12. *Wandal* 7. *Spond. Annal.*

a decrees of either party againſt the other. This determination, which was called the *German* neutrality, offended both *Eugenius* and the fathers of *Baſil*: however, as *Albert* renewed the ſafe conducts, granted by his predeceſſors to the council, they, in return, gave him all the money raiſed in *Auſtria* by the indulgences, for the journey of the *Greeks*. At the ſame time they proceeded with their uſual violence againſt the pope; and having confirmed their former decrees, and thoſe of *Conſtance*, concerning the power of a general council above a pope, and that thoſe who aſſerted otherwiſe were heretics, the proctors of the council then produced 150 articles of accuſation againſt *Eugenius*, which they offered to prove by witneſſes and public documents. Notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the deputies of the kings of *France*, *Spain*, *England*, and other princes, theſe articles of accu-
b ſation were received in a general congregation, and ordered to be proved by witneſſes within thirty days, but, before that time was elapſed, twenty-two witneſſes were admitted to prove the articles of accuſation. The king of *France* in the mean time, being uncertain what courſe to take in the diſputes betwixt the pope and the council of *Baſil*, aſſembled the nobles and prelates of his kingdom at *Berry*, and by their advice publiſhed the pragmatic ſanction, by which he acknowleged the legality of the council of *Baſil*, and in ſome meaſure its authority. We ſay, in ſome meaſure, for they did not receive its decrees abſolutely, but with certain modifications, to render them more accommodated to the cuſtoms and uſages of the kingdom; all thoſe however were received ſimply that tended to retrench the authority of the pope. The king, by an edict, ordered this pragmatic ſanction to be
c obſerved inviolably thro' his dominions; but as the clergy of *France* thereby uſurped an authority, not only above a pope but alſo above a general council, it was ſoon after abrogated both by *Eugenius* and the king [t].

*The emperor* Albert *and the* German *princes agree to a neutrality, with regard to the diſputes betwixt the pope and the council of* Baſil.

*A neutrality alſo obſerved by the* Gallican *church.*

During theſe tranſactions in *France*, the *German* princes, in a diet held at *Nuremberg*, propoſed to the deputies from the council of *Baſil*, that, to determine all diſputes, a third place ſhould be choſen for holding a general council, at which ſhould aſſemble the prelates from *Baſil* and *Ferrara*, with the pope and the *Greeks*. The deputies of the council declared that they had no authority to agree to that propoſal, but demanded only that the diet would approve of the decrees of the council againſt *Eugenius*. The princes refuſed to grant their requeſt; but declared, that they would ſtill adhere to the neutrality concluded at
d *Franckfort*. The deputies of the kings of *France*, *England*, *Arragon*, and *Portugal*, and of the duke of *Milan*, were of the ſame opinion [u]; and the deputies of the council ſtill refuſing all the terms of accommodation that were offered, another diet was appointed to be held on the 1ſt of *March* at *Frankfort*, which aſſembly, on account of the plague, was afterwards held at *Mentz* [w].

Mean while the *Greeks*, finding that none of the prelates came from *Baſil*, and that few or none arrived from any other place, made ſome objections to the council of *Ferrara*; but theſe ſcruples being removed by *Eugenius*, who aſſerted that, where he was with the cardinals, and the emperor and patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, with the legates of others, there was an univerſal ſynod, they agreed to celebrate the ſeſſions, and to diſpute, in the firſt place, upe on two points, namely, whether it was lawful to add any thing to the creed, and whether the addition, *and from the ſon*, was juſt. As the pope was diſtreſſed with the gout, the firſt ſeſſion was held on the 8th of *October*, in a large chapel of his palace, and ſix diſputants being appointed by each party, *Beſſarion* of *Nicea*, one of thoſe on the ſide of the *Greeks*, made a long and eloquent harangue, which is ſtill extant, wherein, after invoking the protection of God, he commended the emperor, the pope, and the fathers, for their pious intentions, and exhorted them to conſtancy and perſeverance, till the union was accompliſhed. Nothing elſe was done in this ſeſſion; and in the ſecond, which was held three days after, the archbiſhop of *Rhodes*, for the *Latins*, made another ſpeech in praiſe of the pope, the emperor, and the whole council: after which it was ordained, that the diſputes ſhould be carried on
f by ſyllogiſms, and the option being given to the *Greeks* either to impugn or defend, they choſe the firſt, and left the *Latins* to anſwer their objections. The five following ſeſſions, which were all held in the ſame month, and ſeveral other private congregations, were ſpent in debating upon the expreſſion *and from the ſon*. The *Greeks* oppoſed that addition, as contrary to the decrees of the firſt general councils, which prohibited any addition to the creed; but the *Latins* aſſerted, that it was not ſo much an addition as an explanation of the words *from the father*, and urged that the *Nicene* fathers had taken the liberty to add explications to the apoſtles creed, and other councils had done the ſame to the *Nicene* (1). The ſame diſpute was continued in the five following ſeſſions, which were held in the month

*Diſputes between the* Greek *and* Latin *fathers.*

[t] Gaguini Hiſt. Franc. l. x. Comment. de geſt. Conc. Baſil. [u] Dumont. t. iii. p. 48. Dupin, tit. xii. p. 54. [w] Æne. Sylv:

(1) This whole diſpute is contained at full length in the acts publiſhed at *Rome* and in *Germany* by *Binius*.

of *November*, and in which the *Greeks* at laſt granted that it was lawful to explain the words of the creed, but not to add that explanation to the creed itſelf. The ſame diſpute was the ſubject of the three following ſeſſions; at the firſt of which arrived the deputies from the duke of *Burgundy*; but as they neglected to ſalute the emperor, that prince threatened to diſſolve the council if they did not give ſatisfaction for the inſult; wherefore, at the interceſſion of the fathers, they were prevailed upon, at the next ſeſſion, to pay their compliments to the emperor. At the following ſeſſion, *Mark* of *Epheſus* endeavoured to conclude the diſpute by a very long diſcourſe; but ſtill the matter was left undecided, cardinal *Julian* declaring, that, if the *Greek* ſhould produce ten arguments, he would advance ten thouſand. a

THE *Greeks* being unmoved by the arguments of the *Latins*, and finding them equally uninfluenced by theirs, began to think of returning home, and propoſed, as their final conceſſion, that the words in diſpute ſhould be admitted in a definition apart; but the *Latins* refuſed to agree to this propoſal, urging that, ſince the words were admitted as orthodox, they ought not to be expunged from the creed. As the plague raged at this time in *Ferrara*, the pope propoſed to transfer the council to *Florence*, but to this the *Greeks* made great objections; at laſt, however, they gave their conſent, on theſe conditions: that the council ſhould not be transferred from *Florence*, but be concluded within four months; that they ſhould be furniſhed with proviſions; and that eight months ſtores ſhould be ſent by the pope to *Conſtantinople*. Accordingly, in the ſixteenth ſeſſion, which was held on the 11th of *January*, the tranſlation of the council was publiſhed, and the fathers immediately after proceeding to *Florence*, held the ſeventeenth ſeſſion in that city, on the 26th of *February*, in which, after a long diſpute betwixt the emperor and cardinal *Julian*, it was agreed, that the two parties, for the future, ſhould diſpute in private aſſemblies; but this method was obſerved only a few weeks; for in the ſix following ſeſſions, which were held in the month of *March*, the public diſputations were again reſumed, firſt concerning the meaning of the word *proceſſion*, and afterwards about the acceptation of the words *nature*, *eſſence*, *ſubſtance*, *ſubſiſtentia*, *and hypoſtaſis*, in the divine perſons, how far they meant the ſame thing, and in what reſpects they differed. After theſe ſeſſions the emperor aſſembled all the *Greek* metropolitans in the lodgings of the patriarch, who had been confined for ſome time by ſickneſs, and laid before them the calamities which would befal the *Greek* empire, if the ſchiſm was not terminated: he therefore exhorted them to lay aſide their diſputes, and find out ſome method for an agreement, eſpecially as the *Latins*, by the addition of the words *and from the ſon*, did not acknowledge two principles. The greateſt part of the *Greeks*, being influenced by this exhortation of the emperor, did not diſpute in the two following ſeſſions, but only attended to the diſcourſes of the *Latins* in proof of their doctrine; and afterwards holding a great many conferences in the lodgings of the patriarch, they at length unanimouſly agreed, that the holy ſpirit proceeded from the father and from the ſon, as from one principle and one ſubſtance. This opinion being committed to writing, and delivered to the pope, was approved by him and the *Latins*, who, as a teſtimony of their joy, embraced the *Greeks* with great affection. b c d e

*The council is transferred to* Florence. A. D. 1439.

EUGENIUS then propoſed to terminate the other points wherein the two churches differed, namely, concerning the fire of purgatory, and uſing leavened or unleavened bread in the ſacrament of the euchariſt, and the ſupremacy of the *Roman* ſee. Their deliberations were interrupted by the death of the patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, which happened on the 9th of *June*; but a few days after, the debates being reſumed, an union was likewiſe effected in theſe points. The *Greeks* agreed as to the pains of purgatory, but would not determine abſolutely whether it was fire, darkneſs, a whirlwind, or any thing elſe; they allowed that either leavened or unleavened bread may be conſecrated in the euchariſt; they likewiſe acknowleged in general the ſupremacy of the pope, but would not allow of appeals to him from other patriarchal ſees, or that he had a power of celebrating œcumenical councils without the emperor and patriarchs. In the next ſeſſion a decree was drawn up, wherein theſe reſtrictions were mentioned in general terms, which was ſubſcribed by the pope, the cardinals, and ſeveral *Latin* prelates, and by the emperor, the proxies of ſeveral patriarchs, and fourteen metropolitans. The pope then deſired that the *Greeks* would chuſe a ſucceſſor to the patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, whom he might confirm, and to whom he would give a large ſum to ſupport his dignity, promiſing likewiſe to remove the *Latin* patriarch of that title; but the *Greeks* refuſed abſolutely to agree to that propoſal, alleging that the patriarch muſt be choſen at *Conſtantinople*, by the whole province. The union being thus accompliſhed, the pope publiſhed a letter, addreſſed to all the faithful, informing them of the tranſlation; and beſides what had been ſtipulated with the emperor, he promiſed, upon an emergency, to furniſh twenty armed gallies for ſix months for the defence of *Conſtantinople*, and to ſolicit the Chriſtian princes to ſend him ſuccours by land. Before the departure of the emperor, which happened towards the end of *July*, deputies arrived at *Florence* from f g

*The union is accompliſhed with the* Greeks.

a the patriarch of *Armenia*, to treat of an union. *Eugenius*, with the approbation of the ſynod, appointed three cardinals, and ſome doctors, to confer with the deputies; and, after frequent conferences, the *Armenians* profeſſing to hold and approve the doctrines that were held and taught by the *Roman* church, *Eugenius* delivered to them a decree, containing a ſummary of the *Roman* faith.

DURING theſe proceedings at *Ferrara*, the *German* princes, in a diet held at *Mentz*, propoſed to oblige the council of *Baſil* to put a ſtop to the proceedings againſt *Eugenius*. Although this propoſal was approved by the deputies of ſeveral princes of *Europe* who were there preſent, yet thoſe from *Baſil* would not conſent to it, and left the city. After their departure the legates of the pope arrived, and ſollicited the princes to reject the council of
b *Baſil*; but their ſollicitations not being hearkened to, they proteſted againſt the proceedings of the diet, and departed. Mean while the fathers at *Baſil*, to ſtrengthen the articles againſt *Eugenius*, drew up eight propoſitions, which they called *the truths of the catholic faith*, tending to prove that the pope was a heretic, becauſe he had preſumed to diſſolve the council, contrary to the monitory of the fathers. Theſe propoſitions occaſioned great clamour and uproar in the council, ſo that the confuſion and noiſe reſembled the concourſe of two armies in an engagement. After long and vehement debates, which are mentioned at large by *Æneas Sylvius*, one of the members [x], the violent party found means by fraud, to publiſh the articles in a general congregation. The cardinal of *Arles* then appointed the thirty-third ſeſſion to be held on the 14th of *May*, at which none of the pre-
c lates of *Spain*, and only about twenty-one of the other nations, would conſent to be preſent; but as there were a great many prieſts, the cardinal cauſed them to bring the relics of the ſaints into the aſſembly, and ordering them to ſupply the place of the abſent biſhops, he read the decree, confirming the above propoſitions. The deputies of the emperor, and of other princes, appeared a few days afterwards at the general congregations, and deſired the fathers to agree to ſome third place for the council; but their requeſt was denied, and *Eugenius* was ordered to be cited againſt the 23d of *June*, to hear his ſentence. The thirty-fourth ſeſſion was celebrated on that day, and *Eugenius* being called by two biſhops, and not appearing, was declared guilty of contumacy, and depoſed from the pontificate; all Chriſtians were abſolved from his obedience, and prohibited from adhering to
d him under the pains of hereſy and ſchiſm, and the loſs of all their honours, benefices, and dignities (K). The ſame day the fathers deliberated whether they ſhould immediately proceed to an election of another pope; but, notwithſtanding the plague raged at that time in *Baſil*, it was reſolved to delay the election for two months: accordingly a decree for that purpoſe was publiſhed in the thirty-fifth ſeſſion, held on the 8th of *July*; and it was added, that, by the departure of any prelates from *Baſil*, the council ſhould not be reckoned diſſolved, without the conſent of two-thirds of thoſe that remained. *Eugenius* in the mean time, being informed of their proceedings, renewed his former decree againſt them; and in a general ſeſſion, held on the 5th of *September*, condemned the truths of the catholic faith, in the ſenſe they were taken in by the council of *Baſil*, as being contrary to the ſcrip-
e tures, the fathers, and the council of *Conſtance*.

THE fathers at *Baſil*, before they were informed of theſe decrees of *Eugenius*, celebrated the thirty-ſixth ſeſſion on the 16th of *October*, in which they publiſhed a decree confirming the immaculate conception of the bleſſed virgin (L). Although the diet of *Mentz* had appealed from their decree againſt the pope to a future general council, and the emperor *Albert* had propoſed a reconciliation, yet they reſolved immediately to proceed to a new election; and in the thirty-ſeventh ſeſſion, which was held on the 22d of the ſame month, they decreed, that the election ſhould be made in the council by the cardinal of *Arles*, and thirty-two other eccleſiaſtics, whether prelates, prieſts, or deacons; that the election ſhould not be valid, unleſs two thirds of the electors concurred; and that the perſon elected ſhould ſwear to be-
f lieve and maintain the catholic faith, and to obſerve and execute the decrees of the councils of *Conſtance* and *Baſil*. The thirty-two electors being accordingly nominated in the thirty-eighth ſeſſion, which was held on the 27th of *October*, they entered the place aſſigned for the conclave; and nine days after, upon a ſcrutiny, *Amadeus*, duke of *Savoy*, was found to be duly elected. This prince, five years before, had reſigned his dominions to his two ſons, and, with ſix of the nobles, had aſſumed the habit of a pilgrim, and had choſen a moſt elegant retreat at *Ripallia*, upon the banks of the lake of *Geneva*. Although he was ſtill a lay-

*Great confuſion in the council of* Baſil;

*which depoſes* Eugenius.

*The duke of* Savoy *is elected pope at* Baſil,

[x] ÆNEAS ibid.

(K) According to *Patricius* there were preſent at this ſeſſion only ſeven biſhops, whereas for depoſing a private biſhop twelve are neceſſary. About this time the emperor, and the kings of *England* and *France* expoſtulated with the council in behalf of the pope (7).

(L) *Spondanus* relates, that, upon publiſhing this decree, ſo great was its efficacy, the plague immediately ceaſed at *Baſil!*

(7) *Epilog. Act. Patrician. Spond. Annal. ex cod. S. Victor.*

man,

man, had been married, and was not dignified with the title of doctor, yet, in the thirty-ninth ſeſſion, the council confirmed his election, and appointed the cardinal of *Arles*, with twenty-five others, as their legates, to carry their decree to the duke, who, with great difficulty, was prevailed upon to give his conſent. At their earneſt intreaties he at length ſubmitted; and aſſuming the name of *Felix* V. laid aſide his beard and pilgrim's habit, and being dreſſed in the pontifical ornaments, was conſecrated in the church of the monaſtery of St. *Maurice*, on the 17th of *December*. *Eugenius*, upon hearing of the intruſion of *Felix*, thought proper to ſtrengthen his own party by a new creation of cardinals: accordingly in the general council and public conſiſtory, be nominated ſeventeen from the different nations of *Europe*, two of whom were *Greeks*, who had continued in *Italy* after the concluſion of the union. a

*and takes the name of* Felix V.

Frederic III. *is elected emperor.* A. D. 1440.

ABOUT this time the emperor *Albert* having died in *Hungary*, the following year the electors, being aſſembled at *Frankfort*, choſe *Frederic*, duke of *Auſtria*, as his ſucceſſor. The legates of the council at *Baſil* appeared at that diet, and intreated the new emperor and the *German* princes to renounce the neutrality, and acknowledge *Felix*; but the *Germans* ſtill adhered to their former reſolutions, and declared that they would endeavour to procure the peace of the church. Mean while the fathers at *Baſil* in the fortieth ſeſſion, which was held on the 25th of *February*, publiſhed the conſent of *Felix*, and ordered all chriſtians to yield him obedience. That their new pope might come to *Baſil*, with ſome appearance of dignity, they granted him a power to create nine cardinals, even before his coronation; nevertheleſs they found fault with his bull, appointing the cardinal of *Arles* legate *à latere* and preſident of the council, and ordered it to be eraſed from the regiſters, and to be drawn up in other terms. *Eugenius* in the mean time, in a public ſeſſion held on the 21ſt of *March* at *Florence*, denounced an anathema againſt the duke of *Savoy* and all his adherents, as heretics and ſchiſmatics, if they did not repent within fifty days. The fathers at *Baſil*, in their forty-firſt ſeſſion, held on the 21ſt of *July*, condemned this ſentence of *Eugenius* as ſcandalous, ſchiſmatical, and heretical, and prohibited any one, under ſevere penalties, from receiving or publiſhing it. The next day *Felix*, who a few weeks before had arrived at *Baſil*, was ordained biſhop by the cardinal of *Arles*, and afterwards crowned with great ſolemnity. In their forty-ſecond ſeſſion, which was held on the 5th of *Auguſt*, they ordained, that, for the ſupport of *Felix* and his court, the fifth penny of the real value of all benefices, both ſecular and regular, ſhould be paid to his collectors for five years, and for five years more the tenth penny, under pain of ſuſpenſion and interdict. In favour of *Germany* they exempted all benefices that did not exceeed five marks of ſilver, and allowed, that if any nation found themſelves aggrieved by the above tax, they might make a compoſition with *Felix*. Soon after, in a general congregation, they publiſhed a long letter, addreſſed to all the faithful, ſupporting, by many arguments, the authority of a council above a pope, and urging them to yield obedience to *Felix* [y] (M). b c d

Eugenius *denounces an anathema againſt* Felix *and his adherents.*

*The* Greeks *renounce the union concluded at* Florence.

DURING theſe proceedings in the weſtern parts of *Europe*, the *Greek* emperor having returned to *Conſtantinople*, the clergy, the monks, and the reſt of that city, refuſed to celebrate divine ſervice with thoſe who had returned from *Italy*, or to mention them in their prayers, which cauſed great confuſion in that church, and occaſioned a delay in electing the patriarch, none being found who would accept of that dignity [z]. Other authors relate, that, by the perſuaſions of *Mark* of *Epheſus*, who never aſſented to the propoſitions concluded upon at *Florence*, the *Greeks* would not accept of the union; and that even thoſe, who had been in *Italy*, quickly renounced the articles to which they had aſſented in the œcumenical council, notwithſtanding the endeavours of cardinal *Condelmero*, who had been ſent as legate to *Conſtantinople* [a]. The metropolitan of *Ruſſia*, who had been created a cardinal by *Eugenius*, upon his return was likewiſe treated with indignity, and impriſoned at *Moſcow* [b]. Mean while *Eugenius*, having received an accuſation againſt his general, cardinal *Vitelleſchi*, that he had entered into a ſecret treaty with the duke of *Milan*, and intended to ſurprize *Florence*, and ſeize the pontificate, he ſent orders to the governor of the caſtle of St. *Angelo* to entice him within the fortreſs, and to detain him a priſoner. He was accordingly ſurpriſed, but, endeavouring to defend himſelf, he received ſome wounds that occaſioned his death. His ſucceſſor was *Lewis*, archbiſhop of *Florence*, and patriarch of *Aquileia*, who having de- e f

[y] MONSTRELET, vol. ii. ad. an. 1439. CHALCOND. l. vi. ANTON. tit. xxii. c. 2. [z] TURCOGREC. THEODOS. ZYGOMALÆ. l. i. [a] CHALCOND. l. vi. ANTON. tit. xxii. c. 2. [b] MICHOV. rer. Polon. l. iv. c. 57.

(M) both *Eugenius* and *Felix*, at this time, were uſing their utmoſt endeavours to have their authority acknowledged by the different princes of *Europe*. According to *Æneas Sylvius*, *France*, *England*, *Spain*, *Italy*, and *Hungary*, ſubmitted to *Eugenius*; *Savoy*, *Switzerland*, *Baſil*, *Straſburg*, *Camin* in *Pomerania*, and *Albert*, one of the dukes of *Bavaria*, adhered to *Felix*. The king of *Arragon*, the *Poles*, and thoſe of *Bretagne*, only acknowledged the council, and *Germany* embraced a neutrality, neither abſolutely acknowledging the council, nor the two competitors for the pontificate,

a feated and entirely routed the general of the duke of *Milan* at *Anglaria*, was created a cardinal [c] (N).

*The* Jacobines *in* Egypt *embrace the* Roman *faith*;

ABOUT this time an abbot arriving at *Florence*, from the patriarch of the *Jacobines* in *Egypt*, to treat of an union, he was heard in a general congregation on the laſt of *Auguſt*; and, after ſeveral other conferences, a decree was drawn up and publiſhed in the twenty-ninth ſeſſion, held on the 5th of *February*, containing an expoſition of the *Roman* faith, which, by a public inſtrument written in *Arabic* and *Latin*, the abbot accepted, and received in the name of the patriarch and all the *Jacobines* [d]. Soon after *Eugenius* ſent legates to the diet, which was convoked at *Mentz*, to conſult about means to terminate the ſchiſm. At this aſſembly likewiſe arrived the cardinal of *Arles*, and two other new cardinals of *Felix*;
b but the princes declared that they would not acknowledge the cardinals, nor admit the cardinal of *Arles* as legate *à latere*, to which dignity he pretended. After long diſputes, the deputies from *Baſil* at length conſented to drop their pretenſions, and to act only as legates of the council. Both parties were then heard by the diet for ſeveral days alternately; but as they propoſed no means of union, the diet, together with the ambaſſadors of the emperor, the king of *France*, and other princes, reſolved that, to procure the peace of the church, a general council ought to be convoked in ſome other city than *Baſil* or *Florence*, and if either of the popes refuſed to name the place, the emperor ſhould appoint ſix cities in *Germany* and ſix in *France*, one of which ſhould be choſen for the place of the council, which ſhould abſolutely meet on the firſt of *Auguſt* of the following year.

c THE council of *Baſil*, after the return of their deputies, held their forty-third ſeſſion on the firſt of *July*, in which they publiſhed a decree, appointing the celebration of the feaſt of the viſitation of the bleſſed virgin. They had warm diſputes for a long time among themſelves about the form of this decree. As the firſt decree for this feſtival was made by *Boniface* IX. during the grand ſchiſm, and was never received by thoſe who followed the antipope, ſome of the members propoſed that the bull ſhould now be publiſhed in the name of *Felix*, with the approbation of the ſacred council, or, at leaſt, with the addition of the words, *pope* Felix *preſiding*; but the other party prevailed, that the decree ſhould be publiſhed in the name of the ſynod alone. About the ſame time *Eugenius* received a letter from *which is alſo received by the* Abiſſinians.
d an *Ethiopian* abbot ſettled at *Jeruſalem*, profeſſing the ſubjection of his church to that of *Rome*, and informing him that the emperor of *Abiſſinia*, commonly called *Preſter John*, propoſed to ſend ambaſſadors to the council of *Florence*, not with an intention to diſpute, but to receive the judgment of the pope in matters of faith [e]. In conſequence of this letter, *Eugenius*, in the thirtieth ſeſſion, which was held on the 24th of *April*, transferred the council, with the conſent of the members, from *Florence* to *Rome*, to be continued in the *Lateran* church within fifteen days after his return to that city. The fathers at *Baſil* took an occaſion from this new tranſlation to accuſe the pope, alledging, that he had returned to *Rome* to prevent his being compelled to celebrate a council in *Germany*. Soon after they celebrated the forty-fourth ſeſſion on the 9th of *Auguſt*, in which they publiſhed a decree, concerning the entire reſtitution of all thoſe who had been robbed of their benefices on ac-
e count of the council, ordering the uſurpers and detainers to be expelled by the aſſiſtance of the ſecular arm.

A. D. 1442.

*The pope and the council of* Baſil *ſend deputies to the diet of* Frankfort.

MEAN while the cardinal of *Arles* and two cardinals of *Felix* appeared as their deputies at the diet held at *Frankfort*, where the emperor preſided. *Frederic*, propoſing to go to *Aix-la Chapelle* to receive the *German* crown, appointed ſeveral biſhops to hear the arguments of the deputies of both parties. Upon his return, the diet finding that the deputies only renewed the arguments uſed the former year at *Mentz*, reſolved ſtill to adhere to the neutrality, and propoſed the celebration of a council in ſome other city than *Baſil* or *Florence*. The emperor a few weeks afterwards arriving in the neighbourhood of *Baſil*, after ſeveral conferences prevailed with the fathers to agree to a tranſlation of the council. He
f then entered the city, and had an interview with *Felix*, to conſult of the means to procure the peace of the church [f]; and departing after three days, *Felix* likewiſe quitted the city,

[c] ARETIN. Comment. ap Murator, t. xix. p. 942. VOLATER. l. xxii. [d] SPOND. Annal. ad an. 1441.
[e] Idem ad an. 1442. [f] GOLDAST de Stat. Imper. p. 303.

(N) This year cardinal *Branda* made an attempt at *Milan* to aboliſh the office of St. *Ambroſe*, and to introduce the *Roman*. To forward his deſign he expelled the *Ciſtertian* monks, and introduced the *Carthuſians*; but the citizens complaining to the duke, the *Ciſtertians* were reſtored. The cardinal nevertheleſs, having got into his poſſeſſion the book of the *Ambroſian* rites, ſuppoſed to be written by that ſaint's own hand, and carefully preſerved in the church of St. *Thecla*, on *Chriſtmas*-day he cauſed divine ſervice to be celebrated according to the *Roman* office; which proceeding ſo exaſperated the citizens, that they ran with torches to his houſe, and threatened to ſet it on fire, if he did not reſtore the book. The cardinal, greatly terrified with their menaces, threw the manuſcript from the window, and next day fled from *Milan* (8).

(8) *Corius, p.* 5.

and went to *Lauſanne*, on pretence of re-eſtabliſhing his health, promiſing to return to the council in the ſpring. *Eugenius* in ſome meaſure likewiſe complied with the demands of the emperor, declaring, that, tho' to doubt the authority of the council of *Florence* was to oppoſe the catholic faith, yet in regard to the *German* princes, upon his arrival at *Rome* he would aſſemble a greater number of prelates to conſult whether it was expedient to celebrate another council, and in the mean time would ſend his legates into *Germany*. a

*The pope recovers ſome of the patrimony, and* A. D. 1443.

THE pope about the ſame time ſent cardinal *Julian* as his legate into *Hungary*, to mediate a peace betwixt the party that adhered to the infant, ſon of the late emperor *Albert*, and the other faction, who had conferred their crown upon the king of *Poland*; and to excite them both againſt the *Turks*, who were then beſieging *Belgrade* with an immenſe army. He likewiſe denounced an anathema againſt *Francis Sforza*, who had uſurped ſeveral places in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate; but this cenſure being deſpiſed by his adverſary, he had recourſe to temporal arms, and in a ſhort time recovered the territory of *Picenum* [g]. In the beginning of the following ſpring, he left *Florence* and proceeded to *Siena*, where he continued ſix months. During his reſidence in this city, *Alphonſus* king of *Arragon*, who the year before had conquered *Naples*, propoſed a reconciliation with him, on condition that he confirmed his new conqueſts. The king at the ſame time was negociating with *Felix*, who on condition that he adhered to the council of *Baſil*, promiſed to confirm his adoption by queen *Jane*, and the title of his kingdom, and to give him 200,000 crowns to recover the patrimony of the church. *Alphonſus* accepted of theſe conditions; but his ambaſſadors in the mean time obtaining better terms from *Eugenius*, he again ſtarted new difficulties with *Felix*, and, on the 14th of *June*, concluded a treaty with the pope, who offered to give him the kingdom of *Naples* with the ſame forms and rights as had been uſed by former popes, and to abſolve him from the payment of all the money which he owed to the apoſtolic chamber, on condition that *Alphonſus* took the oath of allegiance to him, reſtored the towns belonging to the church which he had ſeized, and ſent ſix gallies againſt the *Turks*, and 4000 horſe againſt *Francis Sforza*. Some other articles were agreed upon, with regard to the liberty of eccleſiaſtics, and the privileges of the ſubjects, as they had been ſettled by *William* II. The pope likewiſe legitimated *Ferdinand*, the king's natural ſon; but to prevent his being reproached with ſuch a conceſſion, he ſtipulated that the bull ſhould not be publiſhed during his life [h]. Immediately after the concluſion of this treaty, *Alphonſus* publiſhed a letter, declaring, that he acknowleged *Eugenius* as the undoubted vicar of Chriſt, and ordering all his ſubjects to yield him obedience. He likewiſe wrote to the prelates of his dominions who were at *Baſil*, deſiring them to quit that city; and according to the acts of *Patricius*, he, together with the *Venetians*, *Florentines*, and other *Italians*, exhorted the emperor to agree to the celebration of a general council at the *Lateran*. b c d

*gives the inveſtiture of* Naples *to* Alphonſus.

*The council of* Baſil *conſent to a tranſlation to ſome other city.*

THE council of *Baſil* in the mean time ſolicited the return of *Felix*; but he replied, that he found it more for the advantage of his cauſe to reſide at *Geneva* or *Lauſanne*, and at the ſame time entreated them to relax the decree againſt the creation of cardinals. After much diſpute, the fathers at laſt granted his requeſt, and in the forty-fifth ſeſſion, which was held on the 13th of *May*, they decreed, that another general council ſhould be celebrated after three years in the city of *Lyons*, which city had been choſen by *Felix*, to whom they granted a power of ſhortening the term. Nevertheleſs, they ordained that the council of *Baſil* was not thereby diſſolved, but that they intended to continue it in that city, provided the magiſtrates did not violate the ſafe conduct which they had formerly granted. This is generally reckoned the laſt ſeſſion of the council of *Baſil*, both the printed and manuſcript acts concluding at this period. Nevertheleſs, ſome prelates remained five years longer both at *Baſil* and *Lauſanne*, altho' there is ſcarce any author that takes the leaſt notice of their proceedings. Several of their decrees tended to remove the groſs corruptions and abuſes that at that time deformed the Chriſtian religion; but, in their proceedings againſt *Eugenius*, they ſeem to have been influenced more by faction and reſentment than by motives of piety. e

*The pope returns to* Rome.

Not long after *Eugenius* proceeded from *Siena* to *Rome*; but, inſtead of being received with acclamation, the day after his arrival the people threatened to mutiny, as the taxes had lately been doubled, and a new duty laid upon wine. To appeaſe their murmurs the pope called out in the ſtreet, declaring that he aboliſhed the late exactions, and a few days after he wrote to the princes of *Europe*, informing them of his intention to celebrate a general council in the *Lateran* church [i]. f

*A cruſade preached againſt the* Turks. A. D. 1444.

HAVING this year ordered a cruſade to be preached againſt the *Turks*, many volunteers went into *Hungary* from *France* and *Germany*, by whoſe aſſiſtance *Uladiſlaus* gained a ſignal victory over the infidels, and purſued them as far as the confines of *Thrace*, gaining ſeveral other advantages over them. On the news of theſe ſucceſſes, great preparations were made by the pope in *Italy* to carry on the war, and in conjunction with the *Venetians*,

[g] RAG. Hiſt. l. viii. ap. Murat. t. xx. p. 415. [h] SURIT. Hiſt. l. xv. c. 18. 32. [i] PLATINA in Vit. Eugen.

*Genoeſe*,

a *Genoese*, and the duke of *Burgundy*, he sent a fleet of seventy gallies to the *Hellespont*, under the command of cardinal *Condelmero*, to prevent the infidels from receiving any succours from *Asia*. *Amurath* being informed of the great preparations against him in *Europe*, and hearing likewise of the revolt of some provinces in *Asia*, prevailed with the king of *Hungary* to agree to a truce for ten years; after the ratifying of which he passed the *Hellespont*, and marched against the rebels. *Eugenius* was greatly offended with the king for agreeing to any treaty with the infidels, and absolved him from the oath, which he affirmed he was not at liberty to take without his permission. Cardinal *Julian* likewise insisting that now was the time for extirpating the *Turks* from *Europe*, *Uladislaus* was prevailed upon to renew the war, and marched with his army into *Lower Mæsia*; but *Amurath*
b having bribed the *Genoese* to transport his army over the *Hellespont*, attacked the *Hungarians* at *Varna*, and gained an entire victory, *Uladislaus* and cardinal *Julian* being among the number of the slain [k]. *Eugenius* in the mean time sent deputies to the diet of *Nuremberg*; but, tho' others appeared likewise for *Felix*, the *German* princes still adhered to their former resolution, and proposed a council to be held either in *Germany* or *France*. About this time *Abdalla*, archbishop of *Edessa*, arriving at *Rome*, in the name of the *Syrian* patriarch and nation, to treat of an union, the pope celebrated the thirty-first session in the *Lateran*, in which a decree was published, explaining the three doctrines in which the *Syrians* differed from the *Roman* church, namely, concerning the procession of the Holy Ghost, and the two natures and two wills in Christ. This decree was accepted in the
c public session by the *Syrian* deputy, in the name of his nation.

The following year *Æneas Sylvius* arrived at *Rome* as an ambassador from the emperor, and in an elegant discourse, having asked pardon for what he had done and written against *Eugenius* at *Basil*, he explained the purport of his embassy; which was to desire the celebration of a council in *Germany*. The pope refused to grant his request, and soon after, deputies arriving from the *Maronites* and *Chaldeans* in *Cyprus*, professing their submission to the *Roman* church, in a general congregation he published a decree in their behalf. These different sects of eastern Christians had been prevailed upon to send their deputies to *Rome* by the archbishop of *Colosse*, or *Rhodes*, who had been sent into the east by *Eugenius*, to sollicit their submission to the *Roman* see; however, the authority of the apostolic see was not there-
d by greatly enlarged, but the vanity of the pope was gratified by the empty ceremony. While *Eugenius* was receiving the submission of the *Maronites* in *Cyprus*, his authority was opposed by the catholics in the same island, the king not only refusing to grant the archbishopric of *Nicosia* to the person appointed by the pope, but even expelling him the island, and throwing the pope's nuncio into prison. However, soon after, at the sollicitation of the master of the knights of *Rhodes*, the king admitted the archbishop, and set the nuncio at liberty [l].

*The emperor sends an embassy to the pope*; A D. 1445.

About this time, the pope having deposed the electors of *Cologn* and *Triers*, in resentment for their adherence to the council of *Basil*, the other electors, offended with his pro-
e ceeding, assembled at *Frankfort*, and entered into a treaty of union, that, if *Eugenius* did not annul the sentence of deposition, abolish the grievous taxes with which he oppressed *Germany*, and acknowledge the supremacy of councils, according to the decrees of that of *Constance*, they would then adhere to *Felix*. They desired the emperor to accede to their treaty; but he refused, and only consented to petition the pope to reverse the sentence. *Æneas Sylvius* accordingly having represented to the pope the danger of a general schism in *Germany*, he agreed to revoke his decree, and sent two legates to another diet, held in the same city, in the month of *September*, with a full authority to grant every thing to the *Germans* that might facilitate the union, without prejudice to the apostolic see. The fathers, who still remained at *Basil*, likewise sent their deputies to this diet, and before their departure they declared in a public assembly, that they would convoke a general council, and would
f transfer themselves to whatever city the emperor and electors, or their ambassadors, should name in the approaching assembly. Great disputes arose in the diet upon several points, but chiefly with regard to the treaty of union betwixt the electors, which the legates insisted upon being annulled, before they would begin the negotiations. The *German* princes refusing absolutely to comply with their demand, *Æneas Sylvius* proposed some articles as a medium, by which the interests of *Germany* and the pretensions of the pope might be reconciled. These propositions were embraced by the diet, who appointed ambassadors to pro-
creed to *Rome*, to obtain the approbation of the pope. The ambassadors, upon their arrival, were received with great honour, and three days afterwards had an audience in a private consistory, where *Æneas Sylvius*, in the name of the rest, proposed the four articles agreed
g to in the diet; first, that a general council should be convoked, and the place and time for its meeting determined; that the pope should confirm by a bull the declaration of his le-

*who deposes the electors of* Cologn *and* Triers. A. D. 1446.

*The Germans renounce the neutrality, and adhere to* Eugenius; A D. 1447.

[k] Gobel. Comment. l. i. Æneas Sylv. Europ. c. 5.

[l] Bos. Hist. Rhod. t. ii. l. 6.

gates concerning the pre-eminence and authority of general councils; ſhould redreſs the grievances of the *German* nation; and laſtly, ſhould revoke what had been done to the prejudice of the two electors. The reconciliation being effected in a few other conferences, during the abſence of *Eugenius*, who was ſick, the ambaſſadors were admitted into his bed-chamber, and, after they had made their ſubmiſſion to him as pope, he delivered the bull into the hands of *Æneas*, by which he confirmed a great many things concerning benefices and annates which had been decreed by the council of *Baſil* after the ſchiſm, abſolving all thoſe who had adhered to that council after its diſſolution, if they returned to the obedience of the apoſtolic ſee within ſix months. He promiſed to convoke a general council within ten months, provided he could obtain the conſent of the ſovereigns of *Europe*; if not, he offered to aſſemble another within eighteen months in a city that ſhould be judged convenient. He acknowledged the authority of councils truly œcumenical, without declaring whether they were ſuperior to a pope or not, and he received that of *Conſtance* in the ſame manner as it had been received by *Martin* V. and his ſucceſſors; and laſtly, he promiſed to redreſs the grievances of the *German* nation, and to re-eſtabliſh the archbiſhops and electors [m]. *Eugenius* ſurvived the publication of this bull but ſixteen days, and died on the 23d of *February*, in the ſixteenth year of his pontificate. He is ſaid, by *Platina*, to have been a great patron of ſchools and learned men, though not very learned himſelf; to have favoured the monks, to whom he granted many privileges; but he is accuſed of inconſtancy, and a love for war [n].

*who dies a few days after at* Rome.

Nicolas V. *is elected,*

On the eleventh day after the death of *Eugenius*, eighteen cardinals entered the conclave, and unanimouſly choſe *Thomas* of *Sarzana*, ſo called from a little town in the territory of *Lucca* where he was born. He had been created a cardinal a few months before by *Eugenius*, upon his return from the laſt diet of *Frankfort*, and is ſaid at firſt to have refuſed the pontifical dignity; but, at the intreaty of all the cardinals, he ſubmitted, and aſſuming the name of *Nicolas* V. in memory of cardinal *Albergati*, who had been his great patron, and in whoſe family he had lived ſeveral years [o], he was conſecrated on the 16th of *March*. While the cardinals were in the conclave, one *Stephen Porcaro*, a *Roman* knight, aſſembled ſeveral citizens in one of the churches, and exhorted them to aſſert their liberty, or, at leaſt, to limit the power of their governors; but the archbiſhop of *Benevento* oppoſing his propoſal, the ſedition was prevented. *Eugenius* having for ſome time before his death been engaged with the duke of *Milan*, and the king of *Naples*, in a war againſt the *Florentines*, *Alphonſus* had arrived with his army at *Tivoli*, on his way to *Tuſcany*; but, hearing of the pope's death, he deliberated whether he ſhould advance or return. At length, *Nicolas* having ſent a cardinal to *Ferrara* to treat of a general peace, *Alphonſus*, the duke of *Milan*, the *Venetians*, and the *Florentines*, ſent their deputies thither; but their conferences were broke off by the ſudden death of the duke of *Milan*. *Nicolas* in the mean time ſent cardinal *Carvajal* as his legate into *Germany*, to notify his election to the emperor, who aſſembled the ſtates of the empire at *Aſchaffemburgh*, where the neutrality was finally aboliſhed, and *Nicolas* acknowledged as lawful pope [p], the emperor ſoon after publiſhing a decree for that purpoſe. About the ſame time the king of *France*, who likewiſe deſired to acknowlege *Nicolas*, held a congreſs at *Lyons*, at which were preſent the archbiſhops of *Cologn* and *Triers*, the deputies of the other electors, with thoſe of the kings of *England* and *Sicily*, and the cardinal of *Arles*, with others from *Felix*. After ſome conferences they proceeded to *Geneva*, where *Felix* was; and, with his conſent, compoſed ſome articles, which, if *Nicolas* would agree to, *Felix* promiſed to abdicate.

*and acknowleged by the empire,*

*and the* Poles, *who ſend an embaſſy to* Rome.

A. D. 1448.

Mean while *Nicholas* received an embaſſy from *Poland*, deſiring a tax of ten thouſand florins to be raiſed upon the eccleſiaſtics for a war againſt the *Tartars*; the hundredth penny was likewiſe demanded, and a remiſſion of St. *Peter*'s pence, and the right of conferring all the benefices in *Poland*. The pope only granted their firſt demand, and allowed the king to ſupply ninety vacancies in the province of *Gneſna*. Soon after he confirmed, by a bull, ſome articles that had been agreed upon betwixt his legate and the emperor, with regard to the method of proviſion of vacant benefices in the empire (O); and, being informed of the diſturbances in *Bohemia*, he appointed the ſame cardinal as his legate in that kingdom. The cardinal, upon his arrival at *Prague*, was received with great reſpect by *Mainard* of *New-*

[m] Comment. Pii. II. l. i. Anton. l. xxii. c. 11. Rer. Mogun. t. i. p. 762. Rainald. ad an. 1446. [n] Platin. in Vit. Eugen. [o] Idem in Vit. Nicol. [p] Leibn. par. i. p. 77. Cochl. l. ix. in fin.

(O) See a tranſlation of this bull or concordat at the end of the hiſtory of the *German* empire. Its regulations have not been exactly obſerved by the following popes, ſince, upon the complaint of the ſtates of the empire, the emperors have always promiſed, in their capitulations, not to allow the concordat to be violated. The vacant benefices in *Germany* at this day are conferred according to its regulations, and the biſhoprics of *Toul*, *Metz*, and *Verdun*, have been comprehended in it by particular bulls (9).

(9) *Schil. de Libertate Eccleſ. Germ. t.* i. *l.* vii. *p.* 929.



*houſe,*

a *houſe*, the adminiſtrator of the kingdom, and by the clergy and univerſity. The ſtates of the kingdom being then aſſembled, the *Huſſites*, who were the moſt powerful party, demanded of the legate to confirm the compactata concluded at *Baſil*, and to confirm the archbiſhopric of *Prague* upon *Rockyſanus*. The legate, refuſing to grant theſe two points, was immediately obliged to quit the kingdom; and *Mainard*, being accuſed of an intention to deſtroy their privilegess, and ſubject them to the emperor and the pope, they formed a conſpiracy againſt him, and admitted *George Podiebrad*, the chief of the *Huſſites*, into *Prague*; who, having impriſoned *Mainard*, aſſumed the adminiſtration of the government, in which he was afterwards confirmed by the young king *Ladiſlaus*. During theſe proceedings in *Bohemia*, the deputies from the king of *France* and the other princes arrived at *Rome*, with the articles
b agreed to at *Geneva*. *Nicolas* received them with great honour, but refuſed to confirm all the articles. However he agreed to ſeveral of them, which being afterwards preſented to *Felix*, he conſented to abdicate.

*His legate is obliged to quit* Bohemia.

A. D. 1449. Felix *abdicates, and the council of* Baſil *is diſſolved.*

The remains of the council of *Baſil*, which had been obliged to quit that city and retire to *Lauſanne*, determined to ſhew their authority in terminating the ſchiſm; accordingly, on the 23d of *April*, they publiſhed a decree, permitting *Felix* to reſign the pontificate, and, as a grateful acknowledgement for the aſſiſtance he had given to the perſecuted church, they created him a cardinal and biſhop of *Subino*, and perpetual vicar and legate of the apoſtolic ſee in the territories of the duke of *Savoy*; that he ſhould enjoy the next rank to the pope, ſhould uſe every where enſigns of his legation, and ſhould not be obliged to ap-
c pear perſonally at the court of *Rome* or general council. They then ordered all Chriſtians to obey *Nicolas*, after which they diſſolved the council. This news was received at *Rome* with great joy, the people the following night riding through the ſtreets with torches, and calling out, *Long live* Nicolas. The pope likewiſe ordered ſupplications in the *Vatican*, and on the 16th of *June*, publiſhed three bulls; by the firſt of which he confirmed all promotions, elections, or ſettlements whatever, formerly approved by *Felix*, or the councils of *Baſil* and *Lauſanne*; by the ſecond he reſtored all thoſe who had been deprived of their dignities or benefices by *Eugenius* for adhering to the council of *Baſil*; and by the third he declared null and void all that had been done and written againſt *Felix* and his adherents, and ordered all ſuch writings to be aboliſhed, and expunged from the regiſters of
d *Eugenius* and all other places. As the duke of *Milan* had died without a will, or any lawful heir, his dominions became immediately the ſubject of diſpute, and, notwithſtanding the utmoſt endeavours of *Nicolas* to procure a peace, hoſtilities ſtill continued betwixt the *Venetians* and *Francis Sforza*, the laſt of whom, having married the natural daughter of the late duke, pretended to be his heir. *Francis*, having ſtormed *Placenza*, and obliged the *Venetians* to agree to a peace, turned his arms againſt the *Milaneſe*; and in the beginning of the following year, having obliged the city of *Milan* to ſurrender, he was ſoon after acknowleged as duke [q].

A. D. 1449.

Nicolas was chiefly deſirous of pacifying *Italy*, that the pilgrims, who ſhould viſit *Rome* on account of the jubilee, might meet with no interruption. In conſequence of his bull
e for that purpoſe, this feſtival began to be celebrated at *Rome*, with great ſolemnity at *Chriſtmas*. Immenſe crouds of people, of both ſexes, and all ranks, arrived at that city during the whole year; the pope, who, with his cardinals, viſited the ſacred places almoſt every day, being obliged frequently to ſhorten the term of fifteen days viſitation appointed for foreigners; by that means to leſſen the great concourſe of ſtrangers, who were frequently trampled to death [r]. Towards the end of the jubilee, *Æneas Sylvius* arrived at *Rome* from *Naples*, and in a public conſiſtory declared the intentions of the emperor to come the following year to *Italy* to receive the imperial crown. He likewiſe deſired the pope to agree to celebrate a general council in *Germany*, and informed his holineſs, that, at *Naples*, he
f had concluded a treaty of marriage betwixt the emperor and *Eleonora*, the niece of *Alphonſus*, and ſiſter to the king of *Portugal*. The pope, having received a bad impreſſion of the deſigns of the emperor, did not ſeem to reliſh his journey into *Italy*; but, *Æneas Sylvius* diſpelling his apprehenſions, he agreed to the propoſal of the emperor, and created *Æneas* biſhop of *Siena* [s]. The biſhop, ſoon after his return to *Germany*, was ſent by the emperor into *Bohemia*, as his ambaſſador to the ſtates, who had aſſembled at *Beneſchaw*, and threatened to elect another king, as *Frederic* had refuſed to part with his pupil *Ladiſlaus*. *Æneas*, by his eloquence, had ſuch an influence upon the ſtates, that they not only declared themſelves ſatisfied with the proceedings of the emperor, but appointed ſeveral nobles of their kingdom to accompany him in his journey to *Italy* [t].

*A jubilee celebrated at* Rome. A. D. 1450.

A. D. 1451.

g About the ſame time the pope ſent cardinal *Cuſanus* as his legate into *Germany*, to diſpoſe of the indulgencies of the jubilee year, to raiſe money for the *Turkiſh* war. For the

[q] Anton. t. xxii. c. 12. Poc. Hiſt. Flor. ap. Murat. t. xx. p. 424, 425. [r] Anton. ut ſup. Platin. in Vit. Nicol. [s] Bzov. Annal. ad an. 1451. [t] Æneas Sylv. Hiſt. Boem. c. 58. ejuſd. Epiſt. 129. ad Card. Carvajal.

*The indulgences of the jubilee year ſent to* Germany *and* Poland.

ſame purpoſe he ſent another legate into *Poland*, ordering that every one ſhould put the half of that money which he would have expended in his journey to *Rome* into a public coffer, and that the half of the money ſo collected ſhould be given to the king as a ſubſidy for the war againſt the *Turks*; that one half of what remained ſhould be given to the queen to be beſtowed in dowries to poor maidens, and the other half ſent to the pope to repair the churches of *Rome* [u]. Upon the murmurs of the people, he afterwards reduced his ſhare to an eighth of the whole. Being likewiſe informed of the death of *Amurath*, emperor of the *Turks*, and the ſucceſſion of his ſon *Mohammed* II. a young prince of great ambition, and an implacable enemy of the Chriſtians, he wrote to *Conſtantinople*, reproaching the *Greeks* with the breach of the union concluded at *Florence*, and requiring them to abandon the ſchiſm, if they expected any aſſiſtance from the weſtern princes [w]. The *Greeks*, notwithſtanding the calamities with which they were threatened, ſeem to have had no inclination to unite with the *Roman* church; for this ſame year they wrote to the *Bohemian Huſſites*, commending them for rejecting the *Roman* innovations, and preſerving the ancient faith, in which they exhorted them to perſevere; at the ſame time deſiring them to unite with them, not according to the pretended and erroneous union concluded at *Florence*, but according to the immutable decree delivered by the fathers, and obſerved by the *Greeks* [x]. a b

*The emperor enters* Italy, *and* A. D. 1452.

MEAN while the emperor, having ſettled the affairs of *Germany*, entered *Italy* with the young king of *Bohemia*, and a large body of nobility; who, to prevent giving umbrage to the pope and the ſtates of *Italy*, came with a very ſmall military eſcort. He was received every where with great honour, and at *Siena* he was joined by the young empreſs, who had arrived by ſea from *Lisbon*. Proceeding with her to *Rome*, he arrived at that city on the 9th of *March*, where he was received by thirteen cardinals, all the clergy and magiſtrates, with great ceremony, and conducted to the ſteps of St. *Peter*, where the pope waited for him in his pontifical ornaments. *Nicolas*, a few days after, by the plenitude of his power, conferred upon him the crown of *Lombardy*, and, on the 16th of *March*, he was ſolemnly crowned emperor of the *Romans*, after taking the uſual oath to the pope. The empreſs being likewiſe crowned, *Frederic* proceeded with her to *Naples* to viſit her uncle *Alphonſus*, who entertained them for two weeks with great magnificence. Upon his return he created the marquis of *Ette* duke of *Modena* and *Reggio*, at *Ferrara*; and, proceeding from thence to *Venice*, was received with great magnificence by that republic, and ſoon after returned to *Germany*. c *is crowned at* Rome. d

FREDERIC, during his reſidence at *Rome*, propoſed a general expedition againſt the *Turks*, for the aſſiſtance of the *Greeks* againſt whom *Mohammed* was making immenſe preparations [y]. This motion, however, produced no good effect; for, excepting a few auxiliaries from the *Venetians* and *Genoeſe*, the *Greeks* received no aſſiſtance from any other *European* ſtates, and the *Turkiſh* emperor advancing againſt *Conſtantinople* in the beginning of *April*, with an army of 250,000 men, and a fleet of 320 great and ſmall ſhips, on the 29th of *May* took that city by ſtorm, killing 40,000 men, and taking 60,000 captives, and thereby putting an end to the *Greek* empire [z]. After the city had been pillaged for three days, *Mohammed* publiſhed an edict, promiſing his protection to the Chriſtians who ſhould return to *Conſtantinople*. He not only allowed them to elect a new patriarch, but, according to the cuſtom obſerved by the emperors, preſented the perſon elected with a golden paſtoral ſtaff enriched with diamonds, and conducted him, with acclamations, to his palace. The pope, upon hearing of the loſs of *Conſtantinople*, renewed his exhortations to the Chriſtian princes to unite their arms againſt the infidels. For this purpoſe, the following year, a diet was held at *Ratisbon*, at which was preſent the duke of *Burgundy*, who was very zealous for the expedition; but, the emperor not ſeeming to intereſt himſelf with warmth in the deſign, nothing material was effected [a]. It was only agreed to hold another diet at *Frankfort* in the month of *September*, to apply to the *French* for a body of horſe, and to requeſt the *Italians* to fit out a fleet for *Greece* and *Aſia*. Almoſt all the kings and princes of *Europe* were invited to ſend their deputies to the diet at *Frankfort*. In the mean time, one *Simonetus*, an *Auguſtine* friar, by his frequent exhortations, at length prevailed with *Sforza*, the *Venetians* and *Florentines*, to conclude a peace, which was afterwards ratified at *Naples* by *Alphonſus*, and *Dominicus Capranius*, cardinal of the holy croſs, an alliance being likewiſe concluded betwixt all the ſtates of *Italy*, except the *Genoeſe*, for twenty years, each party agreeing to refer their future diſputes to the deciſion of the pope, and not to renew hoſtilities againſt one another, unleſs authorized by an apoſtolic bull [b]. During the negociations at *Naples*, the diet was celebrated at *Frankfort*, and, by the perſuaſions of *Æneas Sylvius* the aſſembly agreed to grant 10,000 horſe and 32,000 foot to the *Hungarians*; after e f g

Conſtantinople *is taken by the* Turks. A. D. 1453.

[u] MICHOV. l. iv. c. 59. & 65. [w] SPOND. Annal. hoc an. [x] Ext. apud Rerum Boem. ſcript. [y] ÆN. Epiſt. 399. [z] PHRA. l. iii. & alii plur. [a] Comment. Pii II. l. 1. [b] POG. Hiſt. apud Murat. ut ſup. PLATIN. in Vit. Nicol. V.

which

a which reſolution, the electors of the empire, and the princes of *Germany*, had a conference with the emperor at *Neuſtadt*, to conſult of the means for raiſing the troops; but their deliberations, when they were almoſt brought to a concluſion, were interrupted by the news of the death of the pope, which happened on the 22d of *March*. *Nicolas* is celebrated by the hiſtorians of thoſe times for his great liberality, eſpecially to learned men. He was at great pains and expence in procuring the ancient *Greek* authors, and cauſing them to be tranſlated into the *Latin* tongue; and likewiſe ſent learned men into all the kingdoms of *Europe*, to ſearch the monaſteries and churches for the manuſcripts of the *Latin* authors [c].

*The* Germans *promiſe to ſend auxiliaries to* Hungary. A. D. 1455. *Their march is prevented by the death of he pope*

A FEW days after the death of *Nicolas*, the eighteen cardinals who were at *Rome* entered the conclave, and, according to *Æneas Sylvius*, the greateſt number of them propoſed to b elect cardinal *Beſſarion*, one of the *Greeks* who had remained in *Italy* after the council of *Florence*; but the archbiſhop of *Avignon* objecting to him as a neophyte, or new convert, and urging the danger of a ſchiſm, he was ſet aſide, and *Alphonſo Borgia*, a cardinal prieſt, was elected, who took the name of *Calixtus* III. *Alphonſo* was born of a noble family, at *Sativa* in *Spain*, and having diſtinguiſhed himſelf by procuring the abdication of *Ægidius*, the ſucceſſor of *Peter de Luna*, he was created biſhop of *Valentia* by *Martin* V. *Eugenius* IV. promoted him to the cardinalate for his ſervices in procuring a peace betwixt him and *Alphonſus* king of *Naples*, and at his promotion to the pontificate he had now entered the 77th year of his age, and was very decrepit. However, immediately after his coronation, he engaged by a ſolemn vow to make war upon the *Turks*, and to execute that deſign, acted with c great ſpirit and vigour. He ſent legates and preachers into the different provinces of *Europe*, to excite the Chriſtians to a cruſade againſt the infidels, impoſed a tythe upon all eccleſiaſtical perſons of whatever dignity for the ſupport of that war, wrote to the king of *Perſia* and to the king of the *Tartars* to attack the *Turkiſh* provinces in *Aſia*, and, ordering ſixteen gallies to be built and fitted out at *Rome*, ſent them under the command of cardinal *Lewis*, patriarch of *Aquileia*, to attack the iſlands and maritime places in the *Archipelago*. In conſequence of his ardour, ſeveral princes of *Europe* likewiſe expreſſed their fondneſs for that expedition. The king of *Naples* and the duke of *Burgundy* took the croſs, promiſing either to go in perſon, or to ſend a body of troops againſt the infidels. The emperor about the ſame time ſent *Æneas Sylvius* to *Rome* to congratulate the pope upon his promotion, and to d promiſe his aſſiſtance againſt the *Turks*. This embaſſy, however, was not without great oppoſition from the *German* princes, who inſiſted that the pope ought to confirm the concordata that had been ratified by his predeceſſor, before the emperor yielded him obedience; but their remonſtrances were over-ruled by *Æneas*.

*Calixtus* III. *is elected.*

*He acts with great vigour againſt the* Turks.

IN the mean time the king of *Naples* and *Arragon*, inſtead of fulfilling his vow againſt the *Turks*, quarreled with *Calixtus*, whom he did not find ſo compliable with his inclinations as he expected. As the pope had formerly been his counſellor, and had obtained the cardinalate by his intereſt, the king imagined that his demands would meet with no denial, and therefore deſired not only the eventual inveſtiture of *Naples* for his natural ſon *Ferdinand*, but alſo the poſſeſſion of the march of *Ancona*, and ſeveral other places in the eccleſia- e ſtical ſtate. The pope refuſing to grant theſe demands, *Alphonſus* conceived a great reſentment againſt him, which continued during his whole life [d]. *Calixtus*, notwithſtanding the enmity of the king of *Naples*, did not abate in his zeal againſt the *Turks*; and, in the beginning of the following year, ordered proceſſions to be made, and prayers to be uſed, over all *Europe* againſt the infidels, with the offer of large indulgencies. Soon after he had the ſatisfaction to find that his endeavours were not altogether unſucceſsful; for though the Chriſtian princes gave little attention to the cruſade, yet *John Capiſtran*, a *Franciſcan*, who had made himſelf famous by his preaching in *Germany*, marched from thence at the head of 40,000 cruſaders, and, joining the *Hungarian* army under the command of *Hunniades*, raiſed the ſiege of *Belgrade*, killing 40,000 of the enemy, and taking 200 pieces of cannon. f Not long after the pope created nine cardinals, among whom was *Æneas Sylvius*; and the following ſpring, having received a letter from *Hungary*, informing him that *Mohammed* had entered into an alliance with the ſoltan of *Egypt*, and was aſſembling an immenſe army to renew the ſiege of *Belgrade*, and had ſworn not to retire till he had taken the city, although he ſhould hear of the loſs of half of *Aſia*, he wrote to the emperor and the king of *Naples*, urging them to ſend ſuccours to the *Hungarians*.

*Difference between him and the king of* Naples.

A. D. 1456.

*An army of cruſaders marches to the relief of* Belgrade.

A. D. 1457.

HIS information, however, was falſe, for the *Turkiſh* emperor marched into *Albania* againſt *Scanderbeg*. But, if the *Hungarians* had been invaded, the Chriſtian princes were not at all in the humour of giving them aſſiſtance. *Alphonſus* king of *Naples* fitted out a conſiderable fleet, under pretence of joining that of the pope, but he employed it in invad- g ing the territories of *Genoa*. The kings of *Caſtile*, *Denmark*, and *Poland*, allowed the pope's collectors to carry off one half only of the tax raiſed by the tythe and indulgencies, and re-

*The Chriſtian princes do not ſecond the efforts of the pope.*

[c] Idem ibid. SPOND. Annal. [d] Comment. Pii. II. l. ii. SPOND. Annal. RAINALD ad an. 1456.

tained the other as a ſupply againſt their particular enemies [c]. The king of *France* is accuſed by S. *Antoninus* and *Æneas Sylvius* of having totally miſapplied the money that was raiſed againſt the *Turks*. *Antoninus* affirms, that he ordered it to be depoſited with ſome faithful perſons, to be afterwards expended in paying the *French* ſoldiers that ſhould engage in the cruſade; but, in reality, he fitted out a ſmall fleet, and made a deſcent on the *Engliſh* coaſt at *Sandwich* [f]. According to *Æneas*, the ſon of *Rene* duke of *Anjou* employed twenty-four gallies, that had been built at *Avignon* by the cardinal legate, in an expedition againſt the kingdom of *Naples* [g]. The *Germans* likewiſe, thinking themſelves greatly aggrieved, made loud complaints againſt the proceedings of the pope; they accuſed him of violating the concordata, and quite exhauſting the kingdom by his exceſſive taxes. Several princes and prelates had therefore propoſed to enter into a pragmatic ſanction, the chief articles of which were, that the *Germans* ſhould not be obliged to obey the apoſtolic ſee, and that no money ſhould be carried from thence to the court of *Rome*. *Calixtus* ordered *Æneas Sylvius* to juſtify his proceedings to the *Germans*. The cardinal accordingly wrote not only to the emperor, but to the chancellor of the archbiſhop of *Mentz*, anſwering particularly all the articles of their grievances. As to the exceſſive taxes, he declared that the pope had exacted no money from *Germany*, excepting the annates which were of great antiquity; what had been offered for the *Turkiſh* expedition, which indeed required vaſt ſums, he had not avariciouſly hoarded, or laviſhed in luxury, but employed in ſubſidies to *Scanderbeg* and the *Greeks* in the *Archipelago*, and in fitting out a fleet againſt the *Turks*, by which he might juſtly boaſt that he had done more for the common cauſe than all the princes of *Europe* beſides. By the concordata he inſiſted that the pope was not bound to confirm all elections, but only ſuch as were canonical, and that altho' by the plenitude of his power, he had a right even to ſet aſide a canonical election, yet he had not hitherto uſed that privilege; that, whatever were their grievances, to pretend to oppoſe the apoſtolic authority by any pragmatic ſanction was iniquitous, or to appeal from that ſee to a general council was abſurd, being a confounding and perverting of the whole ſtate of the catholic religion [h]. The *Germans*, however, ſtill remained diſſatisfied; one *James Wimpheling* publiſhed an anſwer to the letters of *Æneas* [i], and the biſhop of *Wurtzburg* not only took the money from the collectors, but expelled the pope's nuncios from his territories, in which proceeding he was countenanced by the archbiſhop of *Mentz* [k].

*The* Germans *make great complaints againſt him, and expel his nuncios.*

THE pope in the mean time ſent two other gallies to join thoſe under the command of the patriarch of *Aquileia*, who had recovered ſeveral iſlands from the *Turks*, and taken and ſunk a great many of their ſhips. About the ſame time the peace of *Rome* being greatly diſturbed by the family of the *Urſini*, who had had recourſe to arms to aſſert their right to a certain territory, *Calixtus* appointed his nephew *Borgia* governor of *Rome*, and general of the church forces. Soon after, being informed of the death of *Alphonſus* king of *Naples*, he immediately conferred ſeveral wealthy biſhoprics in that kingdom, which authority he durſt not uſe during the life of the king. He likewiſe declared the kingdom of *Apulia* vacant by his death, and to have fallen to the apoſtolic ſee, charging *Ferdinand*, under pain of excommunication, not to concern himſelf with it, or aſſume the name of king; and warning the princes and ſtates of the kingdom, under the ſame penalty, not to adhere to him. *Ferdinand* at firſt endeavoured to ſooth the mind of the pope by letters and embaſſies; but finding him inflexible, he appealed to a future council, and aſſembled an army, with which he propoſed to march to *Rome*; but he was quickly freed from his inveterate enemy by death, which happened to him on the 7th of *Auguſt*, in the third year and fourth month of his pontificate [l] (P).

A. D. 1458.

*The pope, upon the death of the king of* Naples, *claims that kingdom;*

*but dies at* Rome.

CALIXTUS being interred with the uſual ceremonies, a few days after the cardinals entered the conclave, and on the third day choſe for his ſucceſſor *Æneas Sylvius Picolomini*, who took the name of *Pius* II. and was conſecrated on the 5th of *September* (Q). He immediately

Pius II. *is elected.*

wrote

[c] MARIAN. l. xxii. c. 18. KRANTZ, 8 Dan. 30. & 33. Idem 12, Wandal. 33. [f] ANTON. t. xxii. c. 16. ſect. 1. [g] Comment. Pii II. l. 4. in prim. [h] ÆN. Epiſt. 305. 334, 335, &c. [i] Extat. t. 2. rer. Ger. edit. Freher. [k] ÆN. Epiſt. 337. [l] SURIT. l. xvi. c. 48, & ſeq. PLATINA:

(P) *Calixtus*, during his ſhort pontificate, was very earneſt in promoting his relations, having on the very day of his election created two of his nephews cardinals, one of whom was afterwards pope, by the name of *Alexander* VI. The brother of this laſt he created duke of *Spoleto*, and appointed him governor in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, propoſing likewiſe to give him a large poſſeſſion in the kingdom of *Naples*. But, being prevented by death, the *Romans* obliged his nephew, the duke, to fly to *Civita Vecchia*, where he ſoon after died (9).

(Q) *Æneas Sylvius Bartholomeo Picolomini* was born on the 18th of *October* 1405, at *Corſignano*, a ſmall town in the territory of *Siena*, which he afterwards erected into a biſhop's ſee by the name of *Pienza*. His parents had been baniſhed from *Siena*, and lived in mean circumſtances at *Corſignano*, where *Æneas*, while he was at

(9) *Ciacon. & Platin. in Caliſt. Æn.* 188.

a wrote to all the Chriſtian princes, informing them of his election; which gave great joy to the emperor, the kings of *Spain* and *Naples*, and particularly to the duke of *Modena*, who expreſſed his gratitude for the ſervices formerly done him by *Æneas* with the emperor, by fireworks and a magnificent tournament at *Ferrara*. *Pius*, being very deſirous of oppoſing the progreſs of the *Turks*, propoſed to form a general league againſt them, and for that purpoſe convoked an aſſembly or convention of all Chriſtian princes and free ſtates, to meet the following year, on the 1ſt of *June*, at *Mantua*. He ſent cardinal *Beſſarion*, as his legate, to the emperor, to excite that prince to act with vigour againſt the *Turks*; and, after ſome heſitation, he gave the title of king to *George Podiebrad*, who, upon the death of *Ladiſlaus*, had been elected by the *Bohemians*; but, though he had profeſſed his obedience to
b the *Roman* church, was ſtill ſuſpected of inclining to the *Huſſites*, by which ſect he had hitherto been ſupported. In the mean time *Pius* endeavoured to quiet the diſturbances in *Italy*, and notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of *Renè*, duke of *Anjou*, formerly adopted by the queen of *Naples*, he confirmed the kingdom of *Apulia* to *Ferdinand*, the preſent poſſeſſor, and ſent the cardinal *Urſini* to perform the ceremony of his coronation [m] (R).

*He gives the inveſtiture of* Naples *to* Ferdinand.

THE following year, having appointed the prince of *Colonna* governor, and cardinal *Cuſa* legate of the city, he left *Rome* in order to proceed to *Mantua*; but before his departure, he made a decree with the conſent of the cardinals, that, if he ſhould happen to die without the city; his ſucceſſor ſhould not be choſen any where elſe than at *Rome*. He likewiſe left ſome cardinals, auditors of the rota, and advocates, to judge the cauſes that ſhould come before the *Roman*
c court in his abſence. He proceeded by ſlow journies to *Corſignano*, and from thence to *Siena*, which city he erected into a metropolitan, creating his nephew *Antonio* the firſt archbiſhop. While he continued at *Siena*, he received the ambaſſadors of the emperor, the kings of *Caſtile*, *Portugal*, and *Hungary*, and of the duke of *Burgundy*, and ſeveral *German* princes. The *Germans* complained, that he had given the title of king of *Hungary* to *Matthias* the ſon of the general *Hunniades*, although the barons of that kingdom had choſen the emperor. But *Pius* alleging that *Matthias* had been ſolemnly acknowledged by the ſtates, and was in poſſeſſion of the kingdom, and conſequently had a right to the title of king, which had been conferred upon him by *Calixtus*, the *Germans* ceaſed their complaints, and, together with the other ambaſſadors, yielded obedience to him as pope publicly in the church.
d The ambaſſadors from *Bohemia*, that they might not by their ſubmiſſion offend the party of the *Calixtins*, yielded obedience to the pope in a private conſiſtory. This inſtance of regard to that ſect confirmed the ſuſpicions of the catholics, that *George Podiebrad* had not acted ſincerely in abjuring its doctrines: the ambaſſadors of the *Sileſians*, who had proteſted againſt his election, now declared to the pope that they would not obey him, and demanded the aſſiſtance of his holineſs to protect the catholic religion in their province. *Pius* promiſed to them to write to the king to ceaſe his hoſtilities againſt them, and to remit all diſputes concerning religion to the apoſtolic ſee, declaring that, if he refuſed to obey, he would uſe other means to ſecure their religion [n]. He then proceeded from *Siena* to *Florence*, and from thence, by *Bologna* and *Ferrara*, to *Mantua*, where, a few

A. D. 1459.

*Receives ambaſſadors from the emperor and other Chriſtian princes.*

[m] SPOND. Annal. [n] Comment. PII II. l. 2.

ſchool, was obliged to aſſiſt in the management of a farm. He was educated, however, with great care; and, having finiſhed his academical ſtudies at *Siena* and *Rome*, when he was 26 years of age he went with cardinal *Capranica*, as his ſecretary, to the council of *Baſil*. He was afterwards ſecretary to other prelates, and was ſent by cardinal *Albergati* to *Scotland*. Upon his return he was honoured by the ſame council with the offices of referendary, abbreviator, chancellor, and agent-general, and was ſent ſeveral times as their deputy to *Straſburgh*, *Frankfort*, *Conſtance*, *Trent*, and *Savoy*. He was ſecretary to the antipope *Felix* V. and afterwards to the emperor *Frederic* III. who honoured him with the poetical crown, and employed him in different embaſſies to *Rome*, *Milan*, *Naples*, *Bohemia*, and elſewhere. In the midſt of theſe negotiations, he always found leiſure to publiſh ſome treatiſe or other, and was ſo delighted with writing, that, even after he was pope, in the midſt of his great occupations, and although he was afflicted with the gout, he could not deſiſt. When he perceived the factious and violent proceedings of the council of *Baſil*, he deſerted that party, and, notwithſtanding the activity he had ſhewn in oppoſing the intereſts of *Eugenius*, he was eſteemed by that pope, who appointed him his ſecretary. *Nicolas* V. created him biſhop of *Trieſte*, and, upon his reſigning that ſee, appointed him biſhop of *Siena*, and employed him as his nuncio in *Auſtria*, *Hungary*, *Moravia*, and *Bohemia*. During the pontificate of *Calixtus* III. who created him a cardinal, he reſided chiefly at *Rome*, having as he confeſſed himſelf, during all the time of his former ſervices, ſcarce acquired ſo much as would purchaſe a pair of ſhoes (1.) His works, with his life prefixed, were publiſhed in one volume at *Baſil*, in 1551. The commentaries of *John Gobeline*, his ſecretary, which were generally believed to be written by himſelf, were publiſhed at *Rome* in 1584, and afterwards at *Helmſtad* in 1700. According to the cardinal of *Siena*, his nephew, one may juſtly apply to him part of two lines from *Virg.* l. i. v. 382, 383.

*Sum pius Æneas*——————
——*fama ſuper æthera notus* (2).

(R) Some authors relate, that, as an acknowlegement for this ſervice, *Ferdinand*, whoſe father had left him 6,000,000 of gold, gave a large ſum of money to the pope, and likewiſe gave his natural daughter *Mary* in marriage to *Antonio Picolomini* the pope's nephew, with the dutchy of *Amalfi*, and dignity of great juſticiary of the kingdom (3).

(1) *Epiſt. Card. Papien.* 365. *Epiſt. Collenut. l.* vi. *Meyer. ex Monſtrelet.* (2) *Joan. Anton. Campan. in vit. Æn. Platin. Ciacon.* (3) *Col-*

*A convention held at* Mantua.

days after his arrival, he opened the convention on the 1ſt of *June*, and, in a ſpeech from his throne, complained of the neglect of the princes who had omitted to ſend their plenipotentiaries to the aſſembly. Ambaſſadors had arrived from the deſpot of *Morea*, and from *Cyprus*, *Rhodes*, *Lesbos*, *Albania*, *Epirus*, and ſome ſtates on the coaſts of *Illyria*; but they all came to requeſt ſuccours, excepting the *Raguſans*, who offered auxiliaries againſt the infidels. The pope, having quieted the diſputes about precedence by a decree, declaring that the ſuperiority or inferiority of places ſhould give no honour or diſhonour to thoſe who occupied them, then gave audience to the duke of *Cleves*, ambaſſador from the duke of *Burgundy*. Though the duke at firſt refuſed to promiſe any ſuccours, and inſiſted much upon the impracticability of a general cruſade, as ſeveral of the chief powers in *Europe* were engaged in private quarrels; nevertheleſs, at the preſſing inſtances of the pope, he ſtipulated 2000 horſe and 4000 foot, to be maintained at the expence of the duke of *Burgundy* during the continuance of the war. Ambaſſadors likewiſe arrived from the *Florentines*, *Sienneſe*, *Luccheſe*, and *Bologneſe*, offering ſuccours on their part: the duke of *Modena*, excuſing himſelf on account of ſickneſs, ſent his brother, who, in his name, offered 300,000 crowns for the expedition; the duke of *Milan* came perſonally to the aſſembly, and ſtipulated his quota of auxiliaries: the *Genoeſe*, though they durſt not concern themſelves in a public manner, as they were then under the dominion of the king of *France*, yet promiſed in private, to concur with the *Italian* ſtates. The ambaſſador of the king of *Naples* took an oath in his maſter's name, whereby he promiſed to engage perſonally in the cruſade, and the *Venetians* ſent their ambaſſadors, and promiſed to contribute largely to the expedition, if the other Chriſtian princes would engage not to deſert them during the continuance of the war. It was then unanimouſly decreed, that the war ſhould be carried on, both by ſea and land, by an army of 50,000 men, and a fleet of 40 gallies and eight ſmaller ſhips; that the clergy of *Italy* ſhould pay the tythe of their revenues for three years, the laity the thirtieth, and the *Jews* the twentieth of their whole effects. Soon after ambaſſadors arrived from the king of *France*, and from *René* pretender to the crown of *Naples*, who refuſed to engage in the cruſade, unleſs the *Engliſh* would conclude a peace, but complained of the favour ſhewn by the pope to *Ferdinand* in prejudice of the right of *René*. *Pius*, in juſtification of his own proceedings, recriminated againſt the *French*, who, in prejudice of the apoſtolic ſee, had publiſhed the pragmatic ſanction in their kingdom; and finding that he could expect no aſſiſtance from them or the *Engliſh*, who were engaged in civil diſſenſions, he ſent a legate *a latere* to ſollicit the emperor and *German* princes to furniſh the 42,000 men that had been promiſed at the diet of *Frankfort* during the pontificate of *Nicolas*. The *Germans*, before they would agree to this demand, held another diet at *Nuremberg*; however, nothing was concluded at that aſſembly, and the affair was put off till the following year [o].

*A general alliance is formed againſt the* Turks.

*The pope condemns appeals to future general councils.* A. D. 1460.

Pius, in the mean time, having conſulted the prelates and cardinals who were preſent on the 16th of *January*, publiſhed a decree, condemning and prohibiting, under pain of excommunication and interdict, all appeals to future general councils as contrary to the canons, and ridiculous, as appealing to what did not exiſt, and as they nouriſhed rebellion againſt the apoſtolic ſee, and confounded all eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, and the hierarchical order [p]. A few weeks after, having made an elegant diſcourſe to the ambaſſadors of the princes and ſtates, he diſſolved the convention, after it had continued eight months, an end being thereby put, not only to their deliberations, but alſo to all further thoughts of executing what had been agreed upon. From *Mantua Pius* returned to *Siena*, where, with the conſent of the ſacred college, he created ſix cardinals, among whom was his nephew *Francis Picolomini*, then a ſtudent at *Perugia*. About the ſame time the cardinal *Cuſa*, who enjoyed the biſhopric of *Breſcia in commendam*, having been impriſoned by *Sigiſmund* duke of *Auſtria*, with whom he had for ſeveral years been at variance (S), *Pius*, upon being informed of this outrage, excommunicated the duke; and hearing that he contemned the anathema, he cited him to give an exact account of his faith. *Sigiſmund* appealing from this citation to a future council and a future pope, *Pius* publiſhed another ſentence againſt

[o] Plat. in Paneg. in laud. Beſſar. Muller, p. iii. c. 24. [p] Comment. Pii II. l. ii. & iii.

(S) *Sigiſmund*, who as count of *Tyrol* was patron of the church of *Breſcia*, was offended that the cardinal ſhould poſſeſs that biſhopric as a ſinecure, which cuſtom, though common in *Italy*, *France*, *Spain*, and *England*, was very rare in *Germany*, which was one reaſon why there were very few *German* cardinals. The duke, at length, allowed the cardinal to take quiet poſſeſſion, who ſoon after finding that *Sigiſmund* was in poſſeſſion of a certain fief of his church, for which he made no acknowlegement, he deſired him to deliver it up, or to take a new inveſtiture. This was the occaſion of their diſſenſion; and the duke thinking himſelf aggrieved, and not receiving ſatisfaction at the convention of *Mantua*, impriſoned the cardinal, but quickly after ſet him at liberty (4).

(4) *Krantz* 12. *Wandal.* 24. *Naucler gener.* 49.

him,

a him, declaring him guilty of ſacrilege. *Gregory Heimburg*, ſyndic of *Nurem*, publiſhed an appeal againſt this laſt ſentence, which expoſed him to the reſentment of the pope, who denounced an anathema againſt him, and ordered all his effects to be confiſcated [q]. The pope, about the ſame time, was engaged in diſputes with the kings of *Caſtile* and *Poland*. As the biſhop of *Leon*, who had come as ambaſſador from the king of *Caſtile*, died at *Siena*, *Pius* appointed the cardinal of St. *Sixtus* as his ſucceſſor, who was diſapproved of by the king, who would not allow him to take poſſeſſion. The king of *Poland* likewiſe refuſed to confer the church of *Cracow* upon the perſon nominated by the pope, but cauſed his chancellor to be elected by ſome of the canons; and although the pope had ordered the perſon appointed by him to be received, under pain of excommunication, the king,
b nevertheleſs, oppoſed him with ſuch vigour, that he was obliged to drop his pretenſions, and the chancellor remained in quiet poſſeſſion [r].

*Difference betwixt him and the kings of* Caſtile *and* Poland:

Mean while *Pius* received an embaſſy from the patriarchs of *Antioch*, *Alexandria*, and *Jeruſalem*, declaring that they had at laſt accepted of the decree of union publiſhed in the council of *Florence* [s]. A few days after, ambaſſadors arrived from *Monobaſia*, a fortified city on the coaſt of the *Morea*, offering to ſurrender their city to the pope, as their ſovereign *Demetrius Palæologus* had revolted to the *Turks*. *Pius* accordingly received the city in the name of the *Roman* church, furniſhed it with proviſions, of which it was in great want, and ſent a governor to take upon him the command. In the mean time the pope was informed of a great commotion in *Rome*, where one *Tiburtius* (whoſe father had been executed for a conſpiracy during the pontificate of *Nicolas*) had aſſembled a great body of young men, and, under pretence of freeing the city from the yoke of the prieſts, had committed great outrages, and taken poſſeſſion of the church of St. *Maria rotunda*, the magiſtrates not daring to make oppoſition. The pope, to put a ſtop to the tumult, immediately proceeded to *Rome*, and, ſoon after his arrival, having apprehended *Tiburtius* and his chief aſſociates, he ordered them to be put to death [t].

*He quells a commotion at* Rome, *and aſſiſts* Ferdinand *againſt his competitor the duke of* Anjou.

Notwithstanding the pope's great deſire to eſtabliſh peace among the Chriſtian princes, he, at the ſame time made himſelf a party in the civil diſſenſions in the kingdom of *Naples*, where *John* the ſon of *René*, duke of *Anjou*, had arrived in the end of the former year with a conſiderable body of *French* troops, and raiſed a formidable rebellion againſt
d *Ferdinand*, who was this year defeated at *Sarno*, and obliged to fly to *Naples*. *Pius*, having no deſire to ſee the *French* power increaſe in *Italy*, immediately ſent ſuccours to *Ferdinand*, and joined his forces with thoſe of the duke of *Milan*, to oppoſe *Piccinnus*, who intended to march to the aſſiſtance of the rebels. About the ſame time he countenanced the *Genoeſe* in expelling the *French* garriſon, and aſſerting their liberty. In the beginning of his pontificate, having ſent a legate to the Chriſtians of *Iberia*, *Armenia*, and *Meſopotamia*, to excite them againſt the *Turks*, he now received the ambaſſadors of thoſe people, and of ſeveral other heathen nations, their allies, who had come through *Cholchis* and *Scythia*, and from thence, by *Hungary* and *Venice*, to *Rome*. At their audience in a private conſiſtory, they promiſed to attack the *Turks* in *Aſia*, with an army of 120,000 men, if the *Eu-*
e *ropeans* would agree to unite their forces againſt them at the ſame time. *Pius* being ſtill very zealous in promoting the cruſade, in the beginning of the following year ſent theſe ambaſſadors into *France*, that they might influence, if poſſible, the *French* king and the duke of *Burgundy* heartily to eſpouſe the common cauſe [u]. They accordingly proceeded to *France*, together with *Lewis the Franciſcan*, who had been ſent legate into *Aſia*; but they could obtain nothing from *Charles* or the duke of *Burgundy*, but picked up a conſiderable ſum of money by begging from the people. Upon their return to *Venice*, the pope having diſcovered them to be impoſtors, and that *Lewis* had prevailed with ſome ignorant biſhops to grant him epiſcopal and patriarchal ordination, he ordered him and his companions to be apprehended; but they having private notice, immediately made their eſcape [w].

A. D. 1461.

f In the mean time *Thomas Palæologus*, formerly deſpot of part of *Morea*, having fled from *Corcyra*, arrived at *Rome*, the pope received him with great hoſpitality, and appointed him a penſion of 300 crowns a month, to which the cardinals added 200 [x]. A few weeks after he excommunicated the duke of *Auſtria*, for refuſing to give ſatisfaction to the cardinal *Cuſa*; and denounced the ſame ſentence againſt *Sigiſmund Malateſta*, who, inſtead of paying the uſual tribute for the fiefs which he poſſeſſed in the church patrimony, had ſeized ſeveral other caſtles, and raiſed a conſiderable army, with which he had defeated the church's legate. As *Dietherus*, who the year before had been elected archbiſhop of *Mentz*, had neglected to appear at *Rome*, and to pay 14,000 crowns for the annates, and other expences of his admiſſion, the pope, about this time, denounced a ſentence of excommunication againſt

*A diſpute about the archbiſhopric of* Mentz.

[q] Æn. Epiſt. 120 & 400. [r] Cromer. l. xxiv. Michov. [s] Spond. Annal. [t] Comment. Pii II. l. iii. Platina. [u] Æn. Epiſt. 576. [w] Ejuſd. Epiſt. 377. [x] Comment Pii II. lib. v.

him: but the archbiſhop appealed from this bull to a future council, and laid his grievances before an aſſembly of the princes of *Mentz*. As the pope's nuncios ſupported the intereſts of the court of *Rome* at this aſſembly, the archbiſhop found that the princes did not eſpouſe his ſubmiſſion to the holy ſee. However, he again neglected to fulfil his engagements, and, without waiting till he was abſolved from the ſentence of excommunication, exerciſed the functions of his office. This contumacy offending the pope, he ordered the chapter to proceed to a new election, who accordingly choſe *Adolphus* of *Naſſau*, whom the pope confirmed in the ſee (T). a

*The pope ſends a legate into* France, *to congratulate the king,*

In the midſt of this diſpute with the archbiſhop of *Mentz*, *Pius* being informed of the death of the king of *France*, ſent a legate into that kingdom, to congratulate *Lewis* XI. his ſucceſſor, and to prevail with him to revoke the pragmatic ſanction, and ſend auxiliaries to the Chriſtians againſt the *Turks*. *Lewis* immediately promiſed, with an oath, to annul the pragmatic ſanction, without calling any aſſembly of the prelates or nobles; which promiſe he ſoon after performed by a letter which he wrote to the pope, allowing the apoſtolic ſee the ſame authority in his kingdom as it enjoyed during the pontificate of *Martin* V *r*. This proceeding of the king was oppoſed by a great many prelates of his kingdom, and the univerſity of *Paris* appealed both from the king and the pope to a future council [z]. At the ſame time it gave great ſatisfaction to the pope, who ſoon after promoted his legate in *France*, with five others, to the dignity of cardinal [a]. At this juncture likewiſe he wrote a long letter to *Mohammed*, emperor of the *Turks*, exhorting him to deſiſt from perſecuting the Chriſtians, and to embrace the Chriſtian faith; promiſing him, if he would be baptized, the empire of the *Greeks*, as his predeceſſors had transferred the *Roman* empire to *Charlemagne* [b] (U). b *who revokes the pragmatic ſanction.* c

A. D. 1462.

This good correſpondence betwixt the pope and the king of *France* was of very ſhort continuance; for although in the beginning of the following year the king ſent a moſt ſplendid embaſſy to *Rome*, which confirmed the abrogation of the pragmatic ſanction, yet, as the pope would not conſent to abandon *Ferdinand*, a miſunderſtanding immediately enſued. The king offered to ſend a powerful army againſt the *Turks*, if the pope would countenance the ſucceſſion of the duke of *Anjou* to the kingdom of *Naples*, and if *Genoa* ſhould return to the obedience of *France*. The pope anſwered, that he would withdraw his auxiliaries from *Ferdinand*, if both parties would ſubmit to the deciſion of the apoſtolic ſee: ſome preliminaries were accordingly propoſed to procure a truce, during which all differences might be terminated by an amicable accommodation. However, as the pope ſtill continued to aſſiſt *Ferdinand*, and ſome perſons at *Rome* had informed the king, that *Pius*, ſince the abrogation of the pragmatic ſanction, proſecuted the war with more earneſtneſs, as he now drew more money from *France* than formerly, *Lewis* wrote to him, and ſent another ambaſſador to *Rome*, threatening to recal all *Frenchmen* from the *Roman* court. This threatening meſſage had no effect upon *Pius*, who declared that the *French* were at liberty to leave his court when they pleaſed; and that he would not deſert *Ferdinand* while the duke of *Anjou* continued his hoſtilities [c]. However, ſoon after the pope endeavoured to mitigate his anſwer; and the college of cardinals, at his deſire, wrote to the king, entreating him not to give credit to calumnies, but to cultivate a friendſhip with his holineſs, who never mentioned him but with the greateſt regard. d *A miſunderſtanding betwixt him and the pope.* e

*The pope receives an embaſſy from the king of* Bohemia;

Pius, at this period, had likewiſe received an embaſſy from *George Podiebrad*, king of *Bohemia*, to demand the confirmation of the compactata by the apoſtolic ſee. The pope replied, as the conditions on which theſe compactata had been granted had been frequently violated by the *Bohemians*, they could not now be of any force: and as the king at his coronation had ſworn to obey the apoſtolic ſee, he ought to unite himſelf ſincerely with the *Roman* church, without which union his kingdom could not ſtand. The ambaſſadors report-

[y] Ap. Æneas Epiſt. 388. [z] Bellefor. l. v. c. 119. [a] Spond. Annal. [b] Æn. Epiſt. 396. [c] Comment. l. viii.

(T) This new election occaſioned a war betwixt the two pretenders; but the party of *Adolphus* being ſtrongeſt, *Dietherus* agreed to an accommodation, which continued but a ſhort time; for, at the inſtigation of the count *Palatine*, he renewed the war, which laſted till the year 1463, when, in compaſſion for the miſeries with which the dioceſe was afflicted, he wholly reſigned his right to *Adolphus*, reſerving only ſome towns for his life. Upon this agreement he received abſolution from the pope's nuncio, and lived to ſucceed *Adolphus* afterwards in 1478 (5).

(U) This letter has been moſt juſtly cenſured as unapoſtolical, and the pope has been condemned as making a merchandize of the goſpel, which ordains a reſtitution of all poſſeſſions unjuſtly acquired. With the ſame juſtice a *Jew*, convicted of being a fraudulent bankrupt, ought not to be puniſhed, if he would conſent to be baptized (6).

*O nimium faciles, qui triſtia crimina lædis*
*Flumineâ poſſe tolli putatis aquâ (7).*

(5) *Muller, p.* 3. *c.* 20. *Comment. Pii* II. *c.* 6. *ſur la reſponſe au myſtere d' Iniquité par. ii. p.* 617. *rem Q.*

(6) *Du Pleſſis myſtere d' Iniquité, p.* 541. *Privet, Remarque Hiſtoire des Papes a la Haye, Bayle Dict. Crit. Art. Mahomet* II.

(7) *Ovid. Faſtor. l.* ii. *v.* 27.

a ing this anſwer to the ſtates, which had aſſembled at *Prague*, the king broke out into reproaches againſt the pope, and declared, that though he had ſworn to extirpate hereſy, yet as he had never believed the doctrine of the communion under both kinds to be a hereſy, he was determined to die in that faith. The pope's nuncio being afterwards admitted to an audience, and inſiſting upon implicit obedience to the *Roman* church, the king ordered him to be impriſoned; but, at the interceſſion of the emperor, about three months afterwards he ſet him at liberty; *Frederic* at the ſame time, in conſideration of the aſſiſtance he received from *George*, in the diſpute with his brother about the ſucceſſion of *Auſtria*, interceded in his behalf with the pope. Though *Pius*, at the emperor's interceſſion, delayed his cenſures againſt the king of *Bohemia*, yet he again denounced an anathema againſt *Malateſta* and
b the duke of *Auſtria*, and againſt *George Heinberg*, who had eſpouſed the duke of *Auſtria*'s cauſe. His troops ſoon afterwards defeating *Malateſta* at *Senogallia*, and *Ferdinand* gaining a ſignal victory over the party of the duke of *Anjou* at *Froja*, *Pius* renewed the deliberations about the *Turkiſh* expedition; and having procured the hearty concurrence of the *Venetians*, he ſent the biſhop of *Ferrara*, as his legate, to the king of *France* and duke of *Burgundy*, who brought nothing but fine promiſes from theſe princes, which were never put in execution [a].

THE following year the pope received another embaſſy from the king of *Bohemia*, excuſing his behaviour at the diet of *Prague*, promiſing obedience to the apoſtolic ſee, and deſiring the pope to oblige the inhabitants of *Breſlau* to acknowlege him for their king. As
c *Podiebrad* was ſtrongly ſuſpected of hereſy, the pope abſolutely refuſed to revoke the bull which he had granted to the *Sileſians*, abſolving them from their allegiance; but, at the interceſſion of the emperor, he did not yet denounce an anathema againſt the king [c]. However, on *Good-Friday* he again excommunicated *Sigiſmund* of *Auſtria*, and *Malateſta* prince of *Rimini*; and having received an embaſſy from the king of *Boſnia*, deſiring aſſiſtance againſt the *Turks*, and cathedral churches to be erected in his kingdom, which had lately been converted from *Manichiſm*, he promiſed to ſend biſhops thither to inſtruct and govern the new converts, and to write to the king of *Hungary*, and to the *Venetians*, to aſſiſt them againſt the infidels. Before the return of theſe ambaſſadors, *Boſnia* was invaded and conquered by the *Turks*: but, in compenſation for this loſs, the *Venetians* being inſtigated by
d the pope's legate, cardinal *Beſſarion* declared war againſt the *Turks*; and fitting out a powerful fleet recovered the *Morea*, and ſeveral iſlands in the *Archipelago* [f]. In the mean time the king of *France* ſtill kept up his reſentment againſt the pope, and publiſhed three decrees; by the firſt of which, he declared himſelf the only competent judge of all diſputes about conferring of benefices in his kingdom, or diſpoſing of the revenues of thoſe that were vacant: by the ſecond he ordained, that the preſidents of parliament, and all his officers, ſhould enjoy the ſame privileges, in judging of cauſes relating to benefices, as thoſe which the apoſtolic ſee had granted to the univerſity of *Paris*; and by the third, he aſſumed to himſelf the right of judgment over all poſſeſſors of benefices. The pope ſent two legates into *France*, to endeavour to appeaſe the king, with an offer of a five years truce in
e *Sicily*, if he would conſent to take arms againſt the *Turks*. What was the effect of this embaſſy we don't find mentioned; but the king ſoon after publiſhed ſome other edicts againſt reſervations, and the exactors of the ſpoils of deceaſed prieſts [g]; the extortions of the court of *Rome*, as *Spondanus* confeſſed, furniſhing continual matters of complaint; ſo that nothing is more frequently mentioned than ſuch grievances in the hiſtory of *France*, *England*, *Germany*, and *Spain*. [h].

*who deſires him to oblige the catholics of* Sileſia *to ſubmit to his government.* A. D. 1463.

*The king of* France *publiſhes ſeveral edicts againſt the authority of the ſee of* Rome.

PIUS being ſtill chiefly intent upon the *Turkiſh* expedition, about this time ſent nuncios to the duke of *Burgundy*, to remind him of his vow; and having received a favourable anſwer from that prince, at his deſire he invited all the ſtates of *Italy* to ſend their deputies to *Rome*. Upon their arrival, the ambaſſadors of the duke of *Burgundy* declaring, that, in
f the beginning of the ſpring, he was determined to conduct a fleet in perſon againſt the *Turks*, the pope then aſked the *Italian* deputies, what auxiliaries their ſtates would furniſh. The greateſt part of the *Italians* anſwered, that they had only come to hear the propoſals of the pope; and the *Florentines* even adviſed his holineſs to allow the *Venetians* to carry on the war alone, which would probably ruin them in the end, and thereby ſecure the liberty of *Italy*. *Pius* deteſted this advice, and ſoon after, in a private conſiſtory, declared to the cardinals, that, as *Ferdinand* was ſecured in the poſſeſſion of *Naples*, and *Malateſta* defeated, he was determined to fit out as great a fleet as the revenues of the church could allow, and to ſail himſelf into *Aſia* or *Greece* againſt the infidels, in hopes that his example would influence the Chriſtian princes. His propoſal was greatly approved by the car-

Pius *ſtill promotes the* Turkiſh *expedition*;

*and promiſes to ſail himſelf into* Aſia.

[d] Comment. PII II. l. viii. & ix. PLATINA. [e] Ap. COCHLÆ. l. ii. Æn. Epiſt. 401. [f] Comment. l. xii. CHALCOND. l. xii. ad. fin. [g] Comment. ut ſupra. [h] SPOND. Annal. hoc an.

dinals; however, the chief ſtates of *Italy* manifeſted no great forwardneſs to engage in the a
expedition, and only offered the ſubſidies that had been agreed upon at *Mantua*[i]. The
duke of *Milan*, indeed, offered to ſend his ſon with a body of horſe; and the *Genoeſe* pro-
miſed to fit out eight or ten ſhips, but they deſired to know before-hand what ſhare their
ſtate ſhould have in the profits of the expedition[k].

THE pope, not at all diſcouraged by the backwardneſs of others, on the 19th of
*October* publiſhed a bull, addreſſed to all the faithful, informing them of the neceſſity
of the expedition, and that he himſelf intended to command a fleet, which was to ſail
from *Ancona* about the beginning of *June*[l]. A few days after he wrote to the doge
of *Venice*, deſiring him to come with a fleet to the general rendezvous at *Ancona*, and
not to excuſe himſelf on account of his age, as he himſelf, and the duke of *Bur-* b
*gundy*, were both old men. Though the pope's health at this time was greatly broke
*His healt h greatly impaired.* by his continual fatigues, and eſpecially by the pains of the gout, with which diſtemper
A. D. 1494. he was afflicted during the greateſt part of his pontificate, he, nevertheleſs, exerted him-
ſelf with the greateſt aſſiduity in promoting the expedition. As his pains increaſed, and
were attended with a fever, in the end of winter he went, by the advice of the phyſicians,
to the baths of *Retriolana*, in the dioceſe of *Siena*, where he continued ſome months. While
he was at *Siena* he received the diſagreeable news that the duke of *Burgundy* declined en-
gaging perſonally in the expedition: he wrote to that prince, exhorting him not to deſert
the common cauſe in which he was engaged, both by his honour and conſcience. How- c
ever, his letter had not the deſired effect upon the duke, who only ſent his two natural
ſons with 200 men, and promiſed to come the next year perſonally, if he was not pre-
vented by death or ſickneſs[m]. The king of *France* likewiſe excuſed himſelf, being ap-
prehenſive of a civil war, as the nobles of his kingdom had entered into a private conſpi-
racy againſt him[n]. No aſſiſtance could be expected from the kingdoms of *Spain*, who
were then engaged in mutual wars; and in the end of the former year, the *Venetians* had
been defeated by the *Turks* at *Corinth* and *Mytilene*, and been obliged to abandon the *Iſthmus*[o].

*He propoſes to embark at* Ancona, NOTWITHSTANDING all theſe diſcouragements, the pope ſtill perſiſted in his reſolution;
and having returned for a few days to *Rome*, he ſet out from thence, in a litter, for *An-*
*cona*, where he arrived by ſlow journies about the middle of *July*. Soon after his arrival, d
he abſolved and diſmiſſed great part of the cruſaders, who had come into *Italy* without
money for their ſubſiſtence during the expedition; whereas by his bull, he had only offered
indulgences to thoſe who fought in his army, for one year, or eighteen months, at their
own charge[p] (W). In the mean time news arriving that the *Turks* had encamped in the
neighbourhood of *Raguſa*, as though they had an intention to beſiege that city, the pope
immediately propoſed to embark for its relief, in hopes that, if he ſhould ſucceed, the Chriſ-
tian princes would be excited to follow his good fortune. He altered his reſolution upon
hearing that the *Turks* had retired, and a few days after he had the ſatisfaction to be joined
by the doge of *Venice*, with a conſiderable fleet for the expedition; but his diſtemper ſtill
*where he dies.* increaſing, he aſſembled the cardinals, and recommending to them the proſecution of his e
deſign, and unity in the election of a new pope, died on the 13th of *Auguſt*, in the 58th
year of his age, and the 6th of his pontificate. He was of a ſhort ſtature, gray haired
before the uſual time, and in his countenance, which was early wrinkled, there appeared a
mixture of ſeverity and good-nature. He neither loved money nor contemned it, but
would never be preſent when it was told out or laid up. Although he was very learned,
and greatly addicted to ſtudy, yet, by ſome, he is accuſed of having from avarice neg-
lected to encourage the men of genius of his time; but *Platina* attributes this neglect not
to avarice, but to the expenſive wars in which he was engaged, which continually ex-
hauſted his treaſury. The ſame author relates, that he was void of fear and inconſtancy,
and ſeemed as little elevated with his good fortune as dejected at his bad. He had a great f
contempt for a ſplendid table, and went frequently to fountains, groves, and country re-
tirements, where he entertained himſelf, not in a pompous but in a plain ſimple manner.

[i] Comment. ut ſupra. [k] SUMONET in vit. Sforzæ. ap. Murator, t. xxi. NEVIENS. l. v. FOLIET. l. xi.
[l] Ap. ÆN. Epiſt. 412. [m] Idem Epiſt. 382. SPOND. Annal. [n] PLATINA. MONSTRELET, vol. iii.
[o] CHALCOND. l. x. SABELLICK. 3. Dec. 8. [p] PAPIENS. CARD. ep. 41. PLATIN.

(W) *Krantz*, in his *Wandalia* and *Saxonia*, relates, that the ignorant preachers in *Germany* aſſured the common people, that proviſions and arms would be furniſhed to them for the expedition. Great numbers accordingly went into *Italy* in rags, without arms, begging their ſubſiſtence upon the road, to the deriſion of the *Italians*, who admired their ſimplicity. Many went to *Venice* in expectation of embarking at that city. Others went to *Ancona*; but the greateſt number of all went to *Rome*; and very many, after they were diſmiſſed by the pope, periſhed with hunger in their return home (8)

(8) *Krantz. Wandal. l.* xii. *c.* 30. *Saxon. l.* xii. *c.* 3.

Beſides

a Beſides his hiſtories and orations, he left behind him ſeveral grave and judicious ſentences after the manner of proverbs, which are mentioned by *Platina* and other authors [q](X).

AFTER the death of *Pius*, the cruſaders, who had aſſembled at *Ancona*, immediately diſperſed: and the cardinals conſulting with the doge of *Venice*, agreed to give the gallies built by *Pius* to that republic, the doge promiſing to reſtore them, if the pope that ſhould be elected diſapproved of their decree. The cardinals likewiſe unanimouſly gave the 48,000 crowns that had been collected by the late pope, to *Matthias* king of *Hungary*; then determining that the future election ſhould be made at *Rome*, they returned to that city, and entered the conclave on the 24th of *Auguſt*. Having drawn up ſeveral decrees for the right adminiſtration of the pontificate, and each having ſworn to obſerve them if he b ſhould be elected pope, the next day they gave their votes, and, at the firſt ſcrutiny, cardinal *Peter Barbo*, a *Venetian*, and nephew of *Eugenius* IV. was elected, who aſſumed the name of *Paul* II. and a few days after was conſecrated and crowned with the uſual ſolemnities [r]. He had very little learning, as he was of an indolent ſpirit, and did not apply himſelf to ſtudy till he was advanced in years, after the promotion of his uncle *Eugenius*, at which time he was preparing to go from *Venice* on a trading voyage. Before his election was publiſhed, he again ſubſcribed, and ſwore to obſerve the articles agreed to in the conclave: however, quickly after, he endeavoured to aboliſh them, at the perſuaſion of the archbiſhop of *Milan*, and the biſhop of *Treviſo*, who, finding themſelves excluded by the articles from entering the ſacred college ſo ſoon as they expected, urged, that it was c unworthy of a pope to be only the adminiſtrator of the decrees of other people, and prevailed with him to draw up other articles in the name of the cardinals, under pretence that the former were uſeleſs. *Paul*, who was very fond of unlimited power, readily conſented, and as readily obtained the ſubſcription of ſeveral of the cardinals, who put their names to the new articles without ever reading them. All the reſt of the fathers were compelled by threats to ſubſcribe, except cardinal *Carvajal*, a *Spaniard*, who declared that he never remembered to have changed his mind in his youth, and would not now in his old age [s].

Paul II. *is elected*:

*he violates the oath that he had taken before and after his election*;

ABOUT the ſame time *Paul*, in reſentment for ſome denial which he had formerly received from *Pius*, diſmiſſed all the clerks of the *Breves*, and confiſcated their effects, under pretence that they were unqualified for their offices; accuſing them of a conſpiracy, and even d of hereſy, becauſe they, with other men of learning, had formed an academy at *Rome*, and diſputed about the immortality of the ſoul, and other articles of the Chriſtian faith, after the manner of the ancient *Platoniſts* and *Academics* [t]. *Platina* the hiſtorian, who was one of the abbreviators, complains of the injuſtice which they ſuffered, as they had not only bought their places, which were therefore confirmed to them by a bull, but were men of ſuch merit as to be an ornament to the court. Great interceſſion was made in their behalf, and *Platina* begged, in the name of his collegues, that their cauſe might be judged by the auditors of the *Rota*; which requeſt greatly enraged the pope, who replied, that he ought not to be referred to judges, who had all the law in his own breaſt. *Platina*, after having been rejected twenty days without obtaining audience, at length wrote to the pope, that he, with e his collegues, intended to intreat the Chriſtian princes to convoke a general council, where their wrongs might be redreſſed: but inſtead of prevailing upon the pope by this means to reſtore them to their places, he drew the whole reſentment of his holineſs upon himſelf; for he was immediately put in irons, and impriſoned in a high tower, where he continued all the winter [u]. In the mean time *Paul*, to gratify the cardinals, allowed them to wear a red hat and a mitre of damaſk ſilk, which only the popes had formerly worn [w]; and granted 100 crowns a month to thoſe whoſe yearly revenue did not amount to 4000. As he had granted the ornaments of a pope to the cardinals, he reſolved to augment his own; and being very fond of precious ſtones, which he took great pains to procure, and which he ſpent whole nights in viewing, he cauſed a new pontifical mitre to be made with three crowns, f which he adorned with diamonds to the value of 120,000 crowns [x].

*He exhorts the Chriſtian princes to an expedition againſt the* Turks.

DURING theſe private tranſactions, the pope had ſent nuncios to the different princes of *Europe*, deſiring them to unite their arms againſt the *Turks*, and had appointed three cardinals to have the perpetual direction of all matters relating to that expedition. Being in ſome doubt whether he ſhould continue to grant reſervations, which were greatly complained of, he was perſuaded by cardinal *Carvajal* not to neglect that prerogative of the apoſtolic

[q] CARD. PAPIENS. Epiſt. Comment. PII. II. PLAT. SPOND. Annal. [r] Comment. PAPIENS. l. ii. [s] Idem ibid, & ejuſd. Epiſt. 156, 180, 181, 182. [t] Append. PAPIENS. Epiſt. 394. [u] PLATINA IN vit. Paul II. [w] Comment PAPIENS. l. ii. [x] SPOND. Annal. PLATINA.

(X) We have here added ſome of thoſe ſentences. "To find out the motion of the ſtars, has more of pleaſure in it than profit. God's friends enjoy both this life and the life to come. As all rivers run into the ſea, ſo do all vices into courts. Unſkilful phyſicians kill the body, and ignorant prieſts the ſoul. A wandering monk is the devil's bondſlave. There was great reaſon for prohibiting prieſts to marry, but greater for allowing them. He cheriſhes an enemy who pardons his ſon too often. Men's faults are concealed by liberality, and diſcovered by avarice, &c."

ſee, which, with great difficulty, had been eſtabliſhed [y]. However, at the next conſiſtory, by the advice of all the cardinals, he refuſed the requeſt of a *French* biſhop, who deſired a certain abbacy *in commendam*, being reſolved, in order to avoid ſcandal, in ſome meaſure, to reſtrain that cuſtom, as upwards of 500 abbacies had been given *in commendam* ſince the pontificate of *Calixtus*; and one of the cardinals expreſſed his apprehenſions, leſt, in a ſhort time, there would not be a monaſtery in *France* that would have an abbot. *Paul*, about the ſame time, received an ambaſſy from the emperor, profeſſing his obedience to him as pope, and likewiſe to intercede for *George Podiebrad*, whom *Pius*, before he had ſet out for *Ancona*, had cited to appear before him within 180 days. As the time was not yet elapſed, and the king of *Bohemia* promiſed, if the citation was ſuſpended, to ſend an embaſſy to *Rome*, and ſubmit to the orders of the apoſtolic ſee, *Paul* granted the requeſt of the emperor's ambaſſador, in hopes that the averſion hitherto ſhewn by *George* to the ſee of *Rome*, proceeded more from his perſonal hatred to *Pius*, than from any attachment to the ſect of the *Calixtins* [z]. A few months after ambaſſadors arrived at *Rome* from *Ferdinand*, king of *Naples*, who deſired that the pope would ſend a cardinal legate to be preſent at the marriage of his ſon with the daughter of the duke of *Milan*. The ambaſſadors likewiſe declared, that *Ferdinand* had received an embaſſy from the grand *Turk*, congratulating him upon ſubduing the rebels, and exhorting him to further conqueſts, by offering a ſubſidy of 800,000 crowns a year, if he would make war upon any of the ſtates of *Italy*. He propoſed alſo an alliance betwixt ſome of their children; or, if that could not take effect, on account of the difference of religion, then he offered a young *Greek*, who was deſcended from the emperors, with a dowry of 200,000 crowns, or as much more as the king pleaſed. *Ferdinand* promiſed to be directed in his anſwer to *Mohammed* by the determination of the conſiſtory, but what that was does not appear; for the cardinal of *Pavia* gives us only a part of the ſpeech of cardinal *Beſſarion*, condemning any alliance with the *Turks*, or even any correſpondence by ambaſſadors [a]. It is probable that the other fathers were of his opinion, and rather exhorted *Ferdinand* to join the other ſtates of *Italy*, in aſſiſting the king of *Hungary* againſt the *Turks*. *Frederic*, the younger ſon of *Ferdinand*, ſoon after arriving at *Rome*, in his way to *Milan*, whither he went to fetch his brother's bride, was received with great honour, the pope himſelf preſenting him with a golden roſe, which is a preſent made annually to ſome Chriſtian prince or other [b].

*He receives an embaſſy from the emperor, and from the king of* Naples, A. D. 1459.

THE king of *Naples* likewiſe ſent ſome troops to aſſiſt the pope, in quelling a rebellion raiſed by the counts *Anquillara*, who the year before had ſucceeded their father, whoſe example they followed, by uſurping the territories of their neighbours, and refuſing to ſubmit to the pope. *Paul*, by the aſſiſtance of the *Neapolitans*, ſurprized and ſubdued the counts, within fourteen days after the commencement of hoſtilities, and took from them nine caſtles, ſome of which appeared almoſt impregnable. Quickly after a difference happened betwixt him and *Ferdinand*, who, in conſideration of the ſuccours he had ſent him, deſired a remittance of the tribute which he owed the church; which requeſt was rejected by the pope, who replied, that *Ferdinand* owed the quiet poſſeſſion of his kingdom, to the aſſiſtance of the apoſtolic ſee, and was even bound by his fief to ſend ſuccours to his holineſs. As *Ferdinand*, about this time, ſecured himſelf in the poſſeſſion of his kingdoms, by putting to death *Piccininus*, lord of ſeveral towns in *Albruzzo*, though he had come to *Naples* upon his ſafe conduct, he threatened to declare war againſt the pope, unleſs he would remit the tribute, and reſtore ſeveral towns that belonged to the kingdom. *Paul*, to prevent a rupture, immediately ſent a legate to *Naples*, who found means, in ſome meaſure, to appeaſe *Ferdinand*, who offered, if the pope would remit the tribute, to give 60,000 crowns to the king of *Hungary*, and to ſend 500 horſe, and as many foot, into *Epirus*. In conſequence of a convention held the former year at *Rome*, to deliberate about the means of oppoſing the *Turks*, the *Venetians* about this time offered to grant an annual ſubſidy of 50,000 crowns to the *Hungarians*, on condition that the pope would indulge them with the tythe of eccleſiaſtical revenues, the thirtieth penny of the citizens, and the twentieth from the *Jews*. The duke of *Milan*, on the ſame condition, offered a reinforcement of 2000 horſe and 1000 foot; and the *Florentines* 1000 horſe and 500 foot, or a ſubſidy of 24,000 crowns. The other ſtates made no offer of any aſſiſtance; and even theſe, not having obtained their requeſt from the pope, performed nothing [c]. While the *Italians* thus excuſed themſelves from furniſhing ſuccours againſt the *Turks*, the famous *Scanderbeg* was entirely defeated by them in *Albania*, and obliged to fly into *Italy*; and the infidels making themſelves maſters of the whole province, carried off a great part of his ſubjects into captivity, while others eſcaped in boats, and took refuge on the *Italian* coaſts, filling that kingdom with conſternation. The pope immediately publiſhed a letter,

*who aſſiſts him in reducing the counts of* Anquillara.

*A difference betwixt him and the king of* Naples.

Scanderbeg *is defeated by the* Turks, *and obliged to fly into* Italy.

[y] PAPIENS. Epiſt. 92. [z] COCHLÆ. Hiſt. l. xii. PAP. Comment. l. ix. [a] Ejuſd. Epiſt. 85.
[b] PLATINA. [c] PAPIENS. Epiſt. 54 & 65.

addreſſed

a addreſſed to all the faithful, informing them of the calamity of the *Albanians*, and earneſtly exhorting them to oppoſe the progreſs of the *Turks*, either by men or money [d].

In the mean time, being informed that the king of *Bohemia* had again attacked the catholics of *Sileſia*, he abſolved them from their vaſſalage to that crown, and put them under the protection of the king of *Hungary*. *Podiebrad*, nevertheleſs, was reſolved to force them to a ſubmiſſion; but his meaſures being thwarted by ſeveral catholic lords, particularly by one *Hynco*, or *Zdenco*, he beſieged him in the fort of *Zaraſten*. During the ſiege *Zdenco* found means to eſcape to *Rome*, where he was graciouſly received by the pope, who ſent him with letters of recommendation to the emperor. *Paul* likewiſe ordered *Podiebrad* to raiſe the ſiege, under pain of excommunication; to prevent which ſentence,

b the king of *Bohemia* wrote to *Rome*, in the name of the reſt of the nobles, blaming *Zdenco* as the author of the diſturbances, at the ſame time deſiring the pope to ſend a nuncio to the emperor, where conferences might be held, to treat of the reduction of *Bohemia* to the catholic religion. This letter did not at all alter the former reſolution of the pope, who ſtill ordered *Podiebrad* to raiſe the ſiege, and ſent a nuncio to the emperor, deſiring him not to treat with the king of *Bohemia*, before he had laid down his arms. *Podiebrad*, notwithſtanding the threatenings of the pope, would not deſiſt from his purpoſe, and, after a ſiege of almoſt twelve months, made himſelf maſter of the place [e]. The pope, upon receiving this news, immediately wrote to his nuncios in *Germany*, to deſire the *German* princes not to oppoſe the proceedings of the apoſtolic ſee againſt the king of *Bohemia*. At the ſame time the

c catholic lords having revolted, he abſolved them from their allegiance, appointed *George* to appear at *Rome* within a certain time, and ordered his nuncio to raiſe forces for the aſſiſtance of the *Bohemian* catholics, and to publiſh a cruſade, if there was occaſion, againſt *Podiebrad*. The king deſpiſing this citation from *Rome*, the pope declared him convicted of perjury, ſacrilege, and herely, and pronounced againſt him a ſentence of excommunication, but delayed publiſhing the decree, that it might not be treated with contempt, as he could not find any one who could put it in execution; the emperor indulging himſelf in a ſlothful inactivity, and the kings of *Poland* and *Hungary* being wholly engaged in oppoſing the *Turks*. At length, encouraged by cardinal *Carvajal*, who inſiſted that in great matters much ought to be left to God, the pope, on *Chriſtmas-day*, publiſhed the

d ſentence of excommunication and depoſition againſt the king, in the church of St. *Peter*. About the ſame time he confirmed the biſhopric of St. *Andrews* in *Scotland* to *Patrick Grahame*, who, after his election, had come to *Rome* without the king's leave: and, to put an end to the pretenſions of the archbiſhop of *York*, who claimed a ſuperiority over the *Scots* prelates, he created the biſhop primate of *Scotland*, and appointed him his legate in that kingdom for three years [f].

Paul *abſolves the* Sileſians *from their allegiance to the king of* Bohemia, A. D. 1466.

*againſt whom he publiſhes a ſentence of excommunication and depoſition.*

The following year *Paul* ſent a legate into *France*, to procure a decree of the parliament of *Paris*, confirming the abrogation of the pragmatic ſanction; but their journey was in vain: for although they again obtained the king's edict for the abrogation, which was publiſhed at the chatelet, yet the parliament oppoſed their proceeding, and the univerſity

e of *Paris* appealed from the legate and the edict of the king to a general council, and ordered their appeal to be inſerted in the acts [g]. Mean time the nuncios of the pope arrived in *Poland*, and offered the kingdom of *Bohemia* to *Caſimir*, or to any of his ſons. The ſame proffer was likewiſe made by the deputies from the catholic nobles of *Bohemia*; but as *George Podiebrad* was then at the head of a conſiderable army of *Bohemians* and *Germans*, *Caſimir* did not chuſe raſhly to accept of the offered crown, but declared that he would firſt endeavour to reconcile *Podiebrad* with the holy ſee. He accordingly ſent an embaſſy to the king of *Bohemia*, who inſiſted that he had never done any injury to the pope, nor had ever violated the compactata of the council of *Baſil*; but, if he had in any thing offended, he was willing to ſubmit to the arbitration of *Caſimir*. However, the catholics refuſing

f to agree to an arbitration, before they could receive the permiſſion of the pope, in the mean time a truce was agreed to for five months. During theſe tranſactions in *Poland*, the emperor, at the repeated ſolicitations of the pope, aſſembled a diet at *Nuremberg*, to conſult of means to oppoſe the *Turks*, and protect the catholics of *Bohemia*. The biſhop of *Ferrara*, the pope's legate, repreſented the great danger to which thoſe catholics were expoſed, who had withdrawn their allegiance from *Podiebrad*, unleſs they were aſſiſted by the *Germans*, as the king of *Poland* manifeſted no great earneſtneſs in their behalf. His repreſentations, however, had little effect upon the princes, who had no great deſire to ſee the king of *Poland* poſſeſſed of the crown of *Bohemia*; and being divided among themſelves, ſingly courted the favour of *Podiebrad*. The emperor likewiſe was diſſatisfied with the

g pope, and alledged that, tho' he might condemn *Podiebrad*, he had no right to diſpoſe of

*He deſires the parliament of* Paris *to confirm the abrogation of the pragmatic ſanction.* A. D. 1467.

*The pope's legate deſires the* Germans *to protect the* Bohemian *catholicks.*

[d] Papiens. Epiſt. 193. [e] Hiſt. Bohem. c. 30. Papiens. Comment. l. vi. [f] Buchan. l. xii. c. 24. [g] Monstrelet. Memoire de Commines.

his kingdom, which depended entirely upon the empire [h]. The diet then broke up, after having reſolved that the empire ſhould maintain 20,000 men for ſix years againſt the *Turks*, and that the pope ſhould be ſolicited to eſtabliſh a ſolid peace among the Chriſtian princes. a

*Paul gives Bohemia to the king of Hungary; A. D. 1468.*

PAUL indeed, the following year, reconciled ſeveral ſtates of *Italy*, that had taken up arms as auxiliaries to the oppoſite factions in *Florence*; and, after the concluſion of that treaty, he entertained the *Romans* with ſumptuous feaſts and races, propoſing eight cloaks to be run for ſeparately, by old men, middle aged, young men, *Jews*, horſes, mares, aſſes, and buffaloes. However, he was ſtill determined to put his decree in execution againſt *Podiebrad*; and all thoughts of an arbitration being laid aſide, he ordered his legate, the biſhop of *Ferrara*, to offer the crown of *Bohemia* to *Matthias*, king of *Hungary*. *Matthias*, b whether from ambition, or zeal for the catholic cauſe, readily accepted of the offer; and, having concluded a truce with the *Turkiſh* governor of *Pannonia*, marched with an army into *Moravia*, attended with the legate, who had denounced an anathema againſt all thoſe who ſhould aſſiſt the heretics. After ſome unſucceſsful attempts, he had a conference with his father-in-law *Podiebrad*; and, agreeing to a truce till the end of the year, he left his army in *Moravia*, and returned to *Hungary*.

*is alarmed with the report of a conſpiracy at* Rome.

DURING this unſucceſsful campaign of *Matthias*, the pope was greatly alarmed at *Rome* with the report of a conſpiracy againſt him, ſaid to be headed by one *Callimaco*, who had a correſpondence with ſome banditti in the wood of *Velitre*. *Paul* immediately ordered a great many citizens and courtiers to be impriſoned; among whom was the hiſtorian *Platina*, who being brought before the pope, was threatened with torments and death, unleſs he would make a confeſſion. *Platina*, conſcious of his own innocence, anſwered without fear; and, to relieve the pope from the terrors with which he ſeemed to be ſeized, endeavoured to perſuade him that the report of the plot muſt have been falſe, as *Callimaco* was an unfit perſon for ſuch an enterprize, being a bad orator, ſlothful, ambitious, poor, without forces and dependents, and beſides almoſt blind. But this diſcourſe ſerved only to aggravate his crime, the pope, in a paſſion, ſaying to thoſe who were preſent, "This "fellow muſt be forced by the rack to confeſs the truth, for he underſtands the true art of "plotting." Although a few days afterwards the pope was fully informed of the falſehood of the plot, yet, that he might not ſeem to have acted from levity, he ordered *Platina*, and a great many other priſoners, to be put to the torture, ſeveral of whom died under the hands of the tormentors. *Platina* was ſtretched upon the rack twice in one day, and, with a great many others, continued a whole year in priſon. c d

*The emperor arrives at* Rome *in conſequence of a vow.*

IN the mean time the emperor, in conſequence of a vow, arrived at *Rome*, where he was treated with great magnificence by the pope, who ſpent on that occaſion 18,000 ducats. Four days after his arrival, he aſſiſted at a public conſiſtory, and propoſed, as the moſt proper expedient to engage the Chriſtians in a league againſt the *Turks*, that a convention ſhould be held at *Conſtance*, at which the pope and he ſhould aſſiſt in perſon, and to which other Chriſtian princes ſhould be invited. The pope remembering the former proceedings in that city, did not reliſh this propoſal; but, after much conſultation, it was e agreed that letters ſhould be written, in the name of the emperor and pope, to the princes and ſtates in Chriſtendom, inviting them to ſend their ambaſſadors to *Rome*, to treat about the means of defending the faith; and that the *Venetians* ſhould be indulged with a tenth of clergy, a twentieth of *Jews*, and a thirtieth of the laity in their own dominions.

*The pope inſults thoſe who were impriſoned, on account of the conſpiracy.* A. D. 1469.

AFTER the departure of the emperor, who continued only ſeventeen days at *Rome*, the pope viſited *Platina*, and the other priſoners; and that his ſeverity might ſeem to have ſome foundation, he charged them with many crimes, particularly that they diſputed concerning the immortality of the ſoul, and called the being of a God in queſtion, and were too great admirers of pagan antiquities. *Platina* anſwered to the two firſt accuſations, f that both divines and philoſophers, for the ſake of argument, have made a queſtion of propoſitions which they really believed; and he aſſures us, that no perſon could be more fond of pagan antiquities than the pope himſelf; for he procured as many ſtatues of the ancients as he could, and placed them in a houſe that he had built near the capitol: among the reſt he took away a porphyry tomb of St. *Conſtantia* from the church of St. *Agnes*, againſt the inclination of the monks: and in the foundation of his houſe he laid a great number of medals of gold, ſilver, and braſs, ſtruck with his own image. Two days after the pope viſited the priſoners a ſecond time, and, after ſome diſcourſe, went away in a paſſion, upbraiding *Platina* with ingratitude againſt ſo good a friend as he had been to

[h] PAPIENS. Epiſt. 282.

a him. At length, wearied with the interceſſion of the cardinals, he ſet him at liberty [i] (Y). About the ſame time, being informed that *Malateſta*, prince of *Rimini*, had revolted from the church, and contracted an alliance with the king of *Naples*, the duke of *Milan*, and the *Florentines*, he ſent an army againſt him, and beſieged him in *Rimini*; but the allies of *Malateſta* ſending ſome troops to his aſſiſtance, the army of the pope was defeated. and obliged to raiſe the ſiege; *Paul* ſoon after conſenting to a peace upon very diſhonourable terms [k].

*They are at laſt ſet at liberty.*

Mean while *Matthias*, having returned to *Moravia*, was declared king of *Bohemia* and marquis of *Moravia* at *Olmutz*, and proceeding from thence to *Breſlau*, he was there received as prince of *Sileſia*. Upon his return to *Moravia*, he took *Victorin*, one of the
b ſons of *Podiebrad*, priſoner, and made himſelf maſter of ſeveral towns: however, he was ſoon after defeated by *Victorin*'s brother, and obliged to return to *Hungary* for ſuccours. *Podiebrad* likewiſe, in order to thwart the ambitious views of *Matthias*, propoſed to the ſtates at *Prague*, to ſettle the ſucceſſion of *Bohemia* upon *Ladiſlaus*, ſon of the king of *Poland*. This ſettlement gave ſatisfaction to both the factions; and *Caſimir* promiſing to ſupport the intereſts of his ſon, *Matthias* quickly loſt a great many partizans: however, he ſtill reſolved to ſupport his claim, and ſent an ambaſſador to the pope, deſiring him to diſcountenance the pretenſions of *Ladiſlaus* [l]. *Paul*, about the ſame time, received another embaſſy from the king of *Poland*, deſiring him to confirm the election of his ſon; but the pope being determined to ſupport the intereſts of *Matthias*, ſent the biſhop of *Forli* as his legate to
c *Caſimir*, declaring that he could not abandon the king of *Hungary*, who had deſerved ſo well of the apoſtolic ſee, and exhorting him to give one of his daughters in marriage to *Matthias*, and to aſſiſt him againſt *Podiebrad* the enemy of the church.

*The* Bohemians *give their crown to the ſon of the king of* Poland.

*The pope ſupports the claim of* Matthias. A. D. 1470.

The pope being ſoon after informed that the *Turks* were beſieging *Negropont*, with an army of 120,000 men, and a fleet of 100 gallies, he ordered public ſupplications to be made in the church of St. *Peter* and in the *Lateran*, to which laſt he went himſelf on foot, carrying the image of the virgin *Mary* [m]. This ſame year he likewiſe publiſhed a bull, reducing the jubilee to the twenty-fifth year, to commence in the year one thouſand four hundred and ſeventy-five; and having prevailed with the emperor to convoke a diet at *Ratisbon*, to conſult of means to oppoſe the *Turks*, who, beſides their preſent ſucceſſes in the
d *Archipelago*, the year before had made an irruption into *Carniola*, he ſent two legates to be preſent at that aſſembly. The diet, which was very numerous, was accordingly opened on the 22d of *June* by the biſhop of *Trent*, who, in the name of the emperor, made a ſpeech in the *German* language; and repreſenting the great calamities of the Chriſtians, and the late ravaging of *Carniola*, one of the hereditary provinces of the *Auſtrian* family, he exhorted the princes to imitate the valour of their anceſtors, in oppoſing the infidels, and defending the Chriſtian religion: the two legates addreſſed the aſſembly to the ſame purpoſe. However, although the *Venetian* ambaſſador offered, on the part of that republic, a fleet of 120 ſail, and the princes propoſed, according to a general aſſeſſment, to raiſe an army of 200,000 men, yet nothing was effected, by reaſon of the ſlothful inactivity of the
e emperor, which occaſioned one of the legates to write to the cardinal of *Pavia*, that they would ſurely beat the *Turks*, if the emperor would fight with as great vigour as he then ſnored [n].

*A bull is publiſhed for celebrating a jubilee every 25 years.* A. D. 1471.

During theſe tranſactions in *Germany*, the pope, having erected *Ferrara* into a dutchy, and given the inveſtiture of it to *Borſo*, marquis of *Eſte*, ſoon after died at *Rome*, on the 25th or 26th of *July*, of a fit of an apoplexy, no perſon being preſent at his death. During the pontificate of *Paul*, all offices at the *Roman* court were expoſed to ſale; and under this pretence he ſold biſhoprics, and other benefices, to the higheſt bidder, the office being ſold, and the church given gratis. Thoſe candidates, whoſe pretenſions were only ſupported by learning and a good life, were always ſet aſide. He likewiſe increaſed the number of
f vacant benefices, by ſupplying them chiefly by tranſlations, by which means he brought

*The pope dies at* Rome.

[i] Platina in Vita Paul II. [k] Pap. Epiſt. 276. Spond. Annal. Plat. [l] Cromer. l. xxvii. Dubrav. l. xxx. [m] Spond. Annal. [n] Campan. Epiſt. 18, 19. ap. Papiens. Epiſt. 375, 376, 386, 387.

(Y) *Platina*, upon being releaſed from priſon, was ſent for by the duke of *Mantua* to the baths, his right arm having contracted a great indiſpoſition during his impriſonment. *Paul* at firſt prohibited him from going, promiſing to do great things for him in a ſhort time; but, at the interceſſion of cardinal *Beſſarion*, he at laſt allowed him to depart from *Rome*. After he had returned, the pope frequently boaſted the great kindneſs he had for him, and promiſed to the *Venetians* and *Milaneſe* ambaſſadors to provide for him in an honourable way. After *Platina* had ſpent two years in expectation, he propoſed to go to *Bologna*, with the cardinal of *Mantua*, who was legate of that city; but the pope deſired him to ſtay, and renewed his former promiſe: however, death prevented him from fulfilling it (9). *Sixtus* IV. reſtored him to his employments, and made him keeper of the *Vatican* library, which place he enjoyed but a few months, dying in 1481 (1).

(9) *Platina.* (1) *Trithem. & Belarmin. de Script. Eccleſ.*

into

into his treaſury large ſums of money, of which he was very fond. He was a great enemy to human learning, and diſſuaded the people of *Rome* from putting their children to grammar ſchools, declaring, that they were ſufficiently learned if they could read and write [o]. The ſame author relates, that he was reputed a juſt and a merciful man; that he adorned the city with ſeveral magnificent buildings, and was ſometimes liberal to the poorer cardinals and biſhops, and to the ſick and diſtreſſed. a

THE cardinals having mourned the uſual time for the death of *Paul*, on the 7th of *Auguſt* entered the conclave to elect a ſucceſſor. The pontificate was at firſt offered to cardinal *Beſſarion*, under certain conditions; but he declaring that he would not accept of it under any reſtrictions, the cardinals applied themſelves to *Francis della Rovere*, a cardinal prieſt, who conſenting to what they deſired, two days after was choſen pope, b

Sixtus IV. *is elected.*

and aſſumed the name of *Sixtus* IV. *Francis* was born in the territory of *Savona*, on the *Genoeſe* coaſt, according to *Onuphrius*, of noble parents; but others relate, that his birth was obſcure, and that his father was a fiſherman, which employment he himſelf at firſt followed [p]: and the *Venetian* ambaſſador, in his ſpeech of congratulation, expreſsly declares, that he was not indebted to his anceſtors for his nobility, but was rendered noble by his virtue and learning [q]. He was by profeſſion a *Franciſcan*; and having acquired a great character by ſeveral treatiſes which he publiſhed on obſcure points of divinity, he was elected general of his order, and was created a cardinal without any ſolicitation, and during his abſence, by *Paul* II. Immediately after his promotion to the pontificate, he propoſed to convoke a general council at the *Lateran*, for the reformation of the church, and c to conſult of means to defend Chriſtendom againſt the *Turks*; but the emperor objecting to the place, this expedient of a council was dropt, and four legates were created, with full authority, to each of whom he aſſigned a penſion of 500 crowns a month. Cardinal *Beſſarion* was commiſſioned as legate to the king of *France*, to reconcile that prince with the dukes of *Burgundy* and *Brittany*. The cardinal *St. Mark* was ſent into *Germany*, to endeavour to conclude a peace with the king of *Hungary*, and *Ladiſlaus*, ſon of the king of *Poland*, who a few months before, by the death of *Podiebrad*, had ſucceeded to the crown of *Bohemia*. *Roderigo Borgia*, his vice-chancellor, was ſent into *Spain*, and *Oliver Caraffa* to *Venice* and the knights of *Rhodes*, to take upon him the command of the fleet againſt the infidels [r]. Collectors were likewiſe ſent to all the provinces of *Europe*, to raiſe the tax d agreed to at the convention of *Mantua*; and indulgences were granted to thoſe who engaged in the cruſade, or contributed to the expences of the war. The cardinal of *Pavia*, who was then abſent, quelling an inſurrection in *Umbria*, mentions a fifth legation, but does not inform us particularly what it was. He at the ſame time expreſſes his apprehenſions of the bad ſucceſs of thoſe pompous legations, and complains that the pope had violated the laws made in the conclave, by creating two of his nephews cardinals, who had not arrived at their 30th year [s] (Z). The pope indeed quickly found the bad effects of his liberal and free diſpoſition; for having given donations of the ſame thing to three or four different perſons, his court was immediately diſturbed with quarrels and diſputes. To prevent theſe for the future, he gave the privy-ſeal to one *Montemirabile*, a man of experience, who va- e cated ſuch donations as were not regularly granted.

Matthias *refuſes an accommodation with the king of* Poland. A. D. 1472.

MEAN while the legates, having received their inſtructions, departed from *Rome*. The cardinal of St *Mark* having proceeded to *Poland*, was received by *Caſimir* with great honour; but he did not ſucceed in his endeavours to procure a peace, which was owing to the backwardneſs of *Matthias*, who had lately concluded a treaty with the emperor, and therefore judged that he ſhould be able by force, to make good his pretenſions to *Bohemia* againſt *Ladiſlaus*. Cardinal *Beſſarion*, after he had entered *France*, was prohibited to come to *Paris* by the king, who was offended that he had firſt viſited the duke of *Burgundy*. At length after two months delay, he gave him permiſſion to come to the capital: however, he diſmiſſed him at the firſt audience, without hearkening to his propoſals for peace, f or promiſing any ſuccours againſt the *Turks*. The cardinal immediately returned to *Turin*, and ſailing from thence down the *Po* to *Ravenna*, ſoon after died in that city, in the 77th

[o] PLATINA. [p] MASSON de vit. Pontif. FULGOS. de dict. & fact. l. iii. c. 4. [q] SPOND. Annal.
[r] ONUPHR. in vita Sixt. [s] PAPIENS. Epiſt. 407, 408, 414, 416, &c.

(Z) One of theſe young men was afterwards pope, by the name of *Julius* II. The other, *Peter Riario*, died two years afterwards, in the 28th year of his age, having killed himſelf by his voluptuous exceſſes. His uncle, who is accuſed of being too indulgent to his relations, and cenſured for promoting them to dignities and honours by unjuſtifiable means, created him legate in *Italy*, and conferred upon him a great many rich benefices; but he lived in ſo luxurious and extravagant a manner, that in two years he ſpent 200,000 crowns, and left a debt of 70,000. He maintained 500 domeſtics, and is commended for his liberality, being wont to declare, that all honeſt men were welcome to be his gueſts (2).

(2) *Addit. Victorel. ad Ciacon.* *Papiens. Epiſt.* 528, 529, 548.

year

a year of his age[t]. (A). The king of *France*, that he might not ſeem, by his treatment of *Beſſarion*, to have any perſonal animoſity againſt the pope, ſoon after the departure of that cardinal ſent an embaſſy to the apoſtolic ſee, to demand the celebration of a general council at *Lyons*; and that the archbiſhop of that city might be promoted to the dignity of cardinal. His ambaſſador likewiſe requeſted, that no *Frenchman* ſhould be received into the ſacred college without the king's knowledge or conſent; that the annates ſhould be regulated according to the decrees of the councils of *Conſtance* and *Baſil*; that the biſhoprics in *France* might be conferred only on ſuch perſons as were agreeable to the king; that the *French* clergy might be exempted from the tythe for the *Turkiſh* war; and that eccleſiaſtical cauſes might not be carried to the court of *Rome* in the firſt inſtance. The pope
b did not think proper to grant any of theſe demands; but four years afterwards he created the archbiſhop of *Lyons* a cardinal[u]. In the mean time cardinal *Borgia* had arrived at his native city of *Valentia*, of which he was biſhop, and made a diſcourſe to his clergy, compoſed by the cardinal of *Pavia*[w]. At *Madrid* he aſſembled the clergy of *Caſtile*, reconciling *Henry* to *Ferdinand*, prince of *Arragon*, who had married his ſiſter *Iſabel* againſt his will, although he produced the pope's bull, diſpenſing with the conſanguinity. *Henry* was ſo diſpleaſed with his proceedings, that he ſent an ambaſſador to the apoſtolic ſee to accuſe him; upon which the legates thought proper to return to *Rome* (B).

*The pope receives an embaſſy from the king of* France.

During theſe tranſactions the pope had terminated all the differences betwixt the apoſtolic ſee and the king of *Naples*. The duchy of *Sora* was reſtored to *Ferdinand*, who gave
c it with his natural daughter to one of the pope's nephews. The tribute, which was owing both by his father and himſelf, was remitted, in conſideration of which he promiſed to defend the church of *Rome* at his charge, and to furniſh two gallies for the protection of the *Roman* coaſt. He likewiſe fitted out a fleet of ſeventeen ſhips to act againſt the *Turks*, in conjunction with that of the pope and the *Venetians*. *Sixtus* having given his benediction to the fleet in the *Tyber*, and granted full remiſſion of ſins to all thoſe who died during the expedition, cardinal *Caraffa* ſailed from thence the beginning of *June*, and ſoon after joined the *Neapolitans* and *Venetians*. The whole fleet, which conſiſted of eighty-five ſail, made an unſucceſsful attack upon *Attalia*, or *Satalia*, a city of *Pamphilia*; but afterwards, when the *Neapolitans* had returned home, the legate ſurpriſed and plundered *Smyrna*,
d and arrived at *Rome* about the end of *January*, with twelve camels laden with booty, and twenty-five *Turkiſh* captives[x]. *Sixtus*, during his abſence, publiſhed a bull, declaring the church of *Scotland* independent of the juriſdiction of the archbiſhop of *York*, and erecting the church of St. *Andrew*'s into a metropolitan ſee[y]. As the *Germans* refuſed to pay the tythe for the *Turkiſh* war, the pope about the ſame time likewiſe denounced an anathema againſt thoſe who ſhould detain any part of theſe tythes[z], and ordered the archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to excommunicate the biſhop of *Bath* and his accomplices, and cite him to appear at *Rome*, becauſe he had impriſoned the apoſtolic nuncio, who had come into *England*, to collect the taxes due to the apoſtolic chamber[a].

*Cardinal* Caraffa *ſails with a fleet againſt the* Turks.

*The church of* Scotland *declared independent of that of* England.

The following year *Sixtus* was informed that *Matthias* king of *Hungary* had ſent am- A. D. 1473.
e baſſadors to *Conſtantinople* to treat of a peace with *Mohammed*, who was attacked in *Aſia* by *Uſumcaſſan* king of *Perſia*, and that he had offered to aſſiſt him againſt *Uſumcaſſan*, if he would allow him a ſubſidy in money, and reſtore *Boſnia* and *Servia*. Upon receiving this news, he immediately wrote to the king to diſſuade him from that alliance, and charged the biſhop of *Ferrara* his legate in *Hungary*, to enquire diligently into the truth of the report[b]. As the hiſtorians make no mention of this negociation, it is probable that it was not true, or perhaps *Matthias* deſiſted upon the admonition of the pope, or *Mohammed* hav-

[t] Ejuſd. Epiſt. 437, 455, &c. [u] Idem Epiſt. 450. Bzov. hoc an. [w] Ap. Papiens. Epiſt. 441.
[x] Onuphr. in Sixtus IV. Pet. Justin. l. ix. Pap. Epiſt. 439, 440. [y] P. Virg. l. 13 & 24. Spond. Annal. [z] Krantz, Wand. l. xiii. c. 7. [a] Bzov. hoc. an. [b] Pap. epiſt. 516, 517.

(A) *Beſſarion* was moſt eloquent both in *Greek* and *Latin*, ſkilled in all the ſciences, and a great defender of the *Platonic* philoſophy againſt the followers of *Ariſtotle*. He wrote ſeveral treatiſes in divinity, philoſophy, and the *Belles lettres*; and as he was the oldeſt, ſo he was likewiſe reckoned the wiſeſt of all the cardinals. His actions and his diſcourſes were always ſuitable to his dignity. All matters debated in the conſiſtory, were generally referred to his deciſion; and, according to the cardinal of *Pavia*, the whole weight of affairs was ſupported by him alone (3). *Platina*, who wrote a panegyric upon him, relates, that the republic of *Venice* gave him 30,000 crowns for his library, which conſiſted chiefly of *Greek* books (4).

(B) the cardinal of *Pavia* relates, that *Borgia* had long deſired to viſit his own country; and having ſerved the pope at his election, he purchaſed the legation from him by money, with the deſign of amply repaying himſelf in his viſit to *Caſtile*, *Arragon*, and *Portugal*: that in his progreſs through theſe kingdoms he left behind him great teſtimonies of his luxury, ambition, and avarice; and that one of the two gallies, which conducted him and his family to *Italy*, was loſt, with great part of the ſpoils, and he with great difficulty ſaved himſelf in the port of *Leghorn* (5).

(3) *Pap. Epiſt.* 127, 488. (4) *Platina in Poneg. Pet. in Juſtin. in hiſt. Venet. l.* viii. *in fin.* (5) *Papiens. Epiſt.* 534.

ing about this time gained a ſignal victory over the *Perſians*, ſlighted the offer of the king of *Hungary*. Soon after the pope created eight cardinals, three of whom were nominated by the emperor, the king of *France*, and the king of *Naples*. *Ferdinand*, not contented with this favour, about a month afterwards deſired a new creation to be made in favour of a certain eccleſiaſtic, who was unworthy of the dignity. Although he was very urgent in his requeſt, yet it was oppoſed by the greateſt part of the cardinals, and the new creation was deferred till *Chriſtmas*; before which time the king was prevailed upon to drop his ſuit. In the mean time *Sixtus* confirmed the order of friars minims, which had been inſtituted about thirty years before by St. *Francis* of *Paola*, a city of *Calabria* [c]. Being informed that ſome *Carmelites* at *Bologna* aſſerted that it was not heretical to conſult the devils, he wrote to the vicar of the biſhop to make enquiry into the truth of the report, and to give information to the apoſtolic ſee. About the ſame time he publiſhed a bull for the reduction of the jubilee to the twenty-five years, and, that the people might be excited to come to *Italy*, he ſuſpended all indulgencies and pardons granted for viſiting of any churches, except thoſe of *Rome* [d]. A few months afterwards, cardinal *Riario* dying, *Sixtus* created his brother *Jeronimo* prince of *Imola* and *Forli*; and, appointing him vicar of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, concluded a marriage betwixt him and the natural daughter of the duke of *Milan*: on which account he promoted the duke's brother to the dignity of a cardinal. Being informed likewiſe that the king of *Denmark* had entered *Italy*, attended by the duke of *Lower Saxony*, and a great many nobles, in the habit of pilgrims, he ſent ſome perſons to wait on him at the confines of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and to conduct him to *Rome*, where he was received with great honour and magnificence. The king, who was admired for his ſtature, and on account of his title of king of the *Goths*, behaved with great ſubmiſſion and reſpect to the pope and the ſacred college. He held the baſon when the pope waſhed his hands; and, on *Good Friday* he refuſed to kiſs the croſs till all the cardinals had performed that ceremony [e]. Soon after *Frederic* the ſecond ſon of the king of *Naples*, arrived at *Rome* in his way to *Burgundy*, where he propoſed to marry the duke's only daughter and heireſs. As ſeveral of the cardinals were his relations, they propoſed to receive him in a body; but the pope, by the opinion of others, ſent only the cardinal of St. *Peter ad Vincula*, who received him at the *Appian* gate, and conducted him to the *Vatican*.

*The pope creates his nephew prince of* Imola *and* Forli. A. D. 1474.

*A jubilee celebrated at* Rome. A. D. 1475.

THE following year, according to the pope's bull, the jubilee was celebrated at *Rome*, but not with ſuch a great concourſe of pilgrims as was expected; for many who had laid in great ſtores of proviſions were obliged to ſell them at an under-price [f]. As many perſons had entered *Italy*, who were afraid of proceeding to *Rome*, *Sixtus* appointed a jubilee to be held at *Bologna*, from the 1ſt of *May* to the end of the year; on which account great numbers of pilgrims reſorted to that city [g]. Among thoſe that went to *Rome* was *Ferdinand* king of *Naples*, who obtained from the pope the remiſſion of the yearly tribute due to the *Roman* ſee, on condition of ſending every year a white horſe, with his trappings to *Rome* [h]. *Ferdinand* likewiſe ſucceeded in diſſolving the alliance which had been concluded betwixt the duke of *Milan*, the *Venetians*, and *Florentines* [i]. The pope in the mean time, being informed that the *Turks* had taken *Croja* in *Albania* from the *Venetians*, and *Caffa*, a ſtrong city in the *Tauric Cherſoneſe*, from the *Genoeſe*, he wrote to the kings of *Poland* and *Hungary*, exhorting them to conclude a peace, and to unite their arms againſt the infidels. Theſe two princes began to be both alarmed at the progreſs of the *Turks*, and accordingly agreed to a peace; by which *Matthias* was left in poſſeſſion of *Moravia* and *Sileſia*, and *Uladiſlaus* was acknowleged king of *Bohemia*. *Sixtus* ſoon after was obliged to quit *Rome* on account of the plague, which raged in the city in conſequence of a dreadful inundation of the *Tiber*, the waters of which, in the beginning of *January*, had riſen to the firſt ſtep of the high altar in St. *Paul*'s church [k]. As a means to remove this calamity, the pope publiſhed a bull for celebrating the office of the immaculate conception of the Virgin *Mary*, promiſing indulgencies to thoſe who ſhould either recite the office in private, or be preſent when it was publicly celebrated [l]. This bull, however, was publicly contradicted by a great many orders of monks, who, both in their ſermons and books, aſſerted, that it was a mortal ſin to believe the immaculate conception of the Bleſſed Virgin, and that evn to be preſent at the office was a crime [m].

*The pope is obliged to quit the city on account of the plague.*

THE pope about this time being apprehenſive leſt the king of *France* ſhould ſeize *Avignon*, as he had a great many troops in its neighbourhood, he ſent his nephew cardinal *Julian* as legate into that kingdom. His viſit was not very agreeable to the king, who obliged him to promiſe not to violate the rights, privileges, and prerogatives, of the *Gallican* church. *Lewis* likewiſe publiſhed ſeveral edicts derogatory to the honour of the apoſtolic

[c] SPOND Annal. [d] Extravagan. Commun. l. v. tit. 9. c. 4. [e] KRANTZ Saxon. l. xii. c. 12. Pap. epiſt. 556. [f] CIACON. in Sixt. IV. [g] SIGON. de Epiſc. Behon l. iv. hoc anno. [h] ONUPHR. in Sixt. IV. [i] PALM. in Chron. [k] Pap. epiſt. 642. [l] Extravag. Commun. l. iii. tit. 12. [m] SPOND. Annal.

a ſee. By the firſt he declared, that, as the council of *Conſtance* had given an authority to kings of demanding every five years the convocation of a general council, he intended, as ſoon as poſſible, to uſe that privilege, and therefore ordered all the prelates to repair to their reſpective dioceſes to expect the citation. By another he prohibited, under pain of baniſhment, any abbot, prior, or monk, from going out of the kingdom to the general chapter of their orders. In the mean time the *Turks*, after ravaging *Moldavia*, having been obliged to retire upon the reproach of the king of *Poland* with a numerous army, *Matthias* king of *Hungary* arrogated to himſelf the honour of their retreat, and wrote to *Italy*, declaring, that he had defeated them; in conſideration of which pretended ſervice his name was greatly celebrated at *Rome*, and he obtained a ſubſidy of 200,000 crowns from the pope and the ſtates
b of *Italy*: however, ſoon after, while he was celebrating his marriage with *Beatrice* the daughter of the king of *Naples*, the *Turks* made themſelves maſters of *Sinderavia*, and ravaged great part of *Carniola*, *Carinthia*, and *Stiria* [n]. The year following *Matthias* loſt his ſubſidy from the pope and the ſtates of *Italy*, as he had neglected the defence of his own kingdom againſt the *Turks*, to make war upon the emperor, who had remonſtrated againſt his marriage, as a breach of the treaty ſubſiſting betwixt them, by which *Frederick* was declared heir to the kingdom of *Hungary* [o].

*The king of* France *publiſhes ſeveral edicts derogatory to the authority of the holy ſee.*

Mean while, the duke of *Milan* being aſſaſſinated in the church of St. *Ambroſe*, *Italy* was ſoon after divided into two factions. The widow of the late duke aſſuming the adminiſtration of the government for her ſon, who was then a boy, made an alliance with the *Vene-*
c *tians*, and with *Laurence* and *Julian Medici*, who, with their friends and dependents, governed the republic of *Florence*. The pope, who was at enmity wtth the family of the *Medici*, entered into a conſpiracy againſt them with the family of the *Pazzi*, and made an alliance with *Ferdinand* king of *Naples*. According to *Machiavel*, the pope created one *Salviati*, an enemy of the houſe of *Medici*, archbiſhop of *Piſa*, to whom the ſenate of *Florence* refuſed to give poſſeſſion [p]. Other authors relate, that *Laurence Medici*, being offended that the pope had refuſed to create his brother *Julian* a cardinal, gave aſſiſtance in men and money to the lord of *Caſtello*, who recovered his inheritance from the pope, and likewiſe diſappointed *Sixtus* in purchaſing *Imola*, by lending money to the prince, which prevented him from ſelling his patrimony. In reſentment for theſe affronts, the pope entered into a conſpiracy with the *Paz-*
d *zi*, the rivals of the *Medici*, to murder *Laurence* and *Julian*, and to change the government of *Florence*. But, that ſuch a horrid wickedneſs might not ſeem to have entered into the heart of a pope, he truſted the whole management of the plot to his nephew *Jeronimo*. However, he allowed him to uſe his authority to influence ſome of the *Pazzi*, who refuſed to be concerned in the plot, and prevailed with the king of *Naples* to ſend ſome troops into *Tuſcany*, under pretence of recovering ſome towns that belonged to the eccleſiaſtical ſtate; but, in reality, to ſeize *Florence* upon the death of the *Medici*. The conſpirators, having a long time waited for an opportunity to find the two brothers together, at length determined to attack them in the cathedral church during the celebration of maſs, while the archbiſhop of *Piſa* ſhould ſeize the palace and ſurprize the ſenate. However, they failed in their attempt;
e for *Julian* was only ſlain, and *Laurence* ſaved himſelf in the veſtry. The ſenate, likewiſe being alarmed with the behaviour of the archbiſhop, ſeized him and ſome others, and immediately put them to death; and, the people crouding to the palace in defence of *Laurence*, the greateſt part of the conſpirators were apprehended and executed [q].

Sixtus *enters into a conſpiracy to murder the* Medici *at* Florence. A. D. 1478.

The pope, ſeeing the plot miſcarry, immediately determined upon an open war, which he commenced with his ſpiritual arms, laying the city of *Florence* under an interdict, on account of the violence they had committed againſt the eccleſiaſtics, in putting the archbiſhop of *Piſa* to death, and impriſoning the cardinal of St. *George*, who had been ſent for from *Piſa* to countenance the plot, and was preſent in the church when *Julian Medici* was ſlain. The *Florentines*, in their own juſtification, wrote to all the ſtates of *Italy*, ſetting forth the wickedneſs and injuſtice of the pope, from whom they appealed to a general coun-
f cil; and as the papal army, with the troops of the king of *Naples*, were marching againſt them, they demanded ſuccours from the king of *France*, the duke of *Milan*, the *Venetians*, and other ſtates. They procured ſome aſſiſtance from the dukes of *Milan*, *Ferrara*, and *Mantua*, and the king of *France* ſent them 300 horſe, under the command of *Philip de Commines*, the famous hiſtorian [r]; by which they were enabled to oppoſe the progreſs of the enemy till winter obliged them to quit the field. The king of *France* likewiſe ſent ambaſſadors to the pope, deſiring him to take off the interdict from the *Florentines*, or to call a general council, declaring, that, if he would not conſent, he himſelf, with other princes, would convoke a council to redreſs the grievances of the church. He aſſembled the nobles and prelates of his kingdom in a convention at *Orleans*, to conſult about reſtoring the prag-

*He declares war againſt the* Florentines;

*who are aſſiſted by the king of* France *and the duke of* Milan.

[n] Pap. epiſt. 644, 648. Michov. l. iv. c. 71. [o] Michov. l. iv. c. 72. Cromer. l. xxviii. in fin. Bonf. dec. iv. l. 5. p. 437. [p] Machiav. Hiſt. Flor. l. viii. [q] Onuphr. in Sixt. IV. Brut. i. vi. & vii. Volater. l. v. [r] Commin. l. vi. c. 5.

matic

matic ſanction and abrogating the annates, and recalled all thoſe from the *Roman* court who held benefices in *France*, under pain of forfeiting their revenues. By theſe proceedings he ſeems to have deſigned only to intimidate the pope, for nothing material was tranſacted at *Orleans*; however, on the 16th of *Auguſt*, the king publiſhed an edict, wherein, after complaining of the pope's proceedings againſt the *Florentines*, and of the grievous exactions of money which he ſquandered in unjuſt wars, he prohibited all his ſubjects from carrying or ſending money to *Rome*, or from going thither to ſollicit for benefices [s]. The pope, by the advice of the cardinal of *Pavia* [t], endeavoured to ſooth the king, by reminding him that *Charlemagne* declared, that, though the yoke of the church was grievous, it ought to be borne with ſubmiſſion and humility; he promiſed to ſend a nuncio to ſatisfy him of the juſtneſs of his proceedings againſt the *Florentines*, who had moſt outrageouſly violated the eccleſiaſtical liberty; that, therefore, to convoke a general council would be for the advantage of his cauſe, but this expedient was not proper, as it required a long time; and as to renewing the pragmatic ſanction, he wondered the king ſhould think of that, as he had formerly declared, that he had aboliſhed it for juſt reaſons. This anſwer of the pope did not ſatisfy the king of *France*, whoſe example ſeems to have been imitated by the *Venetians* and *Milaneſe*; for it appears from a monitory of *Sixtus* to the emperor [u], that both theſe recalled their prelates, and withdrew their obedience from the pope.

a

b

During theſe tranſactions, the pope being informed that the archbiſhop of *Cologn* was impriſoned by the landgrave of *Heſſe*, he ſent two legates into *Germany* to treat with the emperor, the landgrave, and other princes, about procuring his liberty: however, his endeavours were fruitleſs; for, after two years confinement, the archbiſhop died in priſon [w]. About the ſame time he publiſhed a bull, revoking all the powers of abſolving from crimes, which had been granted to a great many laymen as well as clergy, and, as the authority of the keys was thereby brought into contempt, for the future he reſerved that authority for the apoſtolic ſee alone [x] (C). In the mean time embaſſies had arrived at *Rome* from the different provinces of *Europe*, in vain intreating the pope to an accommodation with the *Florentines*. *Sixtus* refuſed to hearken to any terms of peace, unleſs *Laurence de Medicis* was delivered up: the war therefore continued, but with ſmall ſucceſs to either ſide; the advantage, however, was chiefly on the part of the pope [y]. Towards the end of the campaign the king and the pope, to give ſome hopes of peace, offered a truce for three months to the *Florentines*, which they accepted of: and during this ſhort reſpite, having leiſure to reflect upon their calamities, they reſolved, if poſſible, to detach *Ferdinand* from the pope's intereſt: accordingly *Laurence de Medicis* went as ambaſſador from the *Florentines* to *Naples*, where he was ſo ſucceſsful as to conclude an offenſive and defenſive alliance with *Ferdinand* [z]. *Sixtus* in the mean time was informed, that one *Peter de Oſma*, a profeſſor of divinity at *Salamanca*, had publiſhed a book, containing a great many propoſitions contrary to the catholic faith; namely, that the popes were not infallible, and could not remit the pains of purgatory, or diſpenſe with the decrees of the univerſal church; that the ſacrament of penance was only an invention of men, and that mortal ſins were only expiated by contrition of heart. Theſe propoſitions being condemned in a council held by the archbiſhop of *Toledo*, the pope ſoon after examined them at *Rome*, and confirmed the ſentence of the archbiſhop, denouncing an anathema againſt the author if he did not recant [a] (D).

*The Chriſtian princes intercede for the* Florentines; A. D. 1459.

c

d

e

[s] Gaguin. l. x. Æmil. in Ludov. XI. Spond. Annal. [t] Pap. epiſt. 677. [u] Bzov. ex eod. Vatic. an. 1479. [w] Idem hoc. an. Kran. Saxon. l. ii. c. 22. [x] Extravag. Commun. l. v. tit. 9. [y] Ap. Pap. epiſt. 680. Onuphr. in Sixt. IV. [z] Machiav. Hiſt. Flor. l. viii. [a] Spond. Annal.

(C) The inquiſition, which for a long time had been eſtabliſhed in *Arragon*, *Italy*, *France*, and *Germany*, was this year introduced into the kingdom of *Caſtile*, by means of *Gonſalvo de Mendoza*, cardinal of *Spain*, *Thomas Tunecrémata*, a *Dominican* friar, and the king's confeſſor was appointed governor, who upon publiſhing an edict, offering a pardon to thoſe who confeſſed their hereſy, no leſs than 17,000 became voluntary penitents. Two thouſand who were convicted of obſtinacy, were condemned to the flames, and a greater number ſaved themſelves by flight in the neighbouring provinces. From this beginning, the inquiſition acquired ſuch authority, that nothing, according to *Mariana*, could be a greater terror to wicked men, or of more ſervice to the common-wealth (6).

(D) This ſame year one *John Ruchard*, a doctor of divinity, was condemned at *Mentz* by the inquiſition, and ordered to recant ſome propoſitions which he had publicly preached at *Worms*. His book was burned before his eyes, and he himſelf ſhut up in a convent of *Auguſtine* friars, where he ſoon after died of grief. According to *Trithemius*, theſe were ſome of the chief propoſitions for which he was condemned; namely, that prelates had no authority to inſtitute any thing beſides what was taught by Chriſt and his apoſtles; that the fathers of the church did not interpret ſcripture with the ſame ſpirit by which it was wrote. Indulgences were nothing but cheats and deluſions. There was no original ſin. All prieſts were biſhops and popes, the difference betwixt them being only nominal and of human inſtitution; and that without prieſts men could be ſaved by faith, charity, and peace. Extreme unction was not a ſacrament, and was never inſtituted by Chriſt. The proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt from the Son could not be proved from ſcripture, and therefore the doctrine of the *Greeks* on that article ought to be adhered to. There were ſome propoſitions likewiſe againſt canonical hours, the obſervation of holidays, the celibacy of the clergy, and the benediction of inanimate things (7).

(6) *Marian. l.* xxiv. *c.* 17. (7) *Trithem. Orthuin. in faſcicul. Paralip. Urſperg.*

Soon

*who conclude a separate peace with the king of* Naples. A. D. 1480.

a Soon after the pope was greatly surprised with the publication of the peace betwixt the *Florentines* and the king of *Naples*, in which neither he nor the *Venetians* were considered. As the *Florentines* could not securely trust to the friendship of *Ferdinand*, they immediately sent ambassadors to endeavour to appease the pope, but he still continued inexorable; however, an accident happened which obliged him to think of a reconciliation. *Mohammed*, having been continually infested by the knights of *Rhodes*, had sent a powerful army to besiege that city; and, to prevent any succours from the *Italians*, basha *Achmet* sailed with a considerable fleet from *Epire*, and, on the 26th of *July*, made a descent with 20,000 men in *Italy*. After a siege of seventeen days he made himself master of *Otranto*, a city on the coast of *Calabria*, where he committed all manner of barbarities, and afterwards ravaged

*The Turks land in* Italy, *and take* Otranto.

b the coasts of the *Adriatic* as far as *Loretto* [b]. The storming of *Otranto* struck all *Italy* with consternation, and *Sixtus*, in despair, proposed at first to fly into *France* [c]; but, recovering from his panic, he desired *Ferdinand* to recall his troops from *Tuscany*, wrote to the emperor and to the other kings and princes for their assistance, ordered twenty-four gallies, which he had prepared for the relief of *Rhodes*, to sail into *Apulia*; and, as the *German* and *French* prelates had been summoned to assemble to proceed against him for his conduct towards the *Florentines*, he invited all the Christian princes and prelates to assemble at *Rome*, and intimated to the *Florentines*, that he was willing to hearken to an accommodation. That republic accordingly sent twelve ambassadors to *Rome*, who were absolved, and admitted into the

*The pope in great trepidation, concludes a peace with the* Florentines.

c presence of the pope, after they had submitted to lie down before the door of St. *Peter*'s church, and to receive some strokes with a rod [d]. *Sixtus* behaved to them with great haughtiness, and after the articles of peace were agreed to, and the benediction read, he added, that, if they would enjoy the fruits of the benediction, they must maintain fifteen gallies against the *Turks* while they continued in *Italy*. The *Florentines* remonstrated against this heavy imposition, and sent another ambassador to *Rome*, who ratified the peace, and obtained some alleviation of the subsidy imposed upon them [e]. *Sixtus* about the same time sent his nephew cardinal *Julian* as his legate to *France*, to reconcile *Lewis* XI. and *Maximilian* the emperor's son, who had married the heiress of the late duke of *Burgundy*; but *Maximilian*, the year before having gained a victory over the king of *France*, refused to hearken to any accommodation. The legate, finding his endeavours to conclude a peace

d ineffectual, returned to *Italy*, together with cardinal *Balues*, a *French* bishop, who had been detained eleven years in prison by the king on account of treason [f].

*Sollicits the assistance of the Christian princes.* A. D. 1481.

Mean while, in order to oppose the progress of the *Turks*, *Sixtus* published a letter, addressed to all kings and princes, enjoining those who were at war to conclude a peace, or, at least a truce for three years, and exhorting them to a crusade against the infidels [g]. This letter produced but small effect among the Christian princes; however we find that the king of *Scotland*, who had assembled a powerful army to invade *England*, stopped his march upon a prohibition from a certain apostolic legate who was then in *Britain*, although the *English* at the same time despised the legate's authority, and attacked *Scotland* [h]. Several of the *Italian* states assisted *Ferdinand* with money and ships; his uncle the king of *Castile* sent 3000

e men [i]; his son-in-law the king of *Hungary*, in consideration of a large subsidy, sent 2000 horse into *Apulia*; who, according to *Bonfinius*, proposed to attack the *Turks* the same hour that they arrived in the *Italian* camp [k]. But what contributed more than all his auxiliaries to free his kingdom from the ravages of the infidels, was the death of *Mohammed*, which happened on the third of *May*. The *Turks* who had seized *Otranto*, being deprived of succours during the dispute betwixt the sons of *Mohammed* about the succession, *Ferdinand* soon after made himself master of the city, and obliged them to evacuate *Italy*.

Mohammed *dies, and the* Turks *evacuate* Italy.

Sixtus, having quite exhausted his treasury in subsidies against the *Turks*, imposed new tythes upon the clergy, and instituted several new offices in the *Roman* court; which were put to sale, without regard to the qualifications of the persons who bought them [l]. But,

f instead of assisting *Ferdinand* to prosecute the war against the *Turks*, he involved *Italy* in new broils, in order to satisfy his own private revenge. In resentment for the separate peace which *Ferdinand* had concluded with the *Florentines*, he entered into an alliance against him with the *Venetians*, sending his nephew *Jeronimo* thither with a magnificent retinue, under pretence of receiving the honour of nobility in that city [m]; but, in reality to concert with them a scheme for attacking *Ferdinand*'s son-in-law, the duke of *Ferrara*. Accordingly the following year the *Venetians*, who were elated with their great wealth and power, A. D. 1482. having made a partition of the duchy with *Jeronimo*, took an opportunity to quarrel with the duke, under pretence that their resident at *Ferrara* had been affronted, and that the

Sixtus *embroils* Italy *in new wars.*

[b] Tursell. Hist. Lauret. l. ii. c. 4. Leand. Albert. in descrip. Salent. 9. [c] Bonf. Dec. iv. l. 6. Onuphr. in Sixt. IV. Bzov. hoc an. [d] Mich. Brut. Hist. Flor. l. vii. Spond. Annal. [e] Machiav. Hist. Flor. l. viii. [f] Commin. [g] Rer. German. Script. Edit. Freher. t. ii. p. 161. [h] Leslæ, l. viii. [i] Diar. Parmens. ap. Murator. t. xxii. p. 363. [k] Bonfin. Dec. iv. l. 6. [l] Onuphr. in Sixt. IV. [m] Diar. Parm. ut supra. Petr. Cyrn. de bello Ferrar. apud Murator. t. xxi. p. 1195.

duke had impoſed ſome cuſtoms upon their ſhips contrary to treaty [n]. On the ſecond of *May* they declared war againſt the duke; and, attacking him by ſea and land, quickly made themſelves maſters of the greateſt part of his territories. Mean while his ambaſſadors, and thoſe of *Ferdinand*, the *Florentines*, and *Milaneſe*, finding their endeavours to detach *Sixtus* from the party of the *Venetians* ineffectual, left *Rome*, where the pope was making the greateſt preparations for war, contrary to the inclination of the *Romans*, who openly condemned his proceedings, and, on the eve of *Whitſuntide*, one father *Tuſcanella*, in his ſermon, inveighed with the greateſt freedom againſt the pope and the whole court. *Sixtus*, however, filled the city with ſoldiers, and ſent his nephew *Jeronimo*, with an army, to oppoſe the *Neapolitans*, who, under the command of *Alphonſo*, the king's eldeſt ſon, wanted to force their way to the duchy of *Ferrara*, through the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. As the pope was obliged to keep a ſtrong garriſon in *Rome*, to prevent an inſurrection of the people, his army was not able to act offenſively; and the *Colonnæ* and *Savelli* revolting to *Alphonſo*, and admitting his troops into two of their towns, the *Neapolitans* ravaged the *Roman* territory to the very gates of *Rome*. At the ſame time it was reported in the city, that the emperor had aſſembled a council at *Baſil*, to proceed againſt the pope [o].

*The* Romans *threaten an inſurrection.*

*The* Neapolitans *ravage the* Roman *territory.*

Sixtus in this extremity excommunicated all his enemies, impriſoned the cardinals *Colonna* and *Savelli* in the caſtle of St. *Angelo*, made an alliance with the *Genoeſe* [p], and ſollicited a reinforcement from the *Venetians*. That republic accordingly ſent *Malateſta*, lord of *Rimini*, with a conſiderable body of troops, who, joining the army under *Jeronimo*, attacked and defeated the *Neapolitans*, with conſiderable loſs, taking a great many priſoners, among whom was the duke of *Melphi*, who was honourably treated by the pope, and ſent back to *Naples*. A few weeks after, ambaſſadors arrived at *Rome* from *Ferdinand* to treat of peace, and others arriving alſo from the king's allies, the pope was prevailed upon to agree to a peace and mutual alliance for twenty years, on theſe conditions: That all places taken during the war ſhould be reſtored, the allies ſhould pay a ſubſidy of 40,000 crowns to *Jeronimo* for three years, and, for their mutual defence, ſhould furniſh a certain quota of troops, which ſhould be commanded by the cardinal legate of *Mantua*. The treaty was publiſhed on *Chriſtmas day*, and thirty days were allowed to the *Venetians* and all the allies on both ſides to declare their aſſent [q]. A few days after the duke of *Calabria* arrived at *Rome*, where he was treated with great honour by the pope (E). After ſome conferences he proceeded to the relief of *Ferrara*; which, notwithſtanding the rigour of the ſeaſon, was beſieged by the enemy. The pope, before the publication of the peace, had written to the *Venetians*, deſiring them to ceaſe hoſtilities, and to accede to the general peace; but that republic, elated with their ſucceſſes, refuſed to hearken to any accommodation, and finding that the pope had abandoned them, and concluded an alliance with their enemies, they threatened to introduce the *Turks* into *Apulia*, and ſent an ambaſſador to *René*, duke of *Lorrain*, offering him their aſſiſtance in making good his pretenſions to the kingdom of *Naples* [r]. *Sixtus*, finding the *Venetians* reſolved to continue the war, denounced a ſentence of excommunication againſt them, and his legate, the cardinal of *Mantua*, held a general council of the confederates at *Cremona*, in which they ſettled the plan of operation for the campaign. In conſequence of the deliberations of that aſſembly, the duke of *Calabria* entered the *Venetian* territories, and ravaged the country in the neighbourhood of *Bergamo*, *Breſcia*, and *Verona*, while his brother *Frederic* ſailed into the *Adriatic* with a fleet, and ſeized a great many *Venetian* ſhips at *Ancona*, and on the coaſts of *Dalmatia*.

*A peace concluded betwixt the pope and the king of* Naples.

Sixtus *joins in the war againſt his former ally.*

THE *Venetians*, being reduced to great extremity for want of money, and of ſailors to man their fleet, had recourſe to ſupplications and proceſſions, and ſent ambaſſadors to the emperor, to prevail with him to renounce his obedience to the pope, and to call a general council [s]. During theſe tranſactions in *Lombardy*, the pope being informed of the death of *Lewis* XI. of *France*, and *Edward* IV. of *England*, ordered the ſervice of the dead to be celebrated for them both. Soon after he ſent the cardinals *Colonna* and *Savelli* at liberty, and promoted five others to that dignity. About the ſame time new diſturbances happened at *Rome*, by a ſecond revolt of the family of *Colonnæ*; but *Jeronimo*, attacking their palace with the pope's guards, after a ſharp reſiſtance, forced the houſe, and took *Laurence Colonna*

*The* Venetians *are reduced to great diſtreſs.*

A. D. 1483.

[n] Vite de Duchi di Venezia ap. Murator. t. xxii. p. 1215, &c. PETER. CYRN. ut ſupra. [o] DIAR. ROMAN. ap. Murat. t. xxiii. p. 175. 184. [p] Vite de Duchi, ut ſup. [q] DIAR. ROMAN. p. 181. Vite de Duchi, p. 1220. [r] Storia Veneziana ap. Murat. t. xxiii. p. 1179. [s] PETR. CYRN. ut ſup.

(E) The night of his arrival, the following verſe was written upon the door of his lodgings:

*I celer, O* Calaber, Venetis *nova præda futurus.*

Proceed, *Alphonſo*, to *Ferrara*, to dignify the triumph of the *Venetians*.

The duke complaining of this inſult to the pope, the *Venetian* ambaſſador was immediately ordered to leave *Rome* (7).

(7) *Vite de Duchi, ut ſup.*

priſoner,

a priſoner, who was immediately carried to the caſtle of *St. Angelo*, where he was ſoon after beheaded. *Jeronimo* likewiſe raiſed an army, and marched againſt thoſe towns that adhered to the party of *Colonnæ*.

MEAN while *Lewis Sforza*, governor of the duke of *Milan*, thinking himſelf neglected by the duke of *Calabria*, was prevailed upon to agree to a ſeparate peace with the *Venetians*, which was concluded on the ſeventh of *Auguſt* [t]. This peace, which was greatly to the advantage of the *Venetians*, gave great diſſatisfaction to the allies: however, they were obliged to accede, as they were not able to continue the war againſt that republic, when ſtrengthened by the alliance of the *Milaneſe*. Their ambaſſadors immediately proceeded to *Rome*, where the pope had been for ſome days greatly afflicted with the gout: altho' he had that day diſmiſſed the b cardinals without holding a conſiſtory, yet he ordered the ambaſſadors to be introduced into his chamber; where, upon hearing the terms of peace, in which his nephew *Jeronimo* was not conſidered, he exclaimed with great vehemence againſt the allies, his voice even failing him during his diſcourſe. The phyſicians being called in, the ambaſſadors retired, and the pope, being carried to his bed, languiſhed a few days, and died on the 13th of *Auguſt* [u] (F). *Sixtus*, during his pontificate, adorned the city of *Rome* with ſeveral new buildings; particularly by rebuilding the bridge of *Janicula* over the *Tyber*, which is now called *Ponte Seſto*. He likewiſe built the famous *Vatican* library, which he furniſhed with books from all parts of *Europe*, and appropriated certain revenues for purchaſing of books, and maintaining *Greek*, *Latin*, and *Hebrew* librarians [w]. However, he does not appear to c have been very liberal to men of genius and learning. *Theodorus Gaza*, having preſented to him a fine edition of *Ariſtotle*'s books on animals, received from him only 200 ducats; which, from diſdain, he immediately threw into the *Tyber* [x]: and *Raphael* of *Volaterra* relates, that he ſaw many eminent men who came to *Rome* in great expectation, who were obliged ſoon after to depart in great want [y].

*Conclude a ſeparate peace with the* Milaneſe. A. D. 1484.

*The pope is greatly offended; and dies at* Rome.

UPON the death of *Sixtus* all *Rome* was in confuſion. *Jeronimo* immediately retired with ſome of his troops to the caſtle of *Spoletto*, and ſent others to defend his palace in *Rome*; but the college of cardinals would not admit them into the city, and his palace was burned by the party of *Savelli* and *Colonnæ*, his counteſs being obliged to ſave herſelf in the houſe of the cardinal of *Milan*. However, the oppoſite party of the *Urſini* were in poſſeſſion of d the caſtle of *St. Angelo*, and ſome other places of ſtrength in *Rome*, and threatened to elect a pope by themſelves. The cardinals who were in the other intereſt, to prevent a ſchiſm, granted *Jeronimo* 6000 ducats as arrears due to him as general of the church, and gave him a ſafe conduct to retire into *Imola*; on which account the *Urſini* ſurrendered the caſtle of *St. Angelo*, and a truce was made for a month betwixt both parties, that the pope might be legally elected [z]. Accordingly twenty-five cardinals entered the conclave on the 26th of *Auguſt*, and next day choſe *John Baptiſta Cylio*, cardinal biſhop of *Melphi*, born at *Genoa*, of a noble family, which had formerly come from *Greece* [a]. He had ſpent the firſt part of his life in the ſervice of the king of *Naples*, as a layman, and by a wife had ſeveral children. After her death he took orders, and was created biſhop of *Melphi* and cardinal by e *Sixtus* IV [b]. The new pope aſſumed the name of *Innocent* VIII. and ſoon after his election ſent legates to the different princes of *Europe*, exhorting them to peace, and to a general alliance againſt the *Turks*. In the beginning of the following year, he abſolved the *Venetians* from the excommunication and interdict denounced againſt them by *Sixtus*, and endeavoured to reconcile the *Colonnæ* and *Urſini*, who continued hoſtilities againſt each other in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, to the great diſturbance of the city.

*Great diſturbances at* Rome.

Innocent VIII. *is elected pope.*

A. D. 1485.

WHILE he exhorted others to peace, he himſelf engaged in a war againſt *Ferdinand* king of *Naples*, in behalf of the city of *Aquila*, and ſeveral nobles who had revolted, becauſe the king, for ſome ſlight ſuſpicions, had ordered the count *Montorio* to be put to death. *Innocent*, upon their complaint, cited *Ferdinand* to appear at *Rome*, and gave the command of f the church forces to *Robert Sanſeverius*, who had been the general of the *Venetians* in the late war [c]. The *Urſini* family adhered to the party of *Ferdinand*, and ſeveral places were taken by the forces on both ſides; but no action happened of any great conſequence. In *January* following the *Urſini* were reconciled to the pope, and ſoon after, at the interceſſion of the ambaſſador of the king of *Spain*, *Ferdinand* agreed to a peace on theſe conditions;

*He engages in a war againſt the king of* Naples;

*who agrees to a peace;* A. D. 1486.

[t] See the Hiſtory of the Republic of Venice. [u] DIAR. VOLAT. ut ſup. [w] ONUPHR. in Sixt. [x] JOVI in Elog. [y] VOLAT. in Anthropolog. l. xxi. [z] Vite de Duchi, ut ſup. [a] ONUPHR. in Innoc. VIII. SPOND. Annal. [b] Vite de Duchi, ut ſup. [c] Id ib. Iſtor. Napolit. ap. MURAT. t. xxiii. p. 237, 238.

(F) His dying immediately after the publication of the peace, gave occaſion to the following epigram:

*Siſtere qui nullo potuit cum fœdere* Sixtus
*Audito tantum nomine pacis obit.*

that he ſhould pardon all the lords and barons who had been concerned in the war againſt him; that the city of *Aquila* ſhould be left at liberty, either to acknowledge the pope or the king as their ſuperior; that *Ferdinand* ſhould not pretend to any farther collation of benefices, and ſhould pay all the arrears of his tribute at a convenient time; and that *Virginius Urſino* ſhould aſk pardon of the pope on his knees, with a rope about his neck [d]. This peace was guarantied by the king of *Spain*, the duke of *Milan*, and *Laurence de Medicis*; but the pope had no ſooner diſbanded his forces, than it was violated by *Ferdinand*, who impriſoned the barons that had put themſelves under the protection of *Innocent*, and a few months afterwards put them to death, and confiſcated their eſtates. The pope remonſtrated with great vehemence againſt his proceedings; and, in the mean time, having received an embaſſy from the emperor, informing him that the princes of the empire propoſed to elect his ſon *Maximilian*, king of the *Romans*, he gave his conſent, upon being aſſured of the obedience of the archduke, and that he would confirm the privileges of the apoſtolic ſee [e].

*which he violates ſoon after*

*The* German *clergy refuſe to pay a tythe impoſed upon them by the pope.* A. D. 1488.

INNOCENT, being exhauſted by the war with the king of *Naples*, imitated his predeceſſor *Sixtus*, by inſtituting ſeveral new offices, which he put to ſale. He likewiſe impoſed a tythe upon the *German* clergy; but they complaining to the emperor of this grievance, he was prevailed upon, at the interceſſion of *Frederic*, to remit that tax [f]. About the ſame time the pope concluded an alliance betwixt his ſon and a daughter of *Laurence de Medicis*, and entered into a treaty with the *Venetians*, the marquiſſes of *Montferrat* and *Mantua*, and with ſeveral other ſtates. He likewiſe ſollicited the *Florentine* ambaſſador, and thoſe of the king of *Caſtile* and of the duke of *Milan*, to exhort the king of *Naples* to obſerve the late peace, otherwiſe he would draw upon himſelf the reſentment of the apoſtolic ſee [g]. In the mean time he was alarmed with the revolt of *Boccalino*, governor of *Oſimo*, a ſtrong city in the marche of *Ancona*. The governor, finding the garriſon diſcontented upon account of the great arrears of their pay, prevailed upon them to revolt, and by their aſſiſtance, expelled thoſe who favoured the pope, and ſent his brother with an offer of ſubmiſſion to the grand ſignior. But, by the perſuaſion of the *Venetian* governor in *Romagna*, he was prevailed upon to deliver up the city to the pope; and, having obtained ſecurity for his perſon, he retired to *Florence* [h]. Soon after *Innocent* being ſollicited by the *Venetians* to mediate a peace betwixt them and the archduke of *Auſtria*, who, upon a diſpute about ſome iron-mines, had attacked their territories, he ſent the biſhop of *Oſimo* as his legate to the *Auſtrian* camp, who was ſo ſucceſsful as to conclude a peace [i]. Mean while he publiſhed a bull, condemning a book of *John Picus*, count of *Concordia* and *Mirandola*, prohibiting any one from reading it under pain of excommunication; but he did not cenſure the author, as he declared that he publiſhed the book only as a ſubject for ſcholaſtic diſputations, and under the correction of the apoſtolic ſee [k] (G).

*The brother of the grand ſignor a priſoner at* Rome. A. D. 1488.

IN the beginning of the following year, *Innocent* made a promotion of ſeveral cardinals, among whom was the ſon of *Laurence de Medicis*, a boy of fourteen years of age, and *Peter Daubuſſon*, grand maſter of *Rhodes*, who had lately gratified the pope by allowing his priſoner *Zem*, or *Zizim*, brother of the grand ſignor, to be tranſported to *Rome*. *Zem* had been firſt ſent to *France*, where he was guarded by the knights of *Rhodes*; but *Charles* VIII. conſenting to his removal, he arrived at *Rome* about the middle of *March*, and was preſented to the pope in a public conſiſtory, by the ambaſſador of *France*; but, notwithſtanding the intreaties and threats of all who were preſent, he would not kneel before his holineſs, or conſent to kiſs his feet [l]. In the mean time, being informed that *Maximilian*, king

[d] ONUPHR. & CIAC. in Innoc. Bzov. an. 1485, 1486. [e] Bzov. hoc an. [f] Naucler. Gener. 50. [g] Iſtor. Napol. ut ſup. [h] Vite de Duchi. MACHIAV. Hiſt. Flor. l. viii. [i] Vite de Duchi, ut ſup. [k] SPOND. Annal. [l] Vite de Duchi, ut ſup.

(G) *John Picus* was deſcended of the antient family of the counts of *Mirandola*, celebrated in *Italy* from the year 1110. He was much more illuſtrious for his genius than his nobility, and obtained the title of the phœnix of his age, and by *Scaliger* is called *Monſtrum ſine Vitio*. At the age of ten years he ſtudied the law, and publiſhed commentaries on that ſubject. At eighteen years of age he underſtood twenty-two languages, and had only entered his twenty-fifth year when he publiſhed his book containing 900 theſes in logic, divinity, mathematics, magic, phyſics, and the cabala, which he undertook to defend. The advocates of ignorance were greatly alarmed, and prevailed with the pope to condemn his book. However, he juſtified himſelf in an apology, in which, as a proof of the ignorance of his oppoſers, he mentions, that a theologian, who had ſhewn himſelf very zealous in cenſuring his book, being aſked what was the meaning of the word cabala, he anſwered, That he was a wicked man and a heretic, who had written againſt Jeſus Chriſt, and that thoſe who followed his opinion were called *Cabaliſts*. *Picus* died at *Florence* in the 23d year of his age, and is interred in the church of *St. Mark*, with the following epitaph upon his tomb:

*Hic ſitus eſt* Picus Mirandola; *cætera norunt*——
*Et* Tagus & Ganges, *forſan*, & Antipodes (8).

(8) *Vite Pic. impr. Baſil, an.* 1573 & 1601. *Trith. & Bell. de Script. Eccleſ.*

a of the *Romans*, had been impriſoned by the inhabitants of *Bruges*, under ſuſpicion of having attempted to deprive them of their liberties, he wrote to the archbiſhop of *Cologn*, ordering him to excommunicate the rebels, if they did not ſet their prince at liberty within a certain time. A remonſtrance againſt this letter of the pope was publiſhed in *France*, urging that it muſt either be a forgery, or had been ſubſcribed by the pope without his peruſal of the contents, as the *Flemings* acknowledged no ſuperior but the king of *France* [m]. The cenſures of the pope were not regarded by the rebels; however, after they had put to death ſeveral of the king's party they ſet him again at liberty [n]. During this diſturbance in *Flanders*, *Innocent*, at the intreaty of *James* III. king of *Scotland*, had ſent a legate into that kingdom, to prevail with the nobles to lay down their arms and ſubmit to his authority; but
b before his arrival the king, having ventured an engagement with the rebels, was defeated and ſlain [o] (H). A few months after *Innocent*, not having been able to obtain ſatisfaction from *Ferdinand* for his violation of the late treaty, denounced an anathema againſt him if he did not repent within ſixty days. *Ferdinand* paying no regard to this threatning, the pope, on the 11th of *September*, declared him excommunicated. He likewiſe depoſed him from the kingdom of *Naples*, publiſhed a cruſade againſt him, and, as the king of *France* pretended to the kingdom of *Sicily*, in right of the late duke of *Anjou*, he invited that prince with an army into *Italy*, and appointed him general of the cruſade [p]. *Ferdinand*, however, ſtill deſpiſed all theſe fulminations; and the biſhop of *Alexandria*, his ambaſſador, had the confidence in the conſiſtory to appeal from *Innocent* to a general council.

*Innocent depoſes* Ferdinand, *and gives his kingdom to the king of* France. A. D. 1489.

c The pope, in the mean time, ſent a legate to *Germany*, by whoſe mediation a peace was concluded betwixt the archduke *Maximilian* and the king of *France*, with regard to their diſputes in *Flanders* and *Brittany*. About the ſame time he ſent nuncios to the different kingdoms and republics of *Europe*, deſiring them to ſend their deputies to *Rome*, to deliberate about a general expedition againſt the *Turks*, under pretence of aſſiſting *Zem* againſt his brother *Badjazet*. A numerous convention was accordingly held at *Rome* the year following, in the month of *March*, in which it was agreed, that the pope ſhould have liberty to raiſe tythes, annates, or daily contributions, for the expences of the war; that each prince ſhould furniſh, according to a ſettled proportion, either money, ſoldiers, or proviſions; that if the king of *France*, *Spain*, or *England*, ſhould go in perſon againſt the *Turks*,
d the pope ſhould likewiſe accompany him; but if none of thoſe kings engaged perſonally in the expedition, the forces by ſea and land ſhould be commanded by two cardinal legates; and, laſtly, that the *Italians*, *French*, *Spaniards*, and *Engliſh* ſhould act by ſea, and the *Germans*, *Bohemians*, *Poles*, and *Hungarians*, by land [q]. All theſe fine promiſes vaniſhed, without taking effect; and *Innocent* ſoon after received an embaſſy from the Soltan of *Ægypt*, who was at war with the *Turks*, deſiring *Zem* to be ſent to him, in order to diſtreſs the enemy. However, an ambaſſador about the ſame time arriving from *Bajazet*, intreating the pope to detain his brother, and offering an annual ſubſidy of 40,000 ducats for his ſubſiſtence, *Innocent* accepted of his propoſal, and dropped all thoughts of the expedition [r]. Nevertheleſs, it appears, that he did not neglect to raiſe the tythes in *France*; for he ſent a
e mandate to the cardinal archbiſhop of *Lyons*, and others, ordering them to impoſe a tythe upon all eccleſiaſtics, ſecular and regular, and to depoſe and excommunicate thoſe who refuſed to pay [s]. At the ſame time he wrote to the king of *France*, allowing him two thirds of the ſaid tax for his expences in defending the church; on which account the univerſity of *Paris* accuſed the pope of impoſing the tythe only with the intention of ſecuring one third of it for his private advantage, and not for employing it in any public expedition; they therefore appealed from him to the apoſtolic ſee when better informed, and likewiſe to a future general council. In the mean time the pope granted a bull, confirming a ſociety, which a few years before had been inſtituted at *Rome*, under the name of *the Miſericordia*, for comforting thoſe who were under ſentence of death, and for taking charge of their funerals [t].
f According to *Volaterranus*, he likewiſe allowed maſs to be celebrated in *Norway* without wine; but *Spondanus* alleges, that this author muſt certainly be miſtaken, as it is the opinion of theologians that the pope has no power to alter the divine inſtitution [u].

*A convention held at* Rome, *to conſult of an expedition againſt the* Turks. A. D. 1490.

[m] Spond. Annal. l. xii. & xiii. Polyd. l. xxvi. [n] Krant. Saxon. l. xiii. c. 11. [o] Lesslæ, l. vii. & viii. Buchan. [p] Vial. in vit. Innoc. VIII. Bzov. hoc an. [q] Idem ibid. [r] Vite de Duchi, p. 1224. [s] Spond. Annal. hoc an. [t] Idem ibid. [u] Volater. l. vii. Spond. Annal. ut ſupra.

(H) *Jeronimo*, nephew of the late pope, having rendered himſelf odious for his cruelty and avarice, was this year murdered at *Forli*. It was ſuſpected that *Innocent* and *Laurence Medici* deſigned to put their ſon *Cibo* in poſſeſſion of that country; but, by the aſſiſtance of the *Milaneſe*, the widow of the deceaſed ſecured to herſelf the eſtates of her huſband, and revenged his murder with great cruelty (9).

(9) *Machiav. Hiſt. Flor. l.* 8. *Vite de Duchi, ut ſup.*

*The pope grants a ſubſidy to the king of* Spain *againſt the* Morrs. A. D. 1492.

As *Ferdinand*, king of *Spain*, at this time was beſieging *Granada*, the capital city of the *Moors*, *Innocent* allowed him an annual ſubſidy of 70,000 crowns during the continuance of the war, which was concluded in the beginning of the following year, the city of *Granada* ſurrendering after a ſiege of eight months, and the *Mooriſh* king retiring, with great part of his ſubjects into *Africa* [w]. At the ſame time, by the interceſſion of the king of *Spain*, a peace was concluded betwixt *Innocent* and the king of *Naples*, who ſeems to have been prevailed upon to ſubmit to the pope, from his apprehenſions of the king of *France*, who was making great preparations to enter *Italy*. *Ferdinand* promiſed to pay the annual tribute according to antient cuſtom, to leave the collation of benefices to the pope, and to give ſatisfaction to the ſons and heirs of thoſe whom he had put to death; on which account the pope abſolved him from all eccleſiaſtical cenſures, and gave a new inveſtiture of the kingdom, not only to himſelf, but to his eldeſt ſon *Alphonſus*, duke of *Calabria*. The ambaſſador of *René*, duke of *Lorrain*, proteſted in a public conſiſtory, againſt this new inveſtiture. However, his proteſtation had no other effect than to procure a pretended diſquiſition of the duke's right, by ſome cardinals and auditors of the rota [x]. *Innocent* ſurvived this peace only a few weeks, and died on the 25th of *July*, in the 8th year of his pontificate, leaving *Italy* in great tranquility, having ſo ballanced the power of each ſtate, that, in all probability, the public quiet ſeemed ſecured for many years. However, this happineſs was of very ſhort continuance; for ſoon after his death, the nation was involved in all the miſeries of war, which was chiefly owing to the ambition of his ſucceſſor, and the unfortunate death of *Laurence de Medicis*, who had acquired a great authority, and was a check upon the king of *Naples* and the governor of *Milan*, two princes of equal power and ambition [y].

*He is reconciled to the king of* Naples,

*and dies at* Rome.

THE death of *Innocent* was no ſooner publiſhed, than all *Rome* was in confuſion, occaſioned by the factions formed by the different pretenders to the pontificate, the chief of whom were the cardinals *Sforza* and *Rovere*. However both theſe candidates were prevailed upon to reſign their pretenſions in favour of cardinal *Roderic Borgia*, who, by great promiſes and a liberal diſtribution of the great riches which he had amaſſed, acquired the plurality of the votes of the cardinals; and on the 10th of *Auguſt* was declared pope, by the name of *Alexander* VI. [z]. He had been created a cardinal when a young man by his uncle *Calixtus* III. but his life was ſo infamous, that *Pius* II. after having often reproved him, at length drove him from his preſence [a]. As his character was well known, his election alarmed all *Italy*; *Ferdinand* particularly declared, with tears, to his queen, that a pope had been choſen who would be moſt pernicious to all Chriſtendom. This aſſertion of the king of *Naples* is confirmed by almoſt all the *Italian* poets and hiſtorians of theſe times. According to *Guicciardini*, *Alexander* had great natural abilities, and was remarkable for his addreſs and power of perſuaſion; but was chiefly diſtinguiſhed by his vices, which he enumerates, namely, debauchery, inſincerity, impudence, irreligion, avarice, ambition, barbarous cruelty, and an immoderate deſire of promoting his natural children to dignities and honours [b] (I).

Alexander VI. *is elected pope.*

*The ſtates of* Italy *agree to congratulate him as a conjunct body.*

HIS election being publiſhed, the ſtates of *Italy* propoſed to congratulate him by their ambaſſadors; and, by the advice of *Lewis Sforza*, governor of *Milan*, and uncle to the duke, they had agreed, that all their ambaſſadors ſhould enter *Rome* on the ſame day, appear at the ſame time in the public conſiſtory, and that one of them ſhould addreſs the pope in the name of all the reſt, whereby *Italy* might ſeem one united body, and the pope might have no hopes of diſturbing the public tranquillity. This propoſal was prevented from being put in execution by *Peter de Medicis*, eldeſt ſon of the late *Laurence*, who, from a youthful vanity, deſired to diſplay his magnificence at *Rome*, as ambaſſador from *Florence*. This proceeding of *Peter*, in which he was joined by the king of *Naples*, gave great umbrage to *Lewis Sforza*; he accordingly took the firſt opportunity of exciting the pope againſt them both: and *Virginius Urſini*, *Peter*'s brother-in-law, having about this time bought ſome caſtles in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, from the nephew of the late pope, he perſuaded *Alex-*

A. D. 1493.

[w] CIAC. in Innocent VIII. [x] RESIER. in ſtem. Duc. Lothar. l. v. [y] GUICCIARDINI, l. i. [z] PETR. MARTYR. Angler Epiſt 118. ONUPHR. in Alex. VI. Vite de Duchi ut ſupra. [a] Anec. Alexand. VI. p. 4, 5, 6, &c. [b] GUICCIARDINI. l. i.

(I) *Alexander*, when he was cardinal, kept in his houſe, as his wife, one *Vanocia*, a *Roman*, by whom he had four ſons and one daughter. He purchaſed for his eldeſt ſon *Peter*, the duchy of *Candia* in *Spain*; but he dying ſoon after, he conferred that duchy on his third ſon *John*, who married the natural daughter of *Alphonſus*, duke of *Calabria*. The ſecond ſon, *Cæſar*, was created a cardinal, and afterwards duke of *Valentino*. The youngeſt ſon, *Geoffrey*, obtained a principality in *Naples*, and married another natural daughter of *Alphonſus*. His daughter *Lucretia* had been married, while he was a cardinal, to a *Spaniſh* nobleman; but after his promotion to the pontificate, he took her from her firſt husband, and gave her to the prince of *Peſaro*; then divorcing her from him, he gave her to a natural ſon of *Alphonſus*, king of *Naples*, and, after the death of that husband, ſhe married the duke of *Ferrara* (1).

(1) *Marian. l.* vi. *c.* 5. *Onuphr. in Alex.* VI.

*ander*

a *ander* to claim them as fiefs fallen to the apoſtolic ſee, ſince the ſale had been made without his knowlege. The pope accordingly inſiſted that *Virginius* ſhould pay other 40,000 ducats to him, as ſupreme lord of thoſe caſtles, which he had purchaſed from *Cibo*: but this propoſal being rejected, he again offered to give the inveſtiture of the caſtles to *Virginius*, and to conclude an alliance with *Ferdinand*, if the duke of *Calabria* would give one of his natural daughters to one of his ſons. *Alphonſus* diſdaining this alliance, the pope, in the month of *April*, concluded an offenſive and defenſive treaty with the republic of *Venice*, and with *Lewis Sforza*, governor of *Milan*, who having uſurped the government from his nephew *John Galeazzo*, was afraid of the reſentment of *Ferdinand*, who, at the intreaty of his granddaughter, *Galeazzo*'s wife, had ſent an ambaſſador to *Milan*, deſiring *Lewis* to reſign the
b adminiſtration [c].

LEWIS, far from hearkening to this propoſal, ſent ambaſſadors into *France*, deſiring *Charles* VIII. to renew his pretenſions to the kingdom of *Naples*, and offering to aſſiſt him in that enterprize both with men and money [d]. The pope readily agreed to this propoſal, in hopes of obtaining from *Ferdinand* through fear, what formerly he could not procure voluntarily; and *Charles*, being prompted by ſeveral *Neapolitan* exiles, and by his favourites, who flattered him not only with the conqueſt of *Naples*, but even of the *Turkiſh* empire, entered into an alliance with *Sforza*, and promiſed to march with an army into *Italy*. *Ferdinand*, to avert this ſtorm, propoſed to *Sforza* to confirm him in his government, endeavoured to conclude an alliance with the king of *France*, and reſolved immediately to
c accommodate all his differences with the pope, who very readily hearkened to his propoſals; and, on condition that *Virginius* ſhould pay to the apoſtolic ſee 40,000 ducats for his late purchaſe, and that *Geoffrey*, the pope's youngeſt ſon, ſhould be contracted to *Alphonſus*'s natural daughter, and be created prince of *Squillaci*, with a yearly revenue of 10,000 ducats, he promiſed, by a ſecret bull, to aſſiſt him in defending the kingdom of *Naples* [e].

*He joins with* Sforza *in inviting the king of* France *to take poſſeſſion of* Naples:

*he is reconciled to* Ferdinand:

IN the mean time, being informed by the ambaſſadors of the king of *Spain* that *Chriſtopher Columbus* had diſcovered *America*, or the *Weſt-Indies*, he publiſhed a bull, granting to *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*, and to their heirs, all the iſlands and continents diſcovered or to be diſcovered, on the weſt ſide of a meridian line, which line ſhould be computed 100 leagues to the weſtward of the iſles of *Cape Verd*, and the *Azores*: from this grant, however, he ex-
d cepted all thoſe lands which were already found out by other Chriſtian princes, on the weſt ſide of the ſaid line. Theſe he left as the property of the poſſeſſors, and beſides made it a condition of his grant, that the king ſhould ſend learned and pious men to inſtruct the inhabitants of thoſe countries in the Chriſtian faith [f]. Soon after, at the deſire of *Ladiſlaus*, king of *Hungary*, he ordered a cruſade to be preached againſt the *Turks*, charging his legate the biſhop of *Trani*, to negotiate an accommodation betwixt *Hungary*, *Poland*, and the emperor *Maximilian*, who, a few months before, had ſucceeded his father *Frederic*, that thoſe two kingdoms, together with the empire, might unite their forces againſt the common enemy of Chriſtendom; for which purpoſe he likewiſe wrote to the kings of *Poland* and *Hungary*, and to the princes of the empire [g]. About the ſame time he made a promotion of
e twelve cardinals at *Rome*, among whom was *Cæſar Borgia*, one of his natural ſons, whoſe elevation was vigorouſly oppoſed for ſome time by the whole ſacred college [h] (K). Being ſtill deſirous of procuring new dignities to his children, he again threatened to deſert the king of *Naples*, if he would not compel the cardinal of St. *Peter* to deliver up the caſtle of *Oſtia*, attributing the cardinal's rebellion to the king's inſtigation. *Ferdinand* in vain proteſted his innocence; but death prevented him from feeling the reſentment of the pope, he being cut off by an apoplexy in the end of *January*.

*he grants* America *to the* Spaniards.

A. D. 1494.

ALEXANDER, during this ſecond rupture, had again, in appearance, embraced the intereſt of the king of *France*, having, at his requeſt, created the biſhop of St. *Malo* a cardinal; and having, in conjunction with *Lewis Sforza*, taken into his pay *Proſpero Colonna*,
f with a conſiderable body of horſe. However, ambaſſadors arriving with large offers from *Alphonſus*, the ſucceſſor of *Ferdinand*, he concluded a treaty of alliance with the new king, and ſent his nephew, *John Borgia*, as his legate, who crowned him at *Naples* (L). A few

*He again inclines to the* French *intereſt.*

[c] Vite de Duchi, Storia Veneziana. DIAR. SANESI. ut ſupra. GUICCIARD. l. i. COR. par. 7. [d] COMMIN. l. vii. c. 2. [e] GUICCIARD. l. i. [f] BULLAR. t. i. Alex. VI. Conſt. II. BARROS. Aſi. Dec. ii. l. iii. c. 2. [g] CROMER. l. xxx. RAINALD ad an. 1493. BONFIN. Dec. v. l. iii. [h] DIAR. SANESI. Vite de Duchi, ut ſupra.

(K) *Alexander*, to remove the impediment to his ſon's promotion, ſuborned falſe witneſſes, who ſwore that he was the legitimate ſon of another perſon (2).

(L) The following were ſome of the chief articles of the treaty. The pope promiſed the inveſtiture of *Naples* to *Alphonſus*, with a diminution of the annual tribute during his life, and created one of his baſtard nephews a cardinal. The king on his ſide promiſed to pay, immediately, 30,000 ducats to the pope; to allow the duke of *Candia* 12,000 *per annum*, and the firſt principal vacant office in the kingdom; and to confer ſome of the chief benefices upon *Cæſar Borgia* (3).

(2) *Guicciard. l.* i. (3) *Idem. ibid.*

months after four ambaſſadors arriving from *France*, and claiming the inveſtiture of *Naples* a in the name of king *Charles*, *Alexander* refuſed to grant their requeſt; but declared, that, if the *French* king would ceaſe his warlike preparations, and refer his pretenſions to the deciſion of the apoſtolic ſee, he, as ſupreme lord of the fief, was ready to hear and judge of his claim. About the ſame time *Alexander* having recovered the caſtle of *Oſtia*, propoſed to *Alphonſus* to unite their forces in *Romagna*, and to fit out ſeveral gallies, as the king of *France* had already taken poſſeſſion of *Genoa*, and was equipping a fleet at *Marſeilles*, with the intention of attacking *Naples* by ſea. The king agreed to this propoſal, and ſoon after had a perſonal conference with the pope at *Vicovario*, where they ſettled the plan of their operations, to prevent the *French* from entering the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. *Alexander* likewiſe ſolli-

*He ſolicits the aſſiſtance of* Bajazet *againſt the* French.

cited the aſſiſtance of the king of *Spain*, and ſent a private embaſſy for the ſame purpoſe to b the emperor of the *Turks*, informing him that the king of *France*, after he had conquered *Naples*, intended to attack *Greece*. The ambaſſadors brought nothing from *Bajazet* but magnificent promiſes; but *Ferdinand* of *Caſtile* promiſing to ſend a fleet to the aſſiſtance of the king of *Naples*, the pope allowed him to apply all the money raiſed in his kingdom for the cruſade, to the preſent expedition [i]. He likewiſe publiſhed a bull, prohibiting the king of *France* from entering *Italy*, under pain of eccleſiaſtical cenſures; and by his nuncio at *Venice*, ſolicited that republic to enter into an alliance with him and *Alphonſus*, againſt the *French* [k].

*The king of* France *enters* Italy *with an army;*

CHARLES however, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of all his nobles, and his great want of money, which obliged him to pawn his jewels, at the inſtigation of the cardinal of St. c *Peter*'s, reſolved to proſecute his expedition, and paſſing over the *Alps*, in the end of *Auguſt*, arrived at *Aſti* on the 9th of *September*, where he was joined by *Lewis Sforza*, who accompanied him to *Pavia*, and from thence to *Placentia*. *Lewis* hearing of the death of his nephew the duke, whom he is ſuppoſed to have poiſoned, returned to *Milan*, and, in prejudice of the infant ſon of the deceaſed, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed duke, which title he had pur-

*and makes himſelf maſter of* Romagna *and* Tuſcany.

chaſed from the emperor the year before. Mean while the king of *France*, being in great difficulty for want of money, and ſeeing no commotion in *Italy* in his favour, began to deliberate about repaſſing the *Alps*; but, being ſtill urged by the duke of *Milan*, he advanced with his army, and took poſſeſſion of *Lucca*, *Piſa*, and *Florence*, from which laſt city *Peter de Medicis* had been expelled by the people, who declared for the *French*. Before king d *Charles* had arrived at *Florence*, the *Colonneſi* had likewiſe declared for him at *Rome*, and had ſeized the caſtle of *Oſtia* in his name. The pope then publiſhed loud complaints of the injuries he had received from the *French*, aſked the aſſiſtance of all Chriſtian princes, particularly of the king of *Spain* and the *Venetians*, and recalled his troops from the army in *Romagna*, with the intention of fortifying *Rome*. He likewiſe ſent *Franceſco Picolomini*, cardinal of *Siena*, as his ambaſſador to *Charles*, but the king refuſed to admit him to an audience; and having ſeized the *Turkiſh* ambaſſador, who was carrying 40,000 ducats to *Rome*, he ordered his fleet to proceed to *Oſtia*, to aſſiſt thoſe that had declared for him [l]. Advancing ſoon after with his army towards *Siena*, the pope again ſent three ambaſſadors to him to treat of an accommodation; but he declaring, that he intended to treat at *Rome*, *Alexander* e immediately apprehended the cardinals *Colonna* and *Sforza*, and admitted the duke of *Calabria* with his army into the city, being greatly apprehenſive of the deſigns of *Charles*. As he knew the king was accompanied by the cardinal of St. *Peter*, and was favoured by the greateſt part of the ſacred college, who were his enemies, he was greatly afraid of a rumour that prevailed, that the king intended to reform the church: he likewiſe dreaded his reſentment, for having joined the king of *Naples*, after he had invited him into *Italy*; but receiving an embaſſy from him, declaring that he had no intention to interfere with the pontifical authority, and deſiring to enter *Rome* in a peaceable manner, he conſented to what he could not prevent.

*He enters* Rome *in triumph.*

THE king of *France* accordingly entered *Rome* in a triumphant manner on the laſt day of f *December*, late at night; but the pope, inſtead of receiving him, retired, in great terror, with two cardinals to the caſtle of St. *Angelo*. The other cardinals, to the number of eighteen, adhered to the king [m], and ſolicited him earneſtly to remove from the holy ſee a per-

A. D. 1495.

*Is intreated by the cardinals to depoſe the pope.*

ſon deteſtable to all the world for his vices, aſſuring him, that it would be more glorious for him to free the church of God from the tyranny of a wicked pope, than it was for *Pepin* and *Charlemagne* to have delivered the former popes from their oppreſſors. *Alexander* however, by his gifts and promiſes, having got friends among the king's counſellors, *Charles* concluded a treaty with him, by which it was agreed, that, till the conqueſt of *Naples*, the king ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of the caſtles of *Civita Vecchia*, *Terracina*, and *Spoleto*; that the pope ſhould pardon all the cardinals and barons that had adhered to the king; that he ſhould give him the inveſtiture of *Naples*, and deliver up to him the brother of the

[i] SPOND. Annal. [k] GUICCIARD. l. i. DIAR. SANES. ut ſupra. Chron. Venet. ap. Murator. t. xxiv. p. 7, 8, 9. [l] Idem. ibid. [m] COMMIN. l. vii. c. 12.

grand

a grand ſignor (M); and laſtly, that *Cæſar Borgia*, cardinal of *Valentia*, ſhould accompany the king three months as apoſtolical legate. This treaty being concluded, the pope returned to his palace, and afterwards received the king with great pomp in the church of St. *Peter*. The ſacred college was highly offended with the king, for agreeing to an accommodation with the pope, and eight of the cardinals immediately left *Rome*. *Charles* likewiſe, in the end of *January*, marched with his army from the city towards *Naples*; but before his departure, he was informed, that *Alphonſus* had reſigned his kingdom to his ſon *Ferdinand*, and had fled into *Sicily*. *Ferdinand*, however, was unable to make any oppoſition, and fled himſelf to the iſland of *Iſchia*, leaving his kingdom to the poſſeſſion of *Charles*, who entered *Naples* in a triumphant manner on the 22d of *February*.

*He concludes a treaty with him, contrary to their inclinations, and makes an eaſy conqueſt of* Naples.

b The rapid progreſs of the *French* king greatly alarmed all *Italy*, eſpecially as he had left *French* garriſons in the fortified places of thoſe territories through which he had paſſed, and ſtill refuſed to withdraw them. *Cæſar Borgia* having fled from his camp before he had arrived at *Naples*, the pope thought himſelf no longer bound to obſerve the treaty which he had lately concluded with him at *Rome*; and in the month of *April* entered into an alliance with the emperor, the king of *Spain*, the *Venetians*, and the duke of *Milan*, under pretence of oppoſing the *Turks*, but in reality to oblige *Charles* to quit his conqueſts in *Italy*, by a ſecret article, the duke of *Milan* engaging to prevent any ſuccours coming from *France*, which kingdom at the ſame time ſhould be attacked by the emperor and the king of *Spain* [n]. *Charles* being informed of this treaty, immediately reſolved to return to *France*, before his

c enemies had aſſembled a force ſufficient to oppoſe him; accordingly having left *Gilbert Montpenſier* as his viceroy, with about 3000 horſe, and a ſmall body of infantry, on the 20th of *May* he left *Naples* with the reſt of his army, and marched directly for *Rome*. *Alexander*, having again aſſembled his troops, and got ſome auxiliaries from his allies, propoſed to oppoſe the king; but, his fear prevailing, he abandoned the city and fled to *Orvieto*, and from thence to *Perugia*. *Charles* continued but two days in *Rome*, and proceeded through *Viterbo*, *Siena*, and *Piſa*, to *Fornovo*, a village ſituated within eight miles of *Parma*. His camp was there attacked on the 6th of *July*, by the *Venetians*; but the enemy being repulſed, he advanced towards *Aſti* and *Turin*, and, paſſing the *Alps*, arrived at *Grenoble* on the 27th of *October*.

*The pope concludes a treaty againſt him with ſeveral princes.*

*He returns to* France, *and*

d The day after the battle at *Fornovo*, *Ferdinand* had returned to *Italy*, and being aſſiſted by a great many volunteers from *Sicily*, and ſome troops from *Spain*, commanded by the famous *Gonſalvo Hernandes* of *Cordova*, he immediately recovered ſeveral places in the kingdom of *Naples*; which ſucceſs had encouraged the pope to ſend a nuncio to the king of *France*, ordering him, under pain of eccleſiaſtical cenſures, to quit *Italy* within ten days, and to withdraw his troops from *Naples* within a limited time. This command was treated with great contempt by *Charles*, who threatened to return to *Rome*: however his affairs obliged him to repaſs the *Alps*. After his departure the pope ſent troops to aſſiſt *Ferdinand*, and prohibited the *Genoeſe*, under pain of excommunication, from allowing the *French* to build any ſhips in their territories. *Ferdinand*, by the ſuccours ſent him by the pope, and the aſſiſ-

e tance of the *Spaniſh* and *Venetian* fleets, quickly recovered the greateſt part of his kingdom. However, the troubles of *Italy* were not thereby compoſed; for a great many cities in *Romagna* and *Tuſcany* were engaged in particular diſputes, and *Aquila* and *Perugia*, with many other cities in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, refuſed obedience to the pope, and adhered to the party of the king of *France*, who had ſent to the duke of *Milan*, demanding a paſſage and proviſions for 30,000 horſe, with which he propoſed to enter *Italy* [o]. His threatening a ſecond expedition ſtruck a great terror into the *Italian* ſtates; the pope cauſed the caſtle of St. *Angelo* to be repaired, and the *Venetians* ſollicited the king of *England* to declare war againſt *France*; but not ſucceeding at that court, they, with the duke of *Milan*, invited the emperor to enter *Italy*, and to take the command of their army, promiſing to take 4000

f *Swiſs* into their pay, and to allow him 20,000 ducats *per* month [p].

Ferdinand *recovers the kingdom of* Naples.

A. D. 1496.

*The king of* France *threatens to return to* Italy.

The emperor readily agreed to this propoſal; and, againſt the inclination of the *Germans*, entered *Italy* in the month of *Auguſt*, with 1000 horſe and 500 foot. The pope being informed of his arrival, ſent his baſtard ſon, cardinal *Borgia*, to crown him emperor at *Milan*, as the *Venetians* had refuſed him a paſſage to *Rome* through their territories [q]. Soon

*The emperor enters* Lombardy, *to the aſſiſtance of the* Venetians;

[n] Idem. l. vii. c. 15. Guicciard. Diar. Ferrar. Chron. Venet ut ſupra. Diar. Sanes. ut ſupra.
[o] Diar Ferrar. ut ſupra. p. 319, &. 320. [p] Chron. Venet. ut ſupra. [q] Diar. Ferrar.

(M) *Zem*, or *Zizim*, died at *Naples*, or according to different authors, at *Capua*, or *Terracina*, having been poiſoned by the connivance of the pope, before he was delivered to the king of *France* (4). The *Turkiſh* annals relate, that he was poiſoned by one *Muſtapha*, ſent to *Rome* by *Bajazet* with the annual penſion, and that the pope gave his conſent (5); which is in ſome meaſure confirmed by a letter of *Bajazet* to the pope, wherein he adviſes *Alexander* to haſten the death of his brother, which at any rate muſt happen ſome time, and promiſes him 30,000 crowns if he would ſend his corpſe to any port in the *Turkiſh* dominions (6).

(4) *Jovius. Guicciard. l.* ii. (5) *Leunclav l.* xvi. (6) *Epiſt. Princip. Italic. Script.* vol. i *Epiſt.* vi. *edit.* 1581.

after his arrival, the *Venetians* being informed of the death of the dauphin of *France*, which freed them from their apprehenſions of a *French* invaſion, they therefore reſolved to free themſelves likewiſe from the emperor; and for that purpoſe perſuaded him to undertake the ſiege of *Leghorn*, which ſtill held for the *French*, and was ſtrongly fortified. *Maximilian* accordingly opened the ſiege; but his forces being inconſiderable, he quickly found the enterprize impracticable, and retired to *Pavia*, from whence he returned diſſatisfied to *Germany*, the *Venetians* having neglected to pay their part of the ſubſidy [r].

*but returns diſſatisfied to* Germany.

Ferdinand *dies at* Naples.

A FEW weeks before the departure of the emperor, *Ferdinand* died at *Naples*, after he had recovered all his kingdom except *Taranto* and *Gaeta*. As he left no children, he was ſucceeded by his uncle *Frederic*, who ſoon recovered *Gaeta* and *Taranto*, and detained *Virginius Urſini*, and his ſon *Paul*, priſoners in the caſtle of *Naples*, they having in the late troubles adhered to the party of the king of *France*. On this pretence the pope thought proper at this time to declare them rebels, and ſent his ſon, the duke of *Candia*, with ſome troops to take poſſeſſion of their eſtates, who quickly made himſelf maſter of ſix of their caſtles. *Alexander* impriſoned ſeveral of the cardinals who oppoſed his proceedings, while others of them, to ſave themſelves, were obliged to fly to different parts of *Italy* [s]. However, he was ſoon prevailed upon to conclude a peace, his forces having been ſurprized and defeated by thoſe of the *Urſini*, and the duke of *Urbino*, and many other perſons of diſtinction taken priſoners, among whom ſome authors mention the duke of *Candia* [t]. All the territories taken from the *Urſini* were reſtored to them, upon their paying 40,000 ducats. The pope then ſent *Gonſalvo* with his *Spaniards*, whom he had taken into his pay, againſt the caſtle of *Oſtia*, which was again ſeized by the adherents of the cardinal of St. *Peter*'s. This fort ſurrendered after a ſhort reſiſtance to the *Spaniſh* general, who returned in triumph to *Rome*, where he was honoured with a golden roſe by the pope. *Alexander*, at the ſame time, was greatly ſollicited by the duke of *Milan* and the *Venetians*, to give aſſiſtance, according to the terms of the treaty, againſt the *French*, who made great efforts to obtain the poſſeſſion of *Genoa*. His compliance with their demands quickly became unneceſſary; for the king of *Spain* having advanced with an army as far as *Perpignan*, *Charles* VIII. conſented to a truce till the beginning of *November*, in which the *Italian* ſtates ſhould be included; and, in the mean time plenipotentiaries repaired to *Montpelier* to negotiate a peace.

*The pope attacks the territories of the* Urſini. A. D. 1497. *He concludes a peace with them.*

*The duke of* Candia *is murdered by his brother the cardinal.*

SOON after the publication of the truce, all *Rome* was thrown into great confuſion, occaſioned by the murder of the duke of *Candia*, who was aſſaſſinated in the ſtreets by his brother, the cardinal of *Valentia*. The cardinal *Borgia*, according to *Guicciardini*, was prompted by jealouſy and envy to this horrid deed. As he had no inclination to an eccleſiaſtical life, he was ambitious of poſſeſſing that temporal grandeur which his brother enjoyed, and was beſides impatient to find that the duke had a greater ſhare in his ſiſter's affections than himſelf. Both the brothers are ſaid to have been rivalled by their father; who not being ſatisfied with his daughter's ſecond marriage, hired falſe witneſſes to prove the impotence of her huſband. The pope was afflicted beyond meaſure for the death of his ſon; and ſuſpecting the cardinal *Sforza* and the count of *Mirandola* as guilty of the murder, he cauſed them both to be apprehended: but a few days after, diſcovering the author, he deplored his miſery with tears in the conſiſtory, confeſſed the wickedneſs of his former life, and nominated ſeveral cardinals, by whoſe advice he ſolemnly promiſed to reform the manners of his court. He dropt theſe good reſolutions, however, in a few days, and returned with more eagerneſs than ever, to the practice of thoſe vices in which he had ſpent his life. Soon after he granted the inveſtiture of *Naples* to *Frederic*; and being informed that one *Savonarola*, a *Dominican*, of great authority at *Florence*, had prevailed with that city to reſtore the popular government, and had written to the emperor, and to the kings of *France*, *England*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*, exhorting them to aſſiſt the church, which was corrupted from the crown of the head to the ſole of the foot, and to pluck up, by the authority of a general council, the abomination of deſolation which ſtood in the holy place, he prohibited him from preaching, and cited him to appear at *Rome*. As the monk refuſed to go to *Rome*, he threatened to excommunicate the *Florentines*, and lay their city under an interdict, unleſs they delivered him up bound, and refrained from hearing his ſermons: but this threatening being deſpiſed, he denounced an anathema againſt *Savonarola* at *Rome* [u].

Savonarola, *a monk of* Florence, *exhorts the princes of* Europe *to call a council for reforming the church.*

Lewis XII. *ſucceeds to the crown of* France, *and claims the duchy of* Milan.

MEAN while, the truce being continued betwixt the kings of *Spain* and *France*, *Charles* again made preparations for an expedition into *Italy*, with the conſent of *Alexander*, who had entered into a private negotiation with him, in hopes of promoting his ſon cardinal *Borgia*. *Charles* dying of an apoplexy in the month of *April*, without iſſue, was ſucceeded by his couſin *Lewis*, duke of *Orleans*, who, far from dropping his pretenſions in *Italy*, immediately aſſumed the title of king of *France*, *Jeruſalem*, and both *Sicilies*, and duke of *Milan*, which duchy he claimed in right of his grandmother *Valentina*, daughter and heireſs of *John Galeazzo Viſconti*. Upon the unexpected death of the king of *France*, *Alexander* again ſollicited

[r] GUICCIARD. l. iii. STORIA Venet. ut ſupra. [s] DIAR. FERRAR. [t] Ibid GUICCIARD. l iii.

a licited the friendſhip of the king of *Naples*: being deſirous of obtaining ſome ſecular dignity for his ſon, he propoſed an alliance betwixt him and *Carlotta*, the king's daughter, and that the principality of *Taranto* ſhould be granted to him as her dowry. *Frederic* rejecting this propoſal with diſdain, the pope immediately applied to the king of *France*; and as *Carlotta* was then at his court, he aſked his aſſiſtance in concluding the propoſed aliiance. *Lewis* being reſolved upon an expedition to *Italy*, and being deſirous of obtaining a divorce from his preſent wife, complied readily with the pope's requeſt; accordingly *Cæſar Borgia* having reſigned the cardinalate, ſet out for *France* with the pope's bull, authorizing an examination of the king's marriage [u].

Cæſar Borgia *reſigns the cardinalate.*

All *Italy* greatly exclaimed againſt this reſignation of the cardinalate, as the late pope
b had even refuſed to allow one of the cardinals to reſign, who was deſirous of aſſuming the monkiſh habit. *Savonarola*, who had abſtained from preaching for ſeveral months, again exclaimed againſt the pope; but the magiſtracy of *Florence* being deſirous of procuring his favour in a treaty which they were then negotiating, for the recovery of *Piſa*, ordered him to be ſilent. *Savonarola* obeyed; but ſeveral of his companions ſtill continued to reproach the pope in their ſermons with great freedom. The *Franciſcans* adopted the oppoſite party with great warmth; and the diſpute went ſo far, that one of the *Franciſcans* challenged a *Dominican* to walk with him into the midſt of a fire, in proof of the truth of their doctrines. The challenge being accepted, an immenſe crowd aſſembled to ſee the experiment, but the *Dominican* being afraid, deſired to enter the fire with the conſecrated wafer; which
c being oppoſed by the *Franciſcans*, and inſiſted upon by *Savonarola*, ſerved for an excuſe to delay the propoſed tryal. *Savonarola*, however, loſt his reputation with the people, and next day was ſeized, with two of his companions; and being degraded by the general of their order, they were delivered to the civil magiſtrate, who ordered them to be put to death [w]. *Alexander*, about the ſame time, degraded and impriſoned a biſhop of *Rome*, who was accuſed of *Mahammediſm* and hereſy [x].

Savonarola *is burnt at* Florence.

During theſe tranſactions *Cæſar Borgia* arrived at *Paris*, where he was received with great honour by the king, who created him a knight, and duke of *Valentinois* in *Dauphiny*, and gave him the command of a body of 100 horſe, with an annual penſion of 20,000 livres. The following year he married *Carlotta*, a daughter of a peer of *France*, as the daugh-
d ter of *Frederic* had abſolutely refuſed to marry him. *Lewis* XII. in the mean time, having concluded a peace with the kings of *England* and *Spain*, and a truce with the emperor, made great preparations to take poſſeſſion of the *Milaneſe*, having likewiſe ſecured the friendſhip of the pope and the *Venetians*. *Lewis Sforza* applied for aſſiſtance to the emperor; but being diſappointed in *Germany*, he ſent an embaſſy to *Bajazet*, deſiring him to declare war againſt the *Venetians*. *Maximilian* was prevented from aſſiſting *Sforza*, being then engaged in a war againſt the *Swiſs*: but being very deſirous of humbling the *Venetians*, he likewiſe ſollicited the grand ſignior to attack them, promiſing at the ſame time to make an irruption into the *Treviſane* [y]. The *Turks* accordingly fitted out a formidable fleet, with which they made themſelves maſters of the ſea; and aſſembling their forces in *Boſnia*, entered *Italy* by *Friuli*,
e ravaging the country with fire and ſword as far as *Lavenza*, and carrying off with them many thouſands of captives.

Borgia *is created duke by the king of* France; A. D. 1498.

The *Venetians*, in this extremity, ſolliciting the king of *France* to haſten his march into *Italy*, *Lewis* arrived at *Lyons* in the month of *Auguſt*, and ſent a conſiderable army over the *Alps*, under the command of the duke of *Luxemburgh*, the duke of *Albany*, and one *Trivulzi*, an *Italian*, who taking *Alexandria* by ſtorm, though garriſoned by 5000 men, ſtruck ſuch a terror into the other cities of the *Milaneſe*, that they ſurrendered without any oppoſition; *Sforza*, in a diſgraceful manner, abandoning *Milan*, and flying with his wife, children, and treaſure, into *Germany*. The *French* having in leſs than twenty days made themſelves maſ-
ters of the *Milaneſe*, and of *Genoa*, *Lewis* XII. arrived at *Milan* on the 6th of *October*, where
f he received embaſſies of congratulation from all the potentates of *Italy*, except *Frederic* king of *Naples* [z]. The different ſtates put themſelves under his protection, and made alliances with him agreeable to their intereſts. The pope likewiſe laid hold of this opportunity; and ſolliciting the king to fulfil his engagements to the duke of *Valentinois*, who had come with him from *France*, *Lewis* granted him 300 lances at his own expence, and a body of 4 or 5000 *Swiſs*, to be paid by the pope; with which force *Alexander* propoſed to reduce the whole territory of *Romagna*, under the ſubjection of the *Roman* ſee (N); but in reality intended that country,

*who conquers the* Milaneſe, *and gives troops to* Borgia, *to aſſiſt him to conquer* Romagna.

[u] Spond. Annal. Bzov. hoc an. [w] Bellefor. l. vi. [x] Guicciard. l. iii. in fin. Bzov. t. xviii. an. 1492, &c. Diar. Ferrar. [y] Spond. Annal. [z] Chron. Venet. ap. Murator. t. xxiv. [a] Chron. Venet. ut ſupra. Diar. Ferrar. ut ſupra. Guicciard. l. iv. Cor. par. vii.

(N) The cities in *Romagna*, which territory was ſaid to be given to the *Roman* church by *Charlemagne*, was uſurped by particular lords during the reſidence of the popes at *Avignon*, and during the great ſchiſm which happened

country, when conquered, as a ſettlement for his ſon *Cæſar*. The *Venetians* had for many a years been in poſſeſſion of *Ravenna* and *Cervia*; however, the pope at this time made no pretenſions to theſe cities, nor to thoſe lands on the banks of the *Po* which were poſſeſſed by the duke of *Ferrara*, whom the king of *France* had taken into his protection.

BORGIA propoſed at firſt to make himſelf maſter of *Imola* and *Forli*, then in poſſeſſion of the widow of *Jeronimo Riara*, nephew of the late pope *Sixtus*. This woman, with great ſpirit, made all poſſible preparations to oppoſe him; ſhe repaired the fortifications of her cities, and ſent her children to *Florence*, whither ſhe repaired herſelf to ſollicit aſſiſtance. Her journey being in vain, ſhe ſent an embaſſy to the pope with a poiſoned letter, wrapped up in ſcarlet cloth, to be delivered into his own hands: and having, with great labour, b laid all the lands round *Forli* under water, ſhe appeared on the walls, in the dreſs of a ſoldier, to encourge her men. Her endeavours, however, to defend herſelf, were ineffectual; for the deſign of her embaſſy was diſcovered at *Rome*, and the inhabitants of *Imola* and *Forli*, ſtruck with the fate of *Alexandria*, ſurrendered without any oppoſition to the duke, who took poſſeſſion of them about the middle of *January* [b].

Borgia *makes himſelf maſter of* Imola *and* Forli.

As this year was ſuppoſed to begin a new century, *Alexander* had publiſhed two bulls, appointing the celebration of a jubilee, which began at *Chriſtmas*, but was not frequented by ſuch a great concourſe of pilgrims as in former years, on account of the war which then raged in *Lombardy*. To encourage ſtrangers to come to *Rome*, the pope ſhortened the time for their reſidence in the city, and extended the jubilee to the epiphany of the following year; after which time, he allowed it to be celebrated till *Whitſuntide* through all *Italy*. He likewiſe c ſent nuncios into the different provinces of Chriſtendom, to publiſh the indulgences of the holy year, and appointed the tythe of the whole money, to be raiſed on that account, to be given to the *Venetians*, as a ſubſidy againſt the *Turks* [c]. Beſides, to prevent that republic from giving any aſſiſtance to the lords of *Rimini*, *Faenza*, *Peſaro*, and other territories in *Romagna*, againſt his ſon, he allowed them to publiſh a cruſade againſt the *Turks*. The aſſiſtance of the pope being very neceſſary for the *Venetians*, who were engaged in an unſucceſsful war with the infidels, they promiſed not to intereſt themſelves in the affairs of *Romagna*: however, being afraid to ſee *Borgia* in poſſeſſion of that country, they privately ſollicited their ally, the king of *France*, to recal the *Swiſs* and *French* from *Romagna*, being ſenſible that, without them, *Borgia* could not ſucceed in his enterprize. d

*A jubilee celebrated* at Rome. A. D. 1500.

TRIVULZI, governor of *Milan*, accordingly ordered theſe troops immediately to return, not ſo much to gratify the *Venetians*, as to oppoſe *Lewis Sforza*, who had ſuddenly repaſſed the *Alps* with ſeveral thouſand *Swiſs* and *Burgundians*, and taken poſſeſſion of *Como*. Upon his arrival the whole *Milaneſe* revolted from the *French*, who had rendered themſelves deteſtable to the *Italians* by their inſolence and barbarity; and *Trivulzi* having but an inconſiderable body of men, was obliged to retire towards *Novara*. *Borgia*, in the mean time, having conquered *Imola* and *Forli*, at the expence of 130 000 ducats, ceaſed all hoſtilities in *Romagna*, and returned to *Rome*, but, before his departure, he is ſaid to have poiſoned cardinal *Borgia*, who was a favourite of the pope, and had been ſent by him as legate to *Ceſena*, with a yearly revenue of 20.000 ducats [d]. Soon after his arrival at *Rome*, *Lewis Sforza* e was ſeized by the *Swiſs* in his own ſervice, and by them delivered to the *French* general, by which means the king of *France* again became maſter of the *Milaneſe*, in a more abſolute manner than before. All *Italy* was alarmed at this news, except the *Venetians* and the pope; the laſt of whom entered into an alliance with the king, promiſing to aſſiſt him with troops in his expedition againſt *Naples*, and appointing the cardinal of *Rouen* legate of *France* for eighteen months; in conſideration of which *Lewis* again allowed *Borgia* 300 lances and 2000 foot, and declared that he would look upon thoſe as his enemies who oppoſed the pope's ſon. This reinforcement having joined his other troops, which conſiſted of 600 horſe and 6000 foot, *Borgia* returned to *Romagna*, and without oppoſition made himſelf maſter of *Peſaro* and *Rimini*, the *Florentines* and the duke of *Ferrara* not daring to give any f aſſiſtance to the feudatory lords, the *Venetians* even deſerting their cauſe, and honouring

Lewis Sforza *recovers the poſſeſſion of the* Milaneſe;

*is delivered a priſoner to the* French.

Borgia *conquers* Peſaro *and* Rimini;

[b] Chron. Venet. DIAR. FERRAR. ut ſupra. TRITHEM. in Chron. SPOND. Annal. [c] Bzov. hoc. an. & ſeq. POLYD. l. xxvi. CROMER. l. xxx. [d] Chron. Venet. ut ſupra. GUICCIARD. l. v. DIAR. FERRAR.

happened upon their return to *Italy*. The popes not being able to reduce thoſe tyrants by force, either granted the territories which had been uſurped to the uſurpers themſelves, as fiefs of the church, or gave the inveſtiture of them to others, with the titles of vicars. Thus the pope gave *Ferrara* to [illegible] of *Eſte*, at firſt with the title of vicar, but afterwards with that of duke. Many lords likewiſe in the march of *Ancona*, the patrimony of St. *Peter*, and the duchy of *Spoleto*, obtained the title of vicar, either by the free or extorted compliance of the pope. The cities of *Romagna*, though accounted feudatory to the church, had for a long courſe of years thrown off all ſubjection to the popes, many of the vicars neglecting entirely to pay their annual tribute, and all of them entering into the ſervice of other princes, without making the exception of not ſerving againſt the church, nay even ſtipulating to defend them againſt the authority and arms of the pope (7).

(7) *Guicciard. l.* iv.

*Borgia*

a *Borgia* with the title of nobility. The city of *Faenza*, which was next inveſted, tho' deſtitute of all auxiliaries, reſolved to adhere to the family of *Manfredi*, and made ſuch deſperate ſallies on the beſiegers, that *Borgia* in great vexation was obliged, after ten days, to raiſe the ſiege, and put his troops into winter-quarters [e].

*takes poſſeſſion of* Faenza,

*ALEXANDER* in the mean time, to ſupply the expences of the war, promoted twelve perſons to the cardinalate, from whom he received a large ſum of money. *Borgia* likewiſe, having received new reinforcements of *French* and *Spaniards*, again inveſted *Faenza*, in the beginning of *February*. The inhabitants of this city, after a vigorous defence, were obliged to ſurrender in the end of *April*, *Borgia* promiſing them ſecurity in their perſonal eſtates, and to allow their lord 4000 ducats a year: however, having taken poſſeſſion of the place, A. D. 1501.

b he ſent the lord, who was then only eighteen years of age, to *Rome*, where he was ſoon after put to death [f]. After the conqueſt of *Faenza*, *Borgia* having obtained the title of duke of *Romagna* from his father, with the approbation of the conſiſtory, he marched with his army againſt *Bologna*, propoſing after he had made himſelf maſter of that city, to attack *Florence*. Upon his march he received an order from the king of *France*, prohibiting his enterprize againſt *Bologna*, as he had taken that city, and its lord *John Bentivoglio*, under his protection. This news was very diſagreeable to the duke: however, being deſirous to extend his conqueſts, he came to an accommodation with *Bentivoglio*, who granted him a paſſage thro' his territories into *Tuſcany*, paid him 6000 ducats, and ſent his ſon to join him with 300 hundred horſe and 5000 foot.

*and is created duke of* Romagna.

*The kings of* France *and* Spain *make a partition of the kingdom of* Naples.

c THIS reinforcement ſupplied the place of the *French*, who at this time returned to *Lombardy*, the king of *France* having put his forces in motion for the conqueſt of *Naples*, in conſequence of a treaty with the king of *Spain*, by which theſe two princes had agreed upon a partition of the kingdom of *Naples*. The pope readily confirmed this treaty, to the aſtoniſhment of all *Italy*, and gave the inveſtiture of the duchy of *Apulia* and *Calabria* to the king of *Spain*, and of all the reſt of the kingdom to the king of *France*, under the title of king of *Naples* and *Jeruſalem*. *Frederic* was quite confounded with this news, as the king of *Spain* had ſent a great body of troops into his kingdom, under pretence of oppoſing the *French*, who had now advanced as far as *Rome*. As he had one powerful enemy already in the midſt of his dominions, and was threatened with an invaſion from another, he left

d a garriſon in *Capua*, and retired in deſpair to *Naples*. Mean while the *Spaniſh* general employed his forces in reducing *Calabria* and *Apulia*; and the *French* having taken poſſeſſion of *Averſa*, *Nola*, and ſeveral other places, attacked *Capua*, which they took by ſtorm. *Borgia*, who had entered into a defenſive treaty with the *Florentines*, and had left his army in the territory of *Piombino*, accompanied the *French* army with his guards as lieutenant-general, and at the ſacking of *Capua*, ſeized forty of the faireſt nuns as his own booty [g]. *Frederic* being informed of the loſs of *Capua*, immediately abandoned *Naples*, which ſurrendered to the conquerors; and he himſelf ſoon after, from his deteſtation of the king of *Spain* reſigned his whole kingdom to the *French*, and went with his family to *France*, where he was created duke of *Anjou*, and allowed a yearly penſion of 30,000 ducats.

e MEAN while the affairs of the pope proceeded with their uſual proſperity; he having made himſelf maſter of all the poſſeſſions of the *Colloneſi* and *Savelli* in the *Terra di Roma*, which he divided betwixt the *Urſini* and his ſon *Borgia*, who had reduced *Piombino* to great diſtreſs. The lord of that city had ſent to the *Genoeſe* for aſſiſtance, and had even offered to ſell his whole eſtates to that republic; but while they were ſolliciting the conſent of the king of *France*, *Piombino* was obliged to ſurrender to *Borgia* [h]. Tho' the *French* king was diſſatisfied with the conqueſts of *Borgia*, he nevertheleſs gratified the pope in all his demands; and prevailed with the duke of *Ferrara* to conclude an alliance betwixt his eldeſt ſon *Alphonſus* and *Lucretia* the pope's daughter. The duke conſented to this match, to ſecure his poſſeſſions from the ambition of *Borgia*; accordingly (the pope allowing his daughter a

*The duke of* Ferrara's *ſon marries the pope's daughter.* A. D. 1502.

f dowry of 100,000 ducats in gold, and the value of 111,000 ducats in jewels) ſhe arrived at *Ferrara* on the 1ſt of *February*, where ſhe was received with great magnificence, and, a few days after, the apoſtolic nuncio gave the inveſtiture of *Ferrara* to *Alphonſus*, and created him a knight of *St. Peter* [i].

*The emperor propoſes a journey to* Rome.

ABOUT this time *Maximilian*, who had ſtill delayed to give the inveſtiture of *Milan* to the king of *France*, ſent an ambaſſador into *Italy*, to inform the pope, and the other potentates, that he intended a journey to *Rome*, to receive the imperial crown. This news alarmed the king of *France*, who, from the high demands of the *Florentine* ambaſſador at his court, ſuſpected that the ſtates of *Italy* had entered into an alliance with the emperor: he therefore renewed his treaty with the *Florentines*, in terms very favourable for that republic, and ſent a herald to *Borgia*, prohibiting him from attacking their territories. The duke of

[e] GUICCIARD. l. v. DIAR. FERRAR. p. 391. [f] Idem ibid. [g] GUICCIARD. l. v. DIAR. FERRAR. [h] BARTHOL. SENAREGÆ de reb. Genuen ap. Murat. l. xxiv. p. 574. GUICCIARD. [i] Idem ibid.

*Romagna* had then excited the city of *Arezzo* to revolt; and this enterprize ſucceeding to his wiſh, he left *Rome*, and ſurpriſed *Cagli*, a city of the duke of *Urbino*, whoſe duchy he quickly made himſelf maſter of, altho' the duke a few weeks before, had accommodated with the pope all his differences about the tribute. After this conqueſt he ſeized ſome places belonging to the lord of *Camerino*, whom, with his two ſons, he ordered to be ſtrangled. This proceeding alarmed the *Urſini* and other lords that ſerved in his army, who judged that, as his ambition had no bounds, they likewiſe in the end would ſhare the ſame fate with the reſt. Their fears, however were, in ſome meaſure abated, by the arrival of the king of *France* in *Italy*, who ſent ſome troops towards *Florence*, to recover ſome places belonging to that republic, which had been ſeized by one of *Borgia*'s captains, and declared publicly, that he intended to march in perſon againſt *Borgia*, and oblige him to deliver up all his conqueſts. The king was excited to this enterprize by the ambaſſadors of the *Italian* ſtates, who waited upon him at *Aſti*; but the pope bribing his favourite, the cardinal of *Rouen*, with a new legation in *France* for eighteen months, and promiſing to aſſiſt him in his war aginſt *Ferdinand* in *Naples*, and to give no countenance to *Maximilian*, who laid claim to the *Milaneſe* as a fief of the empire, he again renewed his alliance with him and his ſon. This treaty being concluded, *Borgia* waited upon the king at *Milan* and *Genoa*, and to the mortification of the *Italian* ambaſſadors, was received by him with great careſſes [k].

*The king of* France *promiſes to check the ambition of* Borgia,

*but renews his alliance with him.*

a

b

*A confederacy formed againſt him.*

SOON after, it being diſcovered that the king of *France* had promiſed to aſſiſt the duke in reducing *Bologna*, and the other feudatory lords, all the ſtates of *Italy* were under great apprehenſions for their own ſecurity. The *Venetians* were very earneſt with the king to induce him to renounce the alliance; and the *Urſini*, with the other lords who ſerved in *Borgia*'s army, withdrew their troops, and entered into a league for their mutual defence againſt him, to which they were encouraged by the revolt of the duchy of *Urbino*. *Borgia* was greatly alarmed with this confederacy, as their forces were greatly ſuperior to his: however, with his uſual good fortune, he prevailed upon the *Urſini*, even after they had gained ſome advantages over him, to conſent to a ſeparate treaty of peace, to which the other lords were obliged to accede. The duke of *Urbino* and the lord of *Camerino* immediately fled, the one to *Venice*, and the other to *Naples*; and *Borgia* ſoon after made himſelf maſter of *Fano* and *Sinigaglia*, into which laſt city he enticed *Paul Urſino*, and three other chiefs of the late confederacy, two of whom next day he ordered to be ſtrangled.

c

d

A. D. 1503.

THE pope in the mean time, with the intention, as it was believed, of raiſing money for his ſon, propoſed a general cruſade againſt the *Turks*; for which purpoſe he ſent nuncios into the different kingdoms of *Europe*, but with little or no ſucceſs: his character made every propoſal from him to be ſuſpected. However, he ſtill ſucceeded in deceiving the *Italian* princes: upon being informed of the tragedy at *Sinigaglia*, he impriſoned the cardinal *Urſino* in the caſtle of *St. Angelo*, and ſent his youngeſt ſon the prince of *Squillaci*, to take poſſeſſion of the territories belonging to that family, and the other confederate lords. The cardinal dying (as it was ſuppoſed by poiſon) after twenty days impriſonment, *Borgia* immediately ordered the other two lords to be put to death at *Sinigaglia*, and marching from thence in the end of *January*, made himſelf maſter of *Citta di Caſtello* and *Perugia*; then deſiring an opportunity to ſeize *Siena*, he ordered them to baniſh their lord *Pandolfo Petrucci* as his enemy. *Pandolfo* was accordingly baniſhed; but the king of *France* interpoſing, *Borgia* was obliged to deſiſt from that enterprize: however, he took poſſeſſion of the territories of the *Savelli*, and ſeveral of the ſtrong places belonging to the *Urſini*, even againſt the command of the king of *France*, whoſe authority was greatly leſſened in *Italy*, as he had, by neglect, allowed the *Spaniards* to make themſelves maſters of almoſt the whole kingdom of *Naples*.

e

*The* Spaniards *conquer* Naples;

Borgia *treats with them.*

*BORGIA*, in hopes of making a conqueſt of *Tuſcany*, immediately began to treat with the *Spaniſh* general; but the king of *France* ſending a powerful army into *Italy*, the pope was in doubt which of the princes he ſhould declare for: therefore, under the pretence of being the common father, he reſolved upon a neutrality, allowed the *French* army a paſſage thro' his territories, and promiſed, during the *Neapolitan* war, not to attack *Bologna*, *Siena*, or *Florence*. It was ſuppoſed that the pope had no deſign to obſerve this laſt article, but rather reſolved to attack *Tuſcany*, while the *French* were occupied in the kingdom of *Naples*. *Borgia*, to provide money for that expedition, formed a deſign, according to ſome authors, with the concurrence of his father, to poiſon all the rich cardinals, and to ſeize their revenues and eſtates; but, by the miſtake of a ſervant, the plot proved fatal to the contrivers [l]. Authors differ a little, though not materially, in the circumſtances of this fact. According to *Guicciardini*, *Borgia* ſent a preſent of ſome flaſks of poiſoned wine to the cardinal of *Corneto*, in whoſe garden they propoſed to ſup, but ordered the ſervant to give

f

g

[k] GUICCIARD. [l] MARIAN. l. xxvii. c. 2. BZOV. hoc an. ANGLER. Epiſt. 264.

none

a none of it to any perſon *Alexander* ſoon after coming into the garden, and calling for ſome wine before ſupper, the ſervant gave him ſome from the poiſoned flaſks, thinking the prohibition could not extend to the pope, however valuable and rare the wine might be; and *Borgia* in the mean time appearing, without ſuſpicion, drank of the ſame wine with his father. They both immediately felt the ſymptoms of the poiſon, and *Alexander* died the next day, being the 18th of *Auguſt*; but *Borgia*, having drank his wine much diluted, by the aſſiſtance of antidotes recovered, after a long illneſs, in which he loſt his ſkin and hair [m]. *Alexander is poiſoned by miſtake, and dies.*

Though the death of *Alexander* gave great joy to the *Romans*, and to all *Italy*, yet *Rome* itſelf was immediately full of tumult and confuſion, the *French* army being in the neighbour- *Great diſturbances at* Rome.
b hood of the city, and *Borgia* poſſeſſing the *Vatican* and the caſtle of *St. Angelo* with 12,000 men. The party of the *Urſini* likewiſe took arms; and the cardinals having retired to the convent of *Minerva*, were apprehenſive, leſt the *Spaniſh* general ſhould march to the city to over-awe the election. They therefore reſolved to delay entering into the conclave, till the cardinals reſident in foreign parts beyond the *Alps* might be preſent. *Borgia* in the mean time, though ſollicited by the *Spaniards*, concluded a new alliance with the *French*, and promiſed his intereſt to procure the pontificate for the cardinal of *Rouen*, who a few days after arrived, with the other cardinals, at *Rome*. The *French* troops being prevailed upon not to advance, and *Borgia* likewiſe agreeing to quit the city with his forces, the cardinals to the number of thirty-eight, entered the conclave, where their apprehenſions from
c the ſurrounding armies made them come quickly to a concluſion.

The cardinal of *Rouen*, finding his own views diſappointed by the ſtrength of the *Spaniſh* faction, conſented with them to chuſe *Francis Picolomini*, cardinal of *Siena*, who being old and infirm, would, in all probability, ſoon occaſion another vacancy. *Picolomini* was elected on the 21ſt of *September*, and, in memory of his uncle *Pius* II. likewiſe aſſumed the *Pius III. is elected:* name of *Pius*. He immediately granted a ſafe-conduct to *Borgia*, who returned to *Rome* with a guard of 300 horſe and 800 foot; notwithſtanding which he was in great danger from the continual aſſaults of the people, and the faction of the *Urſini*, who attacked his houſe with great violence. Great numbers of his guards deſerting from him, he with his brother and ſeveral *Spaniſh* cardinals, was obliged to take refuge in the *Vatican*, from
d whence he retired to the caſtle of *St. Angelo*. This diſturbance was no ſooner quieted, than all *Rome* was again alarmed by the death of *Pius*, which happened on the 26th day *He dies 26 days after.* after his election. This pope was eminent for his prudence and learning, and was ſuppoſed to have had the reformation of the church much at heart, having declared, immediately after his election, that there was no longer any occaſion for arms; but that all men ought now to think of religion and piety [n]. He had likewiſe reſolved to call a general council; but death, which is ſaid to have been haſtened by poiſon, prevented his deſign [o].

*JULIAN de la Rovere*, nephew of *Sixtus* IV. and cardinal of *Oſtia*, at the death of *Alex-* *The cardinal of* Oſtia *is elected pope, and*
*ander* was a candidate for the pontificate; and reflecting on the infirm health of *Pius*, he ſtill continued to ſollicit the intereſt of the cardinals. Tho' he was of a bold impetuous ſpirit,
e' had ſpent his life in continual travels, and was at variance and enmity with ſeveral great men, yet, as he was accounted liberal, and faithful to his word, and had amaſſed great wealth, he quickly made many friends; eſpecially by his extravagant promiſes, and a diſtribution of the money which, from an opinion of his punctuality, was preſented to him by the citizens of *Rome*. He procured the intereſt of the *Spaniſh* cardinals, partly by *Borgia*'s means, whom he promiſed to confirm general of the church, and to conclude an alliance betwixt his daughter and his own nephew, prefect of *Rome*; ſo that the whole ſacred college had ſo unanimouſly fixed upon him, that on the 9th of *October*, when they entered the conclave, he was declared pope before the doors were ſhut [p]. He was crowned on the 25th of *November*, and aſſumed the name of *Julius* II. As he had reſolved to en- *takes the name of* Julius II.
f deavour to recover the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, he behaved with great reſpect to *Borgia*, to whom a few places in *Romagna* ſtill continued faithful. All the other places that he had conquered, immediately upon the death of *Alexander*, had revolted to their antient lords, or had choſen new ones.

The *Venetians* likewiſe ſeizing this opportunity of extending their territory, during the *The* Venetians *aſpire to the dominion of* Romagna.
ſhort pontificate of *Pius* III. had taken poſſeſſion of *Rimini*, and ſeveral other places in *Romagna*, and had laid ſiege to *Faenza*, which city ſent to the pope, demanding his aſſiſtance. *Julius*, though he was greatly offended with the *Venetians*, yet had not force nor authority to compel them to deſiſt; he therefore only ſent a nuncio to that republic, exhorting them to ceaſe their hoſtilities againſt a city belonging to the church. They anſwered that *Faenza*
g could not be reckoned to belong to the church, as *Alexander* VI. had conferred the whole

[m] Guicciard. l. vi. [n] Barthol. de reb. Genuen. ut ſupra. [o] Spond. Annal. [p] Guicciard. l. vi. Mass. in Jul. II.

dominion

dominion of it upon duke *Valentino*; and continuing their attack, made themſelves maſters of the place. *Julius* appointed *Borgia* to go into *Romagna*, to prevent the other places that ſtill adhered to him from falling into the hands of the *Venetians*; but before his departure, he deſired him to ſurrender thoſe places to him, that the *Venetians* might have no pretence for attacking them. *Borgia* refuſing this demand, *Julius* ordered him to be apprehended on board his galley at *Oſtia*, and ſoon after obtained from him a reſignation of his right to the cities in *Romagna*: however, the governors refuſed to deliver them while their lord was a priſoner, and even ordered the meſſenger of the pope to be hanged. *Julius*, to take off this pretence, delivered *Borgia* into the abſolute power of cardinal *Carvajal* at *Oſtia*, and entered into a treaty with him, which, for the greater ſecurity, was confirmed by a bull, by which he reſigned the cities of *Romagna*, and gave ſecurity for 15,000 ducats. *Julius* by this means got poſſeſſion of the cities of *Romagna*, but he had no intention of ſetting *Borgia* at liberty; however the cardinal, upon being informed that the treaty was executed, allowed his priſoner to depart, without waiting for the orders of the pope (O).

A. D. 1504. Borgia *is impriſoned,* a

*but eſcapes to* Naples. b

About this time, the kings of *France* and *Spain* having concluded a truce, and the *Venetians* not venturing to irritate the pope by renewing hoſtilities in *Romagna*, all *Italy* enjoyed a profound peace, except *Florence* and *Piſa*; this laſt city having, with great reſolution, defended itſelf for ſeveral years againſt the *Florentines*, who endeavoured to reduce it again under their dominion. The pope, in the mean time, received a letter from the Soltan of *Ægypt*, who threatened to expel all the *European* Chriſtians from his dominions, and to deſtroy the ſepulchre of our Saviour, and all the ſacred relics in the *Holy Land*, unleſs he prevailed with the kings of *Spain* and *Portugal* to ceaſe from moleſting the *Moors*; the one of whom perſecuted them in *Spain*, and the other diſturbed their commerce in the *Indian* ſeas [q]. *Julius* ſent the *Franciſcan*, who brought the Soltan's letter to *Spain*, to receive an anſwer from *Ferdinand* and *Emanuel*; and being deſirous of recovering *Romagna*, he ſollicited the emperor to uſe his authority with the *Venetians*, to oblige them to reſtore the cities which they had ſeized. The *Venetians*, upon receiving an embaſſy from *Maximilian*, offered to reſtore to the pope all that they had conquered ſince the death of *Alexander*, if he would confirm to them *Faenza* and its territory: but *Julius* replied, that he would not allow them to poſſeſs a ſingle tower, and that he hoped, before his death, to recover *Ravenna* and *Cervia*, which they had likewiſe uſurped from the church. However, having no hopes of any aſſiſtance from the emperor or the king of *France*, he agreed to leave them *Faenza* and *Rimini*, and admitted their ambaſſadors to an audience. About the ſame time he publiſhed a bull againſt ſimony in the election of a pope, ordaining the election to be null and void if any ſimony ſhould be committed, either by the electors or the perſon elected; and that they ſhould likewiſe be deprived of their cardinalate, and all their eccleſiaſtical benefices: and that thoſe cardinals who ſhould not conſent to the ſimony, might proceed to the election of another pope, call a general council, and act againſt the ſimoniacal pope as a heretic [r].

A. D. 1505. *The* Venetians *reſign part of their conqueſts in* Romagna c

Soon after *Julius* made a promotion of cardinals; but being offended with the king of *France*, for having, without his conſent, diſpoſed of the benefices in the duchy of *Milan*, vacant by the deaths of cardinal *Aſcanius* and others, he refuſed to confer the dignity of cardinal on two biſhops, recommended to him by *Lewis*, who, in reſentment, ſequeſtered the revenues of the cardinal of *St. Peter*, and other prelates, in the duchy of *Milan*. The king of *France*, however, beginning to be afraid of the grandeur of the houſe of *Auſtria*, as *Maximilian* formed pretenſions to the kingdom of *Hungary*, and his ſon *Philip* had now added the kingdom of *Caſtile* to his poſſeſſions in *Flanders*, he therefore reſolved to live in terms of friendſhip with the pope; and having taken off the ſequeſtration, in the beginning of the following year, ſent the apoſtolic nuncio, that was at his court, to *Rome*, with various propoſitions againſt the *Venetians*. *Julius* embraced the offers of the king of *France* with great eagerneſs, and immediately ſent back the nuncio to conclude a ſtrict alliance with *Lewis*, ſending with him a brief, by which he granted the dignity of cardinal to the two *French* biſhops, and allowed the king to diſpoſe of the benefices in the *Milaneſe*. The pope deſired immediately to attack *Perugia* and *Bologna*; but as *Maximilian* was then propoſing to enter *Italy* with an army to receive the imperial crown, and the *Venetians* threatned

*A difference betwixt the pope and the king of* France. d

*They are reconciled, and form deſigns againſt the* Venetians, A. D. 1506. e f

[q] Barrius. Dec. i. l. viii. c. 2. & 6. [r] Spond. Annal. ex t. i. Bullar. Jul. II. Const. 3.

(O) *Borgia* went to *Naples* to the *Spaniſh* general, who firſt treated him with great honour and reſpect; but ſoon after, in conſequence of an order from *Ferdinand*, he ſent him on board a galley to *Spain*, where he was committed to perpetual impriſonment in the caſtle of *Medina*. Three years afterwards, having bribed his guards, he was let down from the wall, and eſcaped to the king of *Navarre*, whoſe ſiſter he had married. He was there ſoon after ſlain in a ſkirmiſh with the *Cantabrians*, who ſtript his corpſe, which was afterwards interred at *Pampeluna* (7).

(7) *Spond. Annal. Marian. l.* xxviii. *c.* 8.

a to aſſiſt the *Bologneſe* if he did not confirm their right to *Faenza*, the *French* king entreated him earneſtly to defer his enterprize, leſt he ſhould embroil all *Italy*.

*JULIUS*, who, contrary to his natural diſpoſition, had been quiet ever ſince his election to the pontificate, refuſed now to hearken to any farther delay; and, on the 26th of *Auguſt*, marched from *Rome* with five hundred men of arms, deſiring the inhabitants of *Bologna* to prepare for his arrival, and to provide quarters for 500 *French* lances. On his march to *Perugia*, where he deſigned to ſtop, unleſs he could prevail with the *French* actually to join him, he received the ſubmiſſion of *Baglione*, lord of that city, at *Orvieto*. *Baglione* ſurrendering the fortreſſes of *Perugia* and its territory into his hands, giving his two ſons as hoſtages, and promiſing to aſſiſt him with 150 men of arms, the pope received him into b favour; and the king of *France* being prevailed upon by the cardinal of *Rouen* to grant him a reinforcement, he proceeded to *Ceſena*, where he excommunicated *Bentivoglio*, lord of *Bologna*, and all his adherents, or thoſe who converſed with him. *Bentivoglio*, in hopes of the protection of the *French*, prepared for a reſolute defence; but being informed that the king of *France* had ſent 600 lances and 3000 foot to join the army of the church, he fled with his family and treaſure to the duchy of *Milan*, and, after his departure, the pope entered in triumph into *Bologna* on the 10th of *November*. *Julius* diſmiſſed the *French* general with a preſent of 8000 ducats for himſelf, and 10,000 for his troops. He promiſed alſo to create his brother a cardinal. To render the dominion of the church agreeable to the *Bologneſe*, he indulged them with a great many exemptions, and left them ſome ſhadow c of liberty, by appointing the new magiſtrates after the antient form [s].

*The pope marches with an army from* Rome;

*makes himſelf maſter of* Perugia *and* Bologna;

DURING theſe tranſactions, *Philip*, the emperor's ſon, died of a fever at *Burgos* in *Spain*; and *Ferdinand* king of *Arragon*, who had ceded *Caſtile* to him, had arrived at *Naples*. Upon the news of his arrival, he immediately received embaſſies from all the ſtates of *Italy*, not only to congratulate him, but alſo to negociate with him concerning their different intereſts. *Julius* endeavoured to excite him againſt the *Venetians*, who were in poſſeſſion of ſeveral maritime places in the kingdom of *Naples*. The pope, being greatly exaſperated againſt the republic for attacking *Romagna*, and diſpoſing of eccleſiaſtical benefices in their territories without his conſent, likewiſe ſollicited the king of *France* to declare war againſt the *Venetians*, and invited him to a conference in *Lombardy* (P). As the city of *Genoa* about d this time had revolted from the *French*, *Lewis* declined entering into a war againſt the *Venetians*, but conſented to a perſonal conference with the pope; however, *Julius* underſtanding that he intended to march with an army into *Italy*, to the aſſiſtance of the *Genoeſe* nobles againſt the people, as he himſelf favoured the popular faction, he endeavoured to diſſuade him; but, not ſucceeding, he in a diſguſt publiſhed his return to *Rome*, and, to the aſtoniſhment of every one, quitted *Bologna* in the end of *February*. The king of *France* reſenting this fickleneſs in the pope, and ſuſpecting that he privately favoured the rebellious *Genoeſe*, immediately aſſembled a powerful army; and, paſſing the *Alps* in the beginning of the ſpring, ſtruck the *Genoeſe* with ſuch a panic by his ſudden march, that they ſurrendered at diſcretion. Having entered the city on the 29th of *April*, he e executed ſome of the chiefs of the rebels, and fined the inhabitants in 240,000 ducats; after which he diſbanded his army, and went to *Milan*. A few weeks after he returned to *Savona*, to have a conference with *Ferdinand* king of *Arragon*, who arrived there on the 27th of *June* in his voyage from *Naples* to *Spain*. The two kings treated each other with great marks of friendſhip and eſteem, and, during the three days which *Ferdinand* ſtaid at *Savona*, they held ſeveral private conferences, as it was conjectured, for the reformation of the church by a general council, and for uniting their arms againſt the *Venetians* [t].

*and excites the king of* Arragon *againſt the* Venetians. A. D. 1507.

*A new rupture betwixt the pope and the king of* France.

THE *French* king had disbanded his forces, to ſhew the emperor, the pope, and the *Venetians*, that he had no other intention, by marching an army into *Italy*, than to recover *Genoa*. For *Julius*, from his hatred to the king, had written to the emperor and the elec- f tors, informing them that *Lewis*, under pretence of reducing *Genoa*, intended to conquer the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, confer the pontificate on the cardinal of *Rouen*, and aſſume the imperial title to himſelf. *Maximilian*, having received the ſame intelligence from the *Venetians*, held a very numerous diet at *Conſtance*; which, with great alacrity, promiſed to raiſe a very powerful army to aſſert the rights of the empire in *Italy*. *Maximilian* accordingly wrote to the pope, that he had declared the king of *France* a rebel, and that he intended himſelf to enter with a powerful army into *Italy* to receive the imperial crown. As the fame of the *Ger-*

*The pope perſuades the emperor that the* French *king intends to conquer* Italy.

[s] GUICCIARD. l. vii. [t] Id. ibid. BARTHOL. de reb. Gen. ut ſup.

(P) This year the architect *Bramante*, by order of *Julius*, laid the firſt ſtone of the famous church of St. *Peter*, in the *Vatican*, which edifice was finiſhed almoſt 100 years afterwards, during the pontificate of *Paul* V. *Julius*, *Leo* X. and other popes, publiſhed indulgences thro' all the provinces of Chriſtendom to defray the expences of the building; which was at length conſecrated by *Urban* VIII.

*man* levies greatly exceeded the truth, the pope now began to be afraid of the emperor, leſt a
he ſhould reduce the provinces in *Italy* that had been diſmembered from the empire,
reſtore the antient dominion of the *Germans* on that ſide the *Alps*, and thereby make him-
ſelf maſter of the election of the popes; he therefore ſent the cardinal of the holy
croſs, as his legate, to *Conſtance*, to inform the emperor, that, as the king of *France* had
disbanded his forces and returned to his own kingdom, there was now no need to enter *Italy*
with an army; but if he would come with an ordinary eſcorte, he would confer upon him
greater honours than any emperor had ever received at his coronation. As the *French* king
had likewiſe ſent ambaſſadors to *Conſtance*, to juſtify himſelf from the falſe accuſations of the
pope, the ardour of the diet for the *Italian* expedition greatly abated, ſo that very few troops
appeared at the general rendezvous; and, the *Venetians* refuſing a paſſage through their b
territories for a *German* army, the emperor, after a fruitleſs attempt, was obliged to delay
his march [u] (Q).

*The emperor's march into* Italy *is oppoſed by the* Venetians. A. D. 1508.

A FEW months afterwards, his army being reinforced, he demanded from the *Venetians* a paſſage through their territories; but the republic having fortified their frontier, and received a reinforcement of 6000 *French*, refuſed his demand. The pope likewiſe, to prevent his march into *Italy*, ordered his legate to confer upon him the title of emperor; which the popes had always refuſed to his predeceſſors, unleſs they came perſonally to *Rome* [x]. *Maximilian*, however, having made himſelf maſter of ſome places belonging to the *Venetians*, and being deſirous of extending his conqueſts, left his forces in *Trent*, and, repairing to *Ulm*, ſollicited a reinforcement from the circle of *Suabia*. During his abſence, the *Venetians* de- c
feated his army in *Trent*, and made an incurſion into *Iſtria* and *Carniola*, while their fleet
reduced *Trieſte*, *Capo d' Iſtria*, *Rovigna*, and *Pola*. Theſe loſſes inclined the emperor to
think of an accommodation, which was likewiſe agreeable to the king of *France*, who was
jealous of the power of the *Venetians*; but the republic having agreed to a peace with the
emperor, before the demands of the king of *France* were ſatisfied, and having afterwards
granted a triumph to their general, they thereby offended both *Maximilian* and *Lewis*. The
pope likewiſe, having received a freſh inſult from the republic, which had refuſed to grant
the biſhopric of *Vicenza* to his nephew, and had conferred it upon another perſon, he ſent
a nuncio to the king of *France*, to excite him againſt the *Venetians*. The cardinal of *Rouen*,
inclining to ſatisfy the pope and *Lewis*, being likewiſe ſollicited to the ſame purpoſe by the d
emperor, a league againſt the *Venetians* was concluded on the 9th of *December* at *Cambray*,
betwixt theſe three powers and *Ferdinand* of *Arragon*, which was confirmed and publiſhed
the next day in the cathedral church, under the name of a defenſive alliance.

*The pope enters into an alliance with other princes againſt the* Venetians. A. D. 1509.

THIS treaty, to which the king of *Hungary* and the dukes of *Savoy*, *Mantua*, and *Ferrara*, acceded, was quickly ratified by the ſecular princes; but, as it had been concluded without the pope's concurrence, tho' under his name, *Julius* delayed ratifying it, and in the mean time declared to the *Venetians*, that, if they would reſtore *Rimini* and *Faenza*, he would not join in the alliance; which, without the authority of the apoſtolic ſee, would not be of any dangerous conſequence. The *Venetians* rejecting this offer of the pope, he immediately ratified the treaty, and, the king of *France* having paſſed the *Alps* with a numerous army, e
he publiſhed a dreadful bull againſt the republic, under the name of a monitory, ordering
them to reſtore, within twenty-four days, all that they had uſurped from the apoſtolic ſee,
under pain of eccleſiaſtical cenſures; and, in caſe of their diſobedience, he allowed the ſub-
jects of the republic to be made ſlaves, and their merchandize every where to be ſeized.
The *Venetians* prepared with great ſpirit to oppoſe this formidable alliance; but their army
being entirely defeated by the king of *France* at *Ghiaradadda*, who immediately after took
poſſeſſion of *Bergamo*, *Breſcia*, and *Cremona*, while the pope entered *Romagna* with an army
of 9000 men, they reſolved wholly to abandon the continent: being informed that the empe-
ror had put himſelf in motion towards their *German* frontier, and that the king of *Arragon*
had ſent a fleet againſt the cities which they held in *Naples*, they ſent orders to the gover- f
nors of all their towns to withdraw with their troops, and to leave them free.

*They earneſtly ſollicit him to a reconcilation.*

THEY likewiſe, by ſubmiſſive embaſſies, implored the clemency of the emperor, the king of *Arragon*, and the pope; particularly intreating his holineſs to abſolve them from the cenſures contained in the bull, as they had offered reſtitution within twenty-four days; but the pope refuſed to grant their demand, as they offered the reſtitution under certain limitations; and he required that, beſides the uſurped territories, they ſhould likewiſe reſtore all the re-

[u] GUICCIARD. l. vii.. FUGG. c. 12. [x] PETER. MARTYR. Epiſt. 381.

(Q) *Julius* about this time, according to a *Scotch* hiſtorian (1), ſent a legate into that kingdom, to confer upon *James* I. the title of *Protector of the Chriſtian Faith*, on account of his zeal in extirpating hereſy. The legate carried with him for the king a purple diadem, interwoven with flowers of gold, and a ſword, the handle and ſcabbard of which was of gold, richly adorned with jewels.

(1) *Leſlæ*, *l.* viii.

venues that they had intercepted. However, ſoon after, *Julius*, whoſe great deſire was to free *Italy* from the dominion of foreigners, conſented to admit the ambaſſadors of the republic to an audience [y]; and about the ſame time, the *German* garriſon being ſurpriſed in *Padua*, the hopes of the *Venetians* began to revive. The grand deſign formed by *Julius* was to raiſe the temporal power of the apoſtolic ſee; for this purpoſe he concluded a new alliance with the king of *France*, who promiſed to give no protection, for the future, to any vaſſal of the church; in conſequence of which the pope allowed him to confer all the vacant biſhoprics in his dominions. The king then returned to *France*; while *Maximilian*, who had hitherto done nothing in conſequence of the league of *Cambray*, now arrived with an army in *Lombardy*, and beſieged *Padua*; but winter approaching, he was obliged to
b raiſe the ſiege, and even reduced to aſk a truce from the *Venetians*, who refuſed his demand.

In the mean time, the pope, contrary to the late treaty, having conferred a biſhopric in *Provence*, vacant by the death of the biſhop at *Rome*, the king of *France*, in reſentment, ſequeſtered all the revenues of the *Milaneſe* eccleſiaſtics belonging to the *Roman* court, which occaſioned a freſh miſunderſtanding betwixt theſe two princes. Though *Julius*, at length, complied with the king, and confirmed the biſhopric to the perſon nominated by him, yet he, from that time, deſired to ſee the king deprived of all that he poſſeſſed in *Italy*. Thinking it againſt the intereſt of the *Roman* ſee that the *Venetians* ſhould be farther depreſſed, he reſolved to abſolve them from the eccleſiaſtical cenſures, and, to prevent *Lewis* from giving any aſſiſtance to the emperor againſt the republic, he endeavoured to excite
c *Henry* VIII. of *England* to declare war againſt *France*, and ſollicited the *Swiſs* to march an army into the *Milaneſe* to the aſſiſtance of the church. *Lewis* ſpared no pains to regain the favour of the pope, but his endeavours were fruitleſs; for, on the 24th of *February*, the peace was concluded betwixt him and the *Venetians*, who were abſolved from the excommunication, on condition that they ſhould leave the navigation of the *Adriatic* free to the ſubjects of the church, give ſatisfaction for all the damages they had done to the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and renounce all claim to any juriſdiction in eccleſiaſtical affairs; that they ſhould not preſume to confer any vacant benefices, but ſhould freely admit thoſe who were nominated by the *Roman* court [z]. *Julius* beſides, to the ſurprize of the emperor and the king of *France*, gave permiſſion to the vaſſals and ſubjects of the church, to enter into the
d ſervice of the *Venetians*, and by the means of the biſhop of *Sion*, who had great intereſt with the *Swiſs*, he prevailed with the cantons not to renew their alliance with *France*, but to declare for the apoſtolic ſee.

*A rupture betwixt the* French *king and the pope;*

A. D. 1510.

*who is reconciled to the* Venetians;

As the duke of *Ferrara* ſtill adhered to the king of *France*, the pope ſought an opportunity of a rupture with him, and prohibited him, under ſevere penalties, from making ſalt at *Commachio*, which territory had been ſurrendered by the *Venetians* to the church. He likewiſe threatened to attack him with an army, if he did not annul ſome new duties that he had impoſed upon veſſels ſailing on the *Po*. As the pope's troops marched into *Romagna* and the county of *Bologna*, the *French* and *German* generals united their forces, and took poſſeſſion of ſeveral towns belonging to the *Venetians* on the continent, to prevent the eccle-
e ſiaſtical army from acting againſt the duke. However, as the king of *France* was apprehenſive of a revolt, both in the *Milaneſe* and at *Genoa*, he very willingly hearkened to the propoſals of an accommodation with the pope, who, being unprepared to oppoſe his arms, wanted to draw him into a negociation. After ſome conferences, by which the pope gained time, he abſolutely refuſed to agree to an accommodation, unleſs the *French* king would abandon the protection of the duke of *Ferrara*; to which article *Lewis* refuſing his conſent, *Julius* fully reſolved upon a war. He refuſed to accept of the annual tribute from the duke: in order to ſeparate *Ferdinand* of *Arragon* from the intereſt of the king of *France* and the emperor, he granted him the inveſtiture of the kingdom of *Naples*, and reduced the annual tribute to 2000 ducats and a white horſe [a].

*threatens the duke of* Ferrara, *and*

*gives the inveſtiture of* Naples *to the king of* Arragon;

f NOTWITHSTANDING this accommodation, *Ferdinand* did not openly break with the emperor and the king of *France*. The pope, however, having the promiſe of the aſſiſtance of 12,000 *Swiſs*, declared war againſt the king of *France* and the duke of *Ferrara*; and, while his army entered the territory of the duke, he ſent the *Venetian* fleet, with ſome gallies of his own, to *Genoa*, to excite that city to revolt; in both which enterprizes he was unſucceſsful, by the vigilance of the *French* general. He nevertheleſs refuſed to hearken to an accommodation, though *Lewis* even offered to leave the city of *Genoa* free, and to abandon the intereſts of the duke of *Ferrara*. So far was he from inclining to peace, that he impriſoned and put to the torture a *Savoyard*, who declared that his duke was willing to act as mediator; and, thinking his generals did not behave with vigour, he himſelf ſet out from
g *Rome*, and arrived at *Bologna* about the end of *September*.

*and declares war againſt the king of* France.

[y] GUICCIARD. l. viii. BARTHOL. SENAR. de rebus Gen. ut ſupra. [z] GUICCIARD. l. viii. in fin. [a] RAINALD. in an. 1510.

LEWIS

*Lewis aſks the advice of the* Gallican *clergy.*

Lewis, deſpairing of any accommodation with the pope, made a new alliance with the a
emperor; and, that he might ſhew his moderation, called an aſſembly of the *Gallican* clergy
at *Tours*, to have their opinion concerning his diſputes with *Julius*. This aſſembly confirmed
by their authority, all the propoſitions that were offered to them by the king; particularly
they affirmed, that the pope had no right to declare war againſt any prince, unleſs on account
of religion, or in defence of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate; that the prince unjuſtly attacked by the
pope, might, in his own defence, invade the territories of the church, and might even
withdraw obedience, in ſome meaſure, from ſuch pope, and conſtitute a pragmatic ſanction
for regulating eccleſiaſtical affairs within his kingdom, without any regard to the *Roman* ſee [b].
The emperor greatly approved of the proceedings of the *Gallican* clergy; and, upon the b
repeated complaints of the princes and prelates of *Germany*, ordered a pragmatic ſanction to
be drawn up for the empire, which however was never confirmed by any diet [c]. Beſides,
according to ſome authors, he formed a deſign of calling a general council to depoſe *Julius*,
with the intention of ſucceeding him in his own perſon [d].

A. D. 1511. *The pope takes poſſeſſion of* Mirandola, *and*

The pope in the mean time, notwithſtanding the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, reſolved upon
the ſiege of *Ferrara*, and propoſing to leave *Bologna*, where he had been in great danger of
being ſurpriſed by the *French* general, he ſent his army towards *Concordia* and *Mirandola*,
which two cities he determined to take poſſeſſion of, although he had no complaint againſt
the young duke, whom he had formerly taken into his protection. *Concordia* ſurrendered
the ſame day that it was attacked; but, at *Mirandola*, the pope's army met with a vigorous c
oppoſition from the *French* garriſon. *Julius*, rendered quite impatient by the ſlow progreſs
of the ſiege, on the 2d of *January* left *Bologna*, and, contrary to the intreaties of the *Vene-*
*tian* ambaſſador, and of all the cardinals, went to the camp, and took the command of the
army upon himſelf, as though he had even deſired to give the Chriſtian princes a ſtronger
reaſon for calling a general council againſt him. Having obliged the city to capitulate, he
marched with his army through the breach, and obliged the inhabitants to pay 6000 crowns
to ſave themſelves from being pillaged. He afterwards granted the inveſtiture of the two
fiefs to *John Francis Picus* for 20,000 crowns, and reſolved to proceed immediately to the
ſiege of *Ferrara*; but the *French* general *Chaumont* having with great diligence reinforced
his army, *Julius* abandoned this enterprize, and returned to *Bologna*, from whence he went d
to *Ravenna*, where he created eight new cardinals. A few weeks afterwards he returned to
*Bologna*, to have a conference with the biſhop of *Gurck*, the emperor's envoy, who had held
a congreſs at *Mantua* with the ambaſſadors of the kings of *France* and *Spain*, to negociate a
general peace. The pope very warmly ſollicited the *German* biſhop to prevail with the
emperor to deſert the intereſt of the king of *France*, and to conclude a ſeparate peace with the
*Venetians*; but without any effect; for *Gurck* inſiſted, that the *French* king and the duke of
*Ferrara* ſhould both be included in the peace; to which the pope refuſing to conſent, he re-
turned to *Modena*. The emperor and king of *France* having granted a ſuſpenſion of arms
during the conferences at *Mantua*, the pope ſeized that opportunity to attempt the ſurpriſing
of *Genoa*; but, by the vigilance of the *French* general, the deſign was fruſtrated [e]. e

*endeavours to detach the emperor from his alliance with* France.

*The* French *general retakes* Bologna.

The king of *France*, being informed of the conference betwixt the biſhop of *Gurck* and
the pope, was apprehenſive leſt the emperor ſhould be prevailed upon to agree to a ſeparate
peace; he therefore gave orders to his general to act with vigour againſt the pope. *Trivulzi*,
who, upon the death of *Chaumont*, had ſucceeded to the command, immediately put his
troops in motion; and, having taken *Concordia* and ſeveral other places, marched directly
for *Bologna*, being attended by *Bentivoglio*, the ancient lord of that city. The pope leav-
ing the command of his army to his nephew the duke of *Urbino*, and the cardinal of *Pavia*
as legate in the city, retired to *Ravenna*; but a few days after he was informed, that both
the cardinal and the duke had fled, that his army was almoſt wholly diſperſed, and that the
city had ſubmitted to its ancient lord, and had admitted the *French*, who had ſeized the f
greateſt part of the baggage and artillery of his army, and of that of the republic. The car-
dinal and the duke both repaired to *Ravenna*, and mutually accuſed each other; but the
duke, preſuming upon his relation to the pope, prevented the cardinal from juſtifying him-
ſelf by ſtabbing him with a poniard. According to *Mariana* [f], the pope was conſcious of
this murder; however, he pretended to be greatly afflicted with the cardinal's death, and,
being driven almoſt to diſtraction by the bad ſucceſs of his affairs, he ſet out on his return
to *Rome*; but he had ſcarcely arrived at *Rimini*, when he was informed, that citations for a
general council were affixed in *Bologna*, *Modena*, and other cities, and that he was ſummon-
ed to appear perſonally.

[b] Spond. Annal. Guicciard. l. ix. . Belcar. l. xii. Rainald. [c] Georg. de gravaminib. nation. German. l. i. c. 7. apud Freher. p. 684. Goldast. Conſtit. Imper. t. ji. p. 122. [d] Monita Politica ad S.I. R. princip. Francoſcr. an. 1609. See the Hiſtory of the German Empire. [e] Barthol. Senarec. de rebus Genuen. ut ſup. [f] Marian. l. xxx. c. 2. in fin.

a THE biſhop of *Gurck*, after his departure from the pope, had ſent three deputies to *Milan* to treat with the cardinals who had deſerted from *Julius* when he firſt marched againſt *Bologna*. Three of theſe cardinals, in their own name, and in the name of ſix others, whoſe commiſſion they ſaid they had received, appointed a general council to be held at *Piſa*, on the 1ſt of *September*; which convocation was immediately confirmed by the deputies of the emperor and the king of *France*, and a few weeks after ratified by *Maximilian* and *Lewis*. The cardinals affirmed, that as the pope, contrary to his oath at his election, had neglected to call a council, they, without his authority, might lawfully convoke one, on account of the evident neceſſity of reforming the church both in the head and members, and as they were authoriſed by the decrees of the council of *Conſtance*, and countenanced by
b the emperor and the king of *France*.

*The ſchiſmatic cardinals appoint a council to be held at* Piſa.

THE pope, being greatly apprehenſive leſt the *French* ſhould take poſſeſſion of the whole eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and march to *Rome*, made an indirect offer of peace to *Lewis*, and ſollicited the cardinals at *Milan* to return to the unity of the church, promiſing them all the ſecurity that they could deſire; but they refuſing his offer, and the king of *France* ordering his general to return to the *Milaneſe*, the pope, on the 16th of *July*, publiſhed a bull, annulling the proceedings of the cardinals at *Milan*, and appointing a general council to be held at *Rome* the following year, on the 19th of *April* [g]. He likewiſe publiſhed a monitory, ordering the three cardinals to return to *Rome* within ſixty-five days, under the penalty of being deprived of their cardinalate, and of all their benefices; and, while he was amu-
c ſing the deputies of the king of *France* at *Rome* with the hopes of peace, he negociated a new alliance againſt him with *Ferdinand* and the *Venetians*. Mean while all *Italy* was in hopes of peace, by the news of the death of the pope, which was ſoon after found to be a miſtake; for he recovered after continuing ſome hours in a fainting fit; and remaining in the ſame diſpoſition, with regard to the king of *France*, he endeavoured to excite the young king of *England* againſt him, by means of *Ferdinand*, whoſe daughter *Henry* VIII. had married (R).

*The pope publiſhes a bull for a general council to be held at* Rome.

DURING theſe proceedings, the council was opened at *Piſa*, on the 1ſt of *September*, by three proxies ſent thither by the cardinals from *Milan*. The cardinals themſelves did not arrive till the 29th of *October*, when they were accompanied with ſeveral of the *French*
d clergy, who alone compoſed the council; for the emperor had neglected to ſend any am-
e baſſadors to repreſent himſelf, and had called an aſſembly of the *German* clergy at *Augsburg*, to have their opinion of the lawfulneſs of the *Piſan* council. Mean while the clergy at *Piſa* held their firſt ſeſſion on the fifth of *November*, in which they choſe the cardinal of *Carvajal* preſident, and declared null and void all that the pope had done againſt the cardinals and ſynod. In the ſecond ſeſſion, which was held two days after, they regulated the order of ſitting; and, an inſurrection happening in the city againſt the *French* guards, they in great confuſion held the third ſeſſion on the 14th of the month, and transferred the council to *Milan*. There they were alarmed by 16,000 *Swiſs*, who, at the inſtigation of the pope, made an incurſion into the *Milaneſe*; on which account they deferred their next ſeſ-
e ſion till the 4th of *January*.

*The council opens at* Piſa; *but, on account of a riot, is transferred to* Milan.

THE pope, beſides exciting the *Swiſs* to enter *Lombardy*, had concluded a treaty with the king of *Arragon*, who promiſed him auxiliaries againſt the *French*. He likewiſe depoſed the cardinals who adhered to the council of *Piſa*, and declared them obnoxious to the penalties due to ſchiſmatics and heretics, and ſent the cardinal of *Medicis*, with ſome troops, towards *Bologna*, to over-awe *Florence* and *Piſa*, which two cities he put under an interdict for favouring the ſchiſmatic cardinals. Soon after, the *Spaniſh* auxiliaries arriving, under the command of *Peter Navarra*, they marched with the other forces of the pope into *Romagna*; upon whoſe approach all the places belonging to the duke of *Ferrara*, on that ſide of the *Po*, ſurrendered, except one caſtle, which the *Spaniſh* general took by ſtorm on the
f laſt day of *December*. The united army then marched under the command of the cardinal of *Medicis*, and beſieged *Bologna*; but, after they had made the breach almoſt practicable for an aſſault, the garriſon was reinforced by *Gaſton de Foix*, the *French* general; who, obliging the enemy to raiſe the ſiege, marched from thence, through the ſnow, to the relief of the caſtle of *Breſcia*; which city, during the ſiege of *Bologna*, had revolted to the *Venetians*. Though he had only 400 men of arms and 6000 foot, he defeated part of the *Venetian* army that oppoſed his march, and retook *Breſcia* by ſtorm, putting almoſt the whole

*The pope's army invades the duchy of* Ferrara; A. D. 1512.

*but is obliged to retire before the* French *general*;

[g] SPOND. Annal. GUICCIARD. l. x.

(R) During the report of the pope's death, *Pompey Colonna*, biſhop of *Rieti*, and *Antimo Savello*, two *Roman* nobles, aſſembled the people of *Rome* in the capitol, and exhorted them to reſume their ancient liberty. *Guicciardini* relates the ſpeech in his hiſtory of *Italy*; which, as it boldly cenſures and condemns the temporal power of prieſts, has been ommitted in me editions of that work (2).

(2) *Guicciard. l.* x. *See* Amet's *Account of Printing in* England.

garriſon, which conſiſted of 9000 men, to the ſword, and allowing his ſoldiers to pillage the city, as a puniſhment for its rebellion [h]. a

*LEWIS* about this time being informed that the emperor and the kings of *England* and *Arragon* had joined in a league againſt him with the pope, and that the *Florentines* had likewiſe gone over to that party, ſent orders to his general to march directly in ſearch of the enemy's army, and, without reſpect, to attack the pope in *Rome*; and, that he might not ſeem to make war on his own account, a legate from the council of *Milan* attended his army, who was to receive all the places that were conquered in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate (S). The legate having joined the army, *Gaſton de Foix* marched, with 18,000 foot and near 2000 men at arms, in ſearch of the enemy; who being inferior in number, and expecting that the kings of *England* and *Arragon* would cauſe a diverſion in *France*, declined coming to an engagement. *Foix* advanced with his troops, and laid ſiege to *Ravenna*, which obliged the enemy at laſt to venture a battle; which was fought with obſtinacy on the 11th of *April*, when the *French* obtained a complete though bloody victory; for they loſt their general *Foix*, and, according to ſome authors, upwards of 10,000 men [i]; but *Guicciardini* mentions only 3000 ſlain on the ſide of the *French*, and about 7000 on that of the enemy [k]. *Palice*, who ſucceeded to the command of the *French* army, immediately after took poſſeſſion of *Ceſena*, *Imola*, *Forli*, and *Ravenna*, which cities were delivered to the cardinal of *Sanſeverino*, legate from the council of *Piſa*; and as the pope's army was almoſt wholly diſperſed, and the cardinal of *Medicis* taken priſoner, if the *French* general had marched directly to *Rome*, he might, with eaſe, have made himſelf maſter of that city, ſo great was the conſternation both of the pope and cardinals. *Julius* was intreated by the cardinals to agree to a peace with the king of *France*; but a few days after being informed of the weakneſs of the *French* army, and the reſolution of *Palice*, who was at variance with *Sanſeverino*, he reſolved to continue the war; and, in caſe of neceſſity, ordered ſome gallies to be prepared for his flight from *Rome*. About the ſame time, being accuſed of contumacy, he was ſuſpended from the pontificate by the council at *Milan*, who had celebrated eight ſeſſions without decreeing any thing of conſequence, or acquiring any authority in Chriſtendom.

*who gains a ſignal victory over them at* Ravenna. b

*The pope is in great conſternation.* c

THE pope, though in appearance reduced to the greateſt extremity, was quickly after more formidable than ever; for *Palice*, inſtead of proceeding to *Rome*, was obliged to return to the *Milaneſe* to oppoſe the *Swiſs*; and the *Engliſh* and *Spaniards* having invaded *Guienne*, *Lewis* was obliged to draw ſome of his troops from *Italy*, to defend his own kingdom. The pope, in the mean time, being freed from his apprehenſions of the *French*, on the 3d of *May* opened the council of the *Lateran*, and appointed the firſt ſeſſion to be held on the 10th of the month, when, he himſelf preſiding, the officials and miniſters of the council were named. In the ſecond ſeſſion, which was held ſeven days after, the conventicle or ſchiſmatic council of *Piſa* was condemned, and cenſures were decreed againſt thoſe who either directly or indirectly adhered to that aſſembly. The third ſeſſion was then deferred till the beginning of *November*. The pope in the mean time, having rejected the terms of peace which he himſelf had propoſed to the king of *France*, and which had been accepted by that prince, afterwards pronounced a monitory againſt him, threatening him with excommunication if he did not ſet the cardinal of *Medicis* at liberty. This cardinal was then a priſoner at *Milan*, where, to the great offence of the ſchiſmatic council, he was acknowleged by the people as apoſtolic legate, and gave abſolution to thoſe ſoldiers who promiſed not to ſerve any more againſt the church.

*A great revolution in his favour.* d

*He opens the* Lateran *council.* e

*The* French *are almoſt wholly expelled from* Italy.

THE *French* commander in the *Milaneſe*, upon the news of the victory at *Ravenna*, had imprudently diſcharged a great many *Italian* ſoldiers, a circumſtance which haſtened the ruin of the king's affairs in *Italy*; for the emperor, having now openly declared for the pope, and recalled 5000 *Germans* that had hitherto acted in conjunction with the *French*, and the *Swiſs* having likewiſe joined the *Venetian* army, *Palice* was no longer able to make oppoſition, and therefore retired with the greateſt part of his troops into *Pavia*, and put the reſt of them into one or two other places. About the ſame time the *Venetians* and *Swiſs*, taking poſſeſſion of *Cremona* and *Bergamo*, and the inhabitants of the country, in many places of the duchy, riſing againſt the *French*, *Trivulzi*, with many other gentlemen, abandoned the city of *Milan*, and fled towards *Piedmont*, along with whom went the ſchiſmatic cardinals and their adherents. The cardinal of *Medicis* was carried with them as a priſoner, but eſcaped in paſſing the *Po*, while the *Venetians* took poſſeſſion of *Pavia*, *Lodi*, and ſeveral other f

[h] Id. ibid. BARTHOL. SENAREG. ut ſupra. [i] Idem ibid. [k] GUICCIARD. ut ſup.

(S) At the ſame time he ſtruck a golden medal, having on one ſide, LUD. XII. REX FRANC. DUX MEDIOL. and on the other, PERDAM BABYLONEM, *i. e.* I will deſtroy *Babylon (3)*.

*(3) Pith. de magnitud. Reg. Franc.*

towns, in the name of the *holy league*. *Parma* and *Placenza* ſurrendered voluntarily to the pope, who claimed them as belonging to the exarchate of *Ravenna*; and *Janus Fregoſo*, having obtained ſome troops from the *Venetians*, marched towards *Genoa*, which city revolted from the *French*, and created him doge [l]. All thoſe cities likewiſe, which the *French* had ſeized in *Romagna*, returned to the obedience of the pope; who alſo, by the means of the duke of *Urbino*, recovered *Bologna*; which, as a puniſhment for its rebellion, he laid under a heavy contribution, and had even reſolved totally to have deſtroyed it, if he had lived [m].

*JULIUS* was ſtill intent upon accompliſhing his other deſigns, namely, to take poſſeſſion of the duchy of *Ferrara*, to expel the *Spaniards* and *Germans* from *Italy*, and to re-eſtabliſh the houſes of *Sforza* and *Medicis* at *Milan* and *Florence*. He was prevailed upon to agree to an accommodation with the duke of *Ferrara*, who, having obtained a ſafe-conduct, went to *Rome* to aſk his pardon; and at the congreſs, which a few weeks after the allies held at *Mantua*, he procured the duchy of *Milan* to be reſtored to *Maximilian*, the ſon of the late *Lewis Sforza*, contrary to the inclination of the king of *Arragon* and the emperor, who deſigned it for one of their grandſons. He then ſent his army, with the *Spaniſh* auxiliaries, againſt the *Florentines*, who were compelled to ſurrender the government of their city to *Laurence Medicis* II. nephew of the cardinal.

*Maximilian Sforza is put in poſſeſſion of the duchy of Milan.*

As the *Swiſs*, from their enmity to the king of *France*, had been the chief inſtruments of the revolution in *Lombardy*, *Julius* ſent a ſtandard, a cap, and a ſword, to the cantons, and conferred upon them the title of *Defenders of Eccleſiaſtical Liberty*. Soon after the biſhop of *Gurck*, the emperor's plenipotentiary at *Mantua*, arrived at *Rome*, where *Julius* received him with the greateſt reſpect, and concluded an alliance with *Maximilian* againſt the *Venetians*, who obſtinately refuſed to deliver up *Vicenza* to the emperor. After the concluſion of this treaty, the *German* biſhop was preſent at the third ſeſſion of the council of the *Lateran*, which had been deferred till the third of *December*. In this ſeſſion the emperor approved of the *Lateran* council, and the pope denounced a ſentence of interdiction againſt the kingdom of *France*, eſpecially the city of *Lyons*, where the ſchiſmatic cardinals ſtill pretended to hold their council. In the fourth ſeſſion, held on the 11th of the month, the letter of *Lewis* XI. of *France* was read, abrogating the pragmatic ſanction; and a monitory was then pronounced, citing the *French* king, and all the prelates, chapters, and parliaments, in that kingdom, to appear within ſixty days before the council, to juſtify the repealing of the ſaid abrogation (T).

*The pope forms new deſigns to diſturb the peace of* Italy. A. D. 1513.

THOUGH all *Italy* now enjoyed a profound tranquillity, and *Julius* was in poſſeſſion of almoſt the whole territories to which, as pope, he could form any pretenſions, yet his reſtleſs ſpirit ſtill formed new deſigns to diſturb the public peace. He reſolved in the ſpring to attack the duke of *Ferrara*, and, as the cardinal of *Medicis* ſeemed to adhere more to the king of *Arragon* than to him, he determined to alter the ſtate of *Florence*. He likewiſe recalled the cardinal of *Sion* from his legation in the *Milaneſe*, becauſe the new duke had conferred upon him a revenue of more than 30,000 ducats; and to encourage the king of *England* in the war againſt *France*, he reſolved, by a decree of the *Lateran* council, to transfer to him the title of *Moſt Chriſtian King*; for which purpoſe a bull was expedited, whereby likewiſe the kingdom of *France* was granted to whoever ſhould take poſſeſſion of it. But he was prevented from executing theſe and other deſigns by death, which happened to him on the 21ſt of *February*, having a few days before cauſed the council, in their fifth ſeſſion, to confirm the bull formerly publiſhed by him againſt ſimony. Being ſenſible of his approaching end, he declared that the election of his ſucceſſor belonged to the ſacred college, and not to the council, and intreated the cardinals to give the vicariate of the city of *Peſaro* to his nephew the duke of *Urbino*. *Julius*, a few days before his death, according to ſome authors, expreſſed great penitence for his proceedings againſt the king of *France*, and wiſhed, with great earneſtneſs, that he had never enjoyed the pontificate [n].

*He dies at* Rome.

UPON the news of the death of the pope, *Parma* and *Placenza* were immediately annexed to the duchy of *Milan*, and the duke of *Ferrara* recovered all his territories in *Romagna*. The ſtate of the church ſuffered no other alteration, and all was quiet at *Rome*; where, after the uſual time for the obſequies of the pope, twenty-four cardinals entered the conclave, and, having agreed to ſeveral articles for moderating the authority of the future pope, on the 10th of *March* they unanimouſly choſe the cardinal of *Medicis*, who aſſumed the name of *Leo* X. He was then only thirty-ſeven years of age; however, his election

*Leo X. is elected.*

[l] BARTHOL. SENAREG. ut ſup. [m] GUICCIARD. l. x. in fin. FUGGER. l. vi. c. 16. [n] FERRON. in Lud. XII. BUDÆ Comment. de Aſſe. l. iv.

(T) The biſhop of *Gurck*, during his reſidence at *Rome*, propoſed to the pope, that he ſhould accept of the emperor as his coadjutor; which *Julius* would by no means conſent to (4).

(4) *See the Hiſtory of the* German *Empire.*

gave

gave univerſal ſatisfaction, as he had rendered himſelf famous by his liberality and humanity, and was beſides of unblemiſhed manners, and a great lover of learning and men of genius (U). Four days after his election, the ſchiſmatic cardinals, who, upon the news of the death of *Julius*, had ſet out for *Italy*, voluntarily ſubmitted themſelves to the new pope; who ſent the biſhop of *Orvieto* to them at *Florence*, to give them hopes of a reconciliation, but deſired them to lay aſide the habit of cardinals, as they had been deprived by the *Lateran* council, and to remain in that city till they ſhould be recalled to *Rome* [o]. On the 11th of *April*, the ſame day that he had been taken priſoner the year before, he was crowned with the greateſt magnificence in the *Lateran* church; in that ſolemnity, which coſt him 100,000 ducats, the duke of *Ferrara*, who had obtained a ſuſpenſion of the cenſures denounced againſt him, carried the banner of the church. a b

THE change of the pope and other circumſtances were not ſufficient to procure tranquillity to *Italy*; for the emperor refuſing to deliver up *Verona* to the *Venetians*, that republic would not hearken to a peace; and the king of *France*, having concluded a truce with the king of *Spain* for twelve months, again made preparations for recovering the *Milaneſe*, having for that purpoſe concluded an alliance with the *Venetians*, who preferred his friendſhip to that of the emperor. Tho' the pope ſeemed inclined to peace, and had publiſhed a brief, exhorting the *Venetians* to conclude the war, yet he ſtill excited the king of *England* to make war upon *France*, and negotiated with the *Swiſs* to enter *Lombardy* for the defence of the *Milaneſe*. In the mean time the *French* army, under the command of *Tremouille* and *Trivulzi*, paſſed the *Alps*, and, with great rapidity, recovered the whole duchy of *Milan*, except *Como* and *Novara*, while the *Venetians* took poſſeſſion of *Breſcia*, *Peſchiera*, *Lodi*, and *Cremona*. This proſperity, however, was of very ſhort continuance; for the *French* being ſurpriſed and defeated by the *Swiſs* in a ſally from *Novara*, the *Milaneſe* quickly revolted to *Sforza*, and the *Spaniards*, declaring for the emperor, attacked the *Venetian* territories, took ſeveral places, and entirely defeated the army of the republic [p].

*The* French *recover the duchy of* Milan, *which is quickly loſt.*

c

DURING theſe tranſactions in the field, *Leo* held the ſixth ſeſſion of the *Lateran* council on the 27th of *April*, when he publiſhed a bull, approving of all their paſt proceedings, and declaring his intention of continuing the aſſembly till peace ſhould be concluded among the Chriſtian princes. In the ſeventh ſeſſion, which was held on the 16th of *June*, the deputies of the king of *Poland*, and of the dukes of *Mazovia*, *Ruſſia*, *Milan*, and *Mantua*, were admitted; and the king of *France* having ſent the biſhop of *Marſeilles* to treat of his reunion to the church, the pope, by a decree of the council, gave a liberty to the *French* biſhops, till the firſt of *September*, to clear themſelves from their contumacy. A writing was then read, ſigned by the depoſed cardinals *Carvajal* and *Sanſeverino*, wherein they approved of the *Lateran* council, and confeſſed themſelves juſtly deprived of their dignities. Notwithſtanding the great oppoſition of the cardinals of *York* and *Sion*, and the ambaſſadors of the emperor and the king of *Spain*, yet *Leo* conſented to their reſtoration, judging that the ſchiſmatic council of *Piſa* would be more eaſily extinguiſhed by lenity than rigour. Tho' the pope, by this proceeding, gratified the *French* king, he nevertheleſs did his utmoſt to detach the *Venetians* from their alliance with *France*, and to mediate a peace betwixt them and the emperor. After the defeat of their troops by the *Spaniards*, the *Venetians* conſented to accept of *Leo* as mediator, and ſent deputies to *Rome*; whither likewiſe *Maximilian* ſent the biſhop of *Gurck*, whom the pope promoted to the dignity of cardinal. The conferences continued three months, during which time the pope publiſhed a ceſſation of hoſtilities; however, he had not influence ſufficient with the two parties to prevail with them to abate of their mutual demands, ſo that the time for the arbitration elapſed without any thing being determined [q].

d

*The ſchiſmatic cardinals are reſtored to their dignities.*

e

*FRANCE* in the mean time being invaded in *Picardy* by the king of *England*, and in *Burgundy* by the *Swiſs*, *Lewis* XII. found it abſolutely neceſſary to be reconciled to the apoſtolic ſee; he accordingly ſent deputies to *Rome*, who, in the eighth ſeſſion of the *Lateran* council which was held on the 17th of *December*, renounced in his name the *Piſan* conventicle, and declared his adherence to the council of the *Lateran*, promiſing that ſix *French* prelates ſhould come to *Rome* to do the ſame in the name of the whole *Gallican* church. In the ſame ſeſſion a penal monitory was decreed againſt the par-

*The king of* France *acknowleges the* Lateran *council.*

f

liament

[o] GUICCIARD. ut ſup. SPOND. Annal. [p] BEMB. l. iii. ep. 19. l. iv. ep. 1. MARIAN. l. xxx. n. 92. Hiſt. de la ligue de Camb. t. ii. l. iv. p. 316. BELCAR. l. xiv. [q] GUICCIARD. l. xi. in fin. Roo. l. xii. p. 593.

(U) *Leo* X. was the ſon of the famous *Laurence Medicis* of *Florence*, and *Clariſſa Urſini* He was created a cardinal in the 14th year of his age. His preceptors were *Angelus Politianus*, *Demetrius Chalcondyles*, and *Urban Bolſanius*; and *Picus* of *Mirandola*, *Marcilius Ficinus*, *Chriſtopher Landi*, and ſeveral other learned men, were his intimate friends (5).

(5) *Jovius in vit. Leon. Spond. Annal. Onuphr. & Vittorel. in Leon.*

a liament of *Provence*, which aſſumed to itſelf an authority over the clergy, and would not allow of appeals to the apoſtolic ſee, nor ſuffer the pope's letters to be put in execution without their leave. A decree of the pope was then read againſt certain philoſophers, who affirmed, that the rational ſoul was mortal, and identically the ſame in all men. A bull was likewiſe read for ſending cardinals to exhort the Chriſtian princes to peace and concord, and for inviting the *Bohemian* heretics, with a ſafe-conduct, to the council; another was iſſued for reforming the officers of the *Roman* court, and for putting a ſtop to their rapaciouſneſs [r].

THE kingdom of *France* being now re-united to the ſee of *Rome*, *Leo* no longer deſired to ſee it depreſſed; and tho' he ſtill continued in his reſolution of preventing *Lewis* from poſſeſſing the *Milaneſe*, he had no deſire to ſee his kingdom attacked by the *Engliſh* and
b *Germans*, and was beſides afraid leſt *Lewis* ſhould be perſuaded to enter into an alliance with the emperor and the king of *Spain*, and aſſiſt them in conquering the *Milaneſe* for their grandſon *Charles*, by which the liberty of *Italy* would be more endangered than if the duchy were in his own poſſeſſion. He therefore exhorted the *Swiſs* to an accommodation with the king; but they refuſing the offers made to them by *Lewis*, the pope again endeavoured to mediate a peace betwixt the *Venetians* and the emperor, to prevent him from having any pretence to enter *Italy*, and propoſed a ceſſation of arms in *Lombardy* on certain conditions; which being rejected by the *Venetians*, as greatly prejudicial to their intereſt, the pope ſent a conſiderable body of troops to take poſſeſſion of *Crema*, to oblige the republic to agree to the preliminaries which he had propoſed. His troops, however, were defeated, and
c obliged to retire with conſiderable loſs. *Leo* in the mean time being informed, that a peace was negociating betwixt the kings of *France* and *England*, he offered his mediation; which was accepted by both the princes, and a treaty of peace was concluded on the 7th of *Auguſt*. Tho' the pope had exhorted the king of *England* to this peace, yet, in reality it was concluded againſt his inclination; but *Henry* VIII. after having made great preparations for the campaign, being diſappointed by the emperor and his father-in-law, who had both agreed to a truce with the *French* king, reſolved no longer to be their tool, and in his turn, diſappointed them by entering into a defenſive alliance with *Lewis* [s]. Soon after the con-
d cluſion of this treaty, the pope ſent ſome preliminaries into *France* for an alliance with *Lewis* againſt the catholic king, having an intention of expelling the *Spaniards* from *Italy*, and conferring the kingdom of *Naples* upon his brother *Julian*; but *Lewis*, neglecting to return an immediate anſwer to his propoſals, *Leo* in the mean time renewed his alliance with the emperor and the catholic king for one year: and, deſpairing of conquering *Naples*, he procured the inveſtiture of *Modena* and *Reggio* from the emperor for 40,000 ducats, which he intended as a ſettlement for his brother, together with *Parma*, *Placenza*, and the dutchy of *Ferrara*; which laſt he ſtill formed pretenſions to, notwithſtanding his promiſes to the duke.

DURING theſe tranſactions the king of *France* was making great preparations for recovering the *Milaneſe*, and *Leo* had celebrated the ninth ſeſſion of the *Lateran* council on the 2d of *May*, when the ambaſſadors of the king of *Portugal* were admitted, and the deputies from the *Gallican* church, tho' they had not appeared, were abſolved from all cenſures, as
e by a letter to the pope, and a public inſtrument taken in a monaſtery in *Savoy*, it was proved they could not obtain a ſafe conduct from the *Genoeſe* or the duke of *Milan*. A decree was then read, enjoining prayers thro' all Chriſtendom for obtaining peace among Chriſtian princes, and union againſt the *Turks*. Indulgences were likewiſe publiſhed, and the divine wrath denounced againſt thoſe who ſhould interrupt the legates or apoſtolic nuncios, either directly or indirectly, in diſpoſing of the indulgences, and in collecting the revenue ariſing from their ſale. Another decree was alſo publiſhed for the reformation of the *Roman* court; firſt, as to the ſupplying the vacancies of churches, monaſteries, and pariſhes, and prohibiting for the future all grants of reverſion; likewiſe, for the right adminiſtration of all benefices, for the correction of the vices of all eccleſiaſtics and laics, and for regulating the manners of
f the cardinals. The ancient canons were alſo renewed againſt all violators of the eccleſiaſtical liberty [t].

*ITALY* was at this time alarmed with the rumour of an invaſion from ſoltan *Selim*; who, having poiſoned his father *Bajazet* II. formed pretenſions to the weſtern empire as ſucceſſor of the emperors of *Conſtantinople*, and was making immenſe preparations at *Adrianople* for ſome warlike expedition. *Leo*, to avert the ſtorm from *Italy*, had ordered a cruſade to be preached in *Hungary*; but *Selim*, having no intention to attack that kingdom, concluded a peace with *Ladiſlaus* (W), and tranſported his army into *Aſia* againſt the ſophi of

A. D. 1514. *Leo endeavours to reconcile the* French *and* Swiſs,

*and forms a deſign of ſeizing* Naples.

*Indulgences granted for defraying the expence of a war againſt the* Turks.

[r] SPOND. Annal. hoc an. [s] BELCAR. l. xiv. GUICCIARD. l. xii. [t] SPOND. Annal.

(W) The army of cruſaders which was raiſed in *Hungary*, being prevented by the peace from acting againſt the *Turks*, turned their arms againſt the nobility, by whom they were wont to be oppreſſed, and for ſome months committed the greateſt outrages thro' the kingdom; but their chiefs being ſeized, they were at laſt diſperſed, tho' not without great bloodſhed (6).

(6) *Iſtuan. rer. Hung. l.* v.

*Perſia*, whoſe general he defeated with conſiderable loſs. Tho' *Selim* himſelf a few months afterwards was defeated by the ſophi, yet, upon the news of his firſt victory, *Leo* wrote to all the Chriſtian princes, exhorting them to unite their forces againſt the infidels [u], who profeſſed publickly their intention of attacking *Italy*; which kingdom was not only threatened with a war from the *Turks*, but alſo from *Francis* I. who upon the death of *Lewis* XII. which happened on the 1ſt of *January*, ſucceeded to the crown of *France*. a

Francis I. *ſucceeds to the crown of* France, *and* A. D. 1515.

*FRANCIS* ſollicited the friendſhip of the pope by means of his brother *Julian*, who had married his aunt, the ſiſter of the duke of *Savoy*, and likewiſe ſent ambaſſadors for that purpoſe to *Rome*, among whom was the famous *Budæus*; but his endeavours were in vain, for *Leo* had privately acceded to the alliance of the emperor, the king of *Spain*, and the *Swiſs* againſt him, and, while he amuſed his ambaſſadors, he celebrated the tenth ſeſſion of the *Lateran* council on the 2d of *May*, in which the deputies of the duke of *Savoy* were admitted. Several decrees were then read for puniſhing delinquent canons and ſecular clerks; concerning the juriſdiction of the ordinary; concerning the celebration of dioceſan and provincial ſynods; and prohibiting the printing of any book or manuſcript without the approbation of the ordinaries and inquiſitors. After the reading of theſe decrees, the proctor of the council produced a writing, containing the ſubmiſſion of the parliament of *Provence*; which being ingroſſed in the acts, the pope abſolved them from the cenſures contained in the former monitory. During theſe proceedings at *Rome*, the king of *France*, having renewed the alliance with the *Venetians*, marched towards the *Alps* with an army of upwards of 55,000 men. *Leo*, tho' he had not openly declared againſt him, yet ſent ſome troops into *Lombardy*, under pretence of guarding *Placenza* and *Parma*; but *Proſpero Colonna* being ſurpriſed by the *French* in *Piedmont*, the pope heſitated greatly whether he ſhould not agree to an accommodation with *Francis*; who, in the mean time, arriving at *Vercelli*, there firſt heard that he was his enemy. The king, having continued a few days at *Vercelli*, advanced with his army to *Marignan*; where being attacked by the *Swiſs*, after a furious engagement of two days, he gained a ſignal victory, in conſequence of which he got poſſeſſion of the whole *Milaneſe*, except the caſtles of *Milan* and *Cremona* [w]. b c

*recovers the* Milaneſe.

Leo *concludes a treaty with him.*

THIS victory of the *French* obliged *Leo* to think ſeriouſly of an accommodation with *Francis*. A treaty was accordingly concluded by the mediation of the duke of *Savoy*, by which the pope ceded *Parma* and *Placenza* to the king of *France*, and promiſed to reſtore *Modena* and *Reggio* to the duke of *Ferrara*; *Francis*, on his part, engaging to defend the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and to ſupport the authority of the houſe of *Medicis* in *Florence*. The king afterwards had a conference with the pope at *Bologna*, about the middle of *December*, to conſult about invading the kingdom of *Naples*. At the ſame time he agreed upon certain articles inſtead of the pragmatic ſanction, in conſideration of which *Leo* granted him the tythe of all eccleſiaſtical revenues in his kingdom for one year, and allowed him to nominate all biſhoprics and abbacies, on condition, however, that the annates ſhould be paid to the court of *Rome*; not according to the ancient regulation, but according to the real value. The king likewiſe interceded for the duke of *Urbino*, the nephew of the late pope, with whom *Leo* was offended, becauſe, from a diſguſt of *Laurence de Medicis*, he had recalled his troops from the eccleſiaſtical army; but the pope having been informed that the duke had endeavoured to excite *Francis* againſt him, and being beſides deſirous of annexing his territories to his own family, refuſed the king's requeſt. *Francis*, after the conference, returned to *Milan*, and having concluded an alliance with the *Swiſs*, diſbanded his army, and repaſſed the *Alps* in the beginning of *January*. d e

*The emperor enters* Lombardy *with a formidable army*; A. D. 1516.

THE pope about the ſame time went to *Florence*, and during his reſidence in that city aſſiſted the biſhop of *Petrucci*, his antient friend, to take poſſeſſion of the city of *Siena*; and, notwithſtanding his late treaty with the king of *France*, upon hearing that the emperor had entered *Italy*, to recover the *Milaneſe*, he appointed the cardinal *Bibiena* to attend him as his legate, and gave permiſſion to *Marc Antonio Colonna* to join him with 200 men at arms. However, he did not openly break with the *French*; for, at the requeſt of the king, he ordered his nephew *Laurence* to ſend from *Florence* a ſubſidy ſufficient to pay 3000 *Swiſs* for one month, and he deſired the legate to ſtop on his journey under pretence of ſickneſs. *Leo* by this proceeding, in ſome meaſure ſaved his honour; for *Maximilian*, being in great want of money, was obliged to leave his army upon a feigned excuſe, and return to *Germany*, while great part of his troops enliſted in the ſervice of the *French* and *Venetians*, and the reſt returned to *Germany* and *Swiſſerland*. While the emperor was in *Italy*, the pope, hearing of the death of the king of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, wrote to the cardinal of *Strigonia* to take care of the education of his ſon *Lewis*, then a boy of ten years of age, and diſſuaded him from hearkening to the propoſals of the *Turks*, who had ſent an embaſſy, deſiring a peace or a truce with the *Hungarians* [x]. f

*but is obliged to return to* Germany.

[u] BEMB. l. x. ep. 5. SAMB. Append. ad Bonfin. p. 537, 538. [w] GUICCIARD. l. xii. P. JOV. l. xiii. MARIAN. l. xxx. PETER JUST. l. i. [x] Ap. BEMB. Epiſt. l. xii. & xii.

ABOUT

a About the ſame time, being deſirous of poſſeſſing the duchy of *Urbino*, *Leo* publiſhed a monitory againſt the duke, in which he accuſed him of diſloyalty, as a vaſſal of the church, and, in a few weeks having conquered the territories of *Urbino*, *Peſara*, and *Sinigaglia*, he gave the inveſtiture of them to his nephew *Laurence*, obliging all the cardinals to ſign with their own hand the bull expedited for that purpoſe [y]. After this conqueſt he endeavoured to diſſuade the archduke *Charles*, who had ſucceeded his grandfather *Ferdinand* of *Arragon*, from engaging in an alliance with *France*, and he ſecretly ſollicited the emperor, the king of *England*, and the *Swiſs*, to attack the *Milaneſe*. *Francis*, being informed of theſe deſigns of the pope, laid aſide the thoughts of an expedition againſt *Naples*, and concluded an alliance with the young catholic king at *Noyon*. The emperor had a liberty for two months to b accede to this treaty, on condition of accommodating all his differences with the *Venetians* [z]. *Maximilian* accordingly embraced this opportunity of ſupplying his empty coffers, and promiſed to deliver up *Verona* to the *Venetians*, on conſideration of receiving from them 200,000 ducats; which article was actually put in execution in the beginning of the following year.

*The pope ſeizes upon the duchy of* Urbino.

*A treaty concluded betwixt the emperor and the kings of* France *and* Spain.

The news of this accommodation betwixt the king of *France*, the emperor, and his grandſon *Charles*, was very diſagreeable to the pope; who, in the mean time celebrated the eleventh ſeſſion of the *Lateran* council on the 19th of *December*, in which three deputies were admitted from the patriarch of the *Maronites*, who deſired to be inſtructed in the faith and rites of the *Roman* church [a]. A decree was then read againſt vain preachers, A. D. 1517. who were ordered, under ſevere cenſures, not to publiſh falſe miracles and prophecies, but c to explain the ſcripture according to the interpretation of the fathers. The council after this confirmed the *Concordata* concluded betwixt the pope and the king of *France* at *Bologna*; and in the twelfth and laſt ſeſſion, which was held on the 16th of *March*, a letter from the emperor was read, in anſwer to one from the pope, who had exhorted him to declare war againſt the grand ſignor, then more formidable than ever by his late conqueſt of *Syria*. *Maximilian*, in his turn, exhorted the pope and the cardinals to the ſacred expedition, and promiſed to attend them, and aſſiſt them with his forces. After the reading of his letter, a bull was publiſhed, impoſing a tythe upon all eccleſiaſtical revenues for three years for the *Turkiſh* war; and, all the acts of the fathers being confirmed, the council was ſolemnly diſſolved, as the ſchiſm occaſioned by the council of *Piſa* was at an end, and a peace con- d cluded among the Chriſtian princes (X).

*The* Lateran *council is diſſolved.*

Tho' this general peace procured tranquillity to the *Venetians* and the *Milaneſe*, yet the pope was thereby engaged in a new war; for upon the delivery of *Verona* to the *Venetians*, 6000 foreign ſoldiers entered into the ſervice of the duke of *Urbino*, by whoſe aſſiſtance he quickly recovered his former duchy. The pope was greatly afraid that the duke was ſupported by the king of *France*, who he believed was greatly diſſatisfied with him, as he had not only neglected to fulfil his part of the treaty concluded at *Bologna*, but upon his return to *Rome*, had even publiſhed a bull contrary to the convention. However, the kings of *France* and *Spain*, from their mutual jealouſy of each other, gave aſſiſtance to *Leo* againſt the duke of *Urbino*, and *Francis* renewed with him the treaty of *Bologna*. Notwithſtand- e ing the *French* and *Spaniſh* reinforcements, the pope's army was not powerful enough to venture an engagement; and ſoon after ſome thouſands of *Spaniards* and *Germans* deſerting to the duke of *Urbino*, his army became more formidable than in the beginning of the campaign.

*The duke of* Urbino *makes war upon the pope;*

In the mean time the pope himſelf was threatened with a conſpiracy at *Rome*, which was headed by the cardinal of *Siena*, who, with his brother *Borgheſe*, had been expelled from that place, altho' it was chiefly by his means that the family of the *Medicis* had recovered *Florence*, and *Leo* himſelf had obtained the pontificate. The plot being diſcovered, the cardinal of *Siena*, with ſeveral others of leſſer note, were put to death, and two other cardinals were degraded. By theſe ſeverities, *Leo* being ſenſible that he had rendered himſelf f odious to the ſacred college, he therefore reſolved upon a promotion of new cardinals, and on the 26th of *June* nominated thirty-one perſons to that dignity, without regard to their merit, many of them having bought their preferment with money, and others owing their

*againſt whom a conſpiracy is formed by the cardinals.*

[y] Guicciard. l. xii. Chimarel. Hiſt. d'Urbino. [z] Bellefor. l. vi. c. 27. Hecter. l. vii. c. 12. [a] Spond. Annal.

(X) The diſſolution of the council was condemned by ſeveral of the fathers, who affirmed that they ought to have proceeded further in the reformation of the church, and that the tythe ought not to be exacted till the commencement of the expedition againſt the *Turks* (7). The levying of the tythe was likewiſe objected to by the clergy of *Spain*, who, in a council held at *Madrid* in the month of *September*, declared that they would not conſent to that tax (8). There is alſo a ſpeech extant, in the name of *Francis Picus* of *Mirandola*, ſaid to have been ſpoken by him in the laſt ſeſſion; by which, in the moſt earneſt manner, he recommended to the pope and the council to think of a reformation of manners (9).

(7) *Spond. Annal. hoc an. Orth. in Faſcic. rer. expetendar.* (8) *Angler. Epiſ.* 596. (9) *Ext. in fin. ep. Pic. Mirand & ap.*

elevation

elevation to their domeſtic ſervices in his family [b]. Having by this new promotion provided for his ſafety at *Rome*, *Leo* proſecuted the war againſt *Urbino*, who, being unable to ſupport his troops, ſoon after conſented to a peace on theſe conditions, namely, that the pope ſhould pay to the *Spaniſh* troops 45,000 ducats, and 60,000 to the *Gaſcons* and *Germans*, who ſhould thereupon, within thirty days, evacuate the territories of the church, and of *Florence*; that the duke of *Urbino* ſhould reſign his duchy; that the pope ſhould abſolve him from all cenſures, and ſhould allow him to retire to *Mantua* with all his effects, particularly with his artillery, and the famous library that had been collected by his grandfather by the mother's ſide [c]. By this ſubmiſſion of the duke of *Urbino*, all hoſtilities ceaſed in *Italy*, which for many years had been the ſeat of ruinous wars; the temporal power of the pope was raiſed higher than ever it had been before, and his ſpiritual authority was quietly ſubmitted to by all *Europe*: however, this ſame year the papal uſurpations met with ſuch an oppoſition in *Germany*, as not only put a ſtop to their further progreſs, but gave them ſuch a blow, that they have been declining ever ſince. b

*The duke of* Urbino *conſents to ſurrender his duchy to the pope.*

*The beginning of the reformation in* Germany.

THE apoſtolic ſee, by its inſatiable avarice, was itſelf inſtrumental, though not deſignedly, in promoting this great revolution; for beſides the indulgences which had been granted by the *Lateran* council for an expedition againſt the *Turks*, *Leo*, who was in great want of money, this year, by the advice of cardinal *Pucci*, publiſhed other indulgences through all Chriſtendom, to be ſold indiſcriminately to all purchaſers (Y). Theſe he farmed out to the higheſt bidders; and his ſiſter *Magdalen*, who had received from him the revenue of thoſe that were diſpoſed of in ſeveral parts of *Germany*, appointed *Arcimboldus*, archbiſhop of *Upſal*, her commiſſary, who exerciſed his office with great avarice and extortion [d]. The *Dominicans*, who had received the commiſſion from the archbiſhop of *Mentz* to publiſh the indulgences, acted with great indiſcretion; they printed ſeveral books, extolling the power of their abſolutions, to which they gave the name of *the Grand Pardons*; and for certain rates, ſet down in a tariff which had been given them, they not only abſolved the living from all their ſins, but delivered the ſouls of the dead from the pretended pains of purgatory. They likewiſe ſold the liberty of eating fleſh, eggs, milk, and cheeſe, upon prohibited days, and publickly ſquandered a great part of the money, ariſing from the ſale of the indulgences, in taverns, where they frequently ſtaked their abſolutions at a game of tables [e]. c

Martin Luther *publiſhes theſes againſt the indulgences of the pope.*

THESE proceedings occaſioned great murmurings over all *Germany*; and *John Stanpitz*, vicar-general of the *Auguſtines*, offended, as it is ſaid, that his order had not been employed in diſpoſing of the indulgences, preached againſt them with great warmth at *Wittemberg*, where he was likewiſe aſſiſted by *Martin Luther*, a monk of his order, and profeſſor in that univerſity, who not only exerted himſelf in his diſcourſes againſt the indulgences, but likewiſe wrote to the archbiſhop of *Mentz*, complaining of the proceedings of the *Dominicans*; and, on the laſt day of *October*, publiſhed ninety-five propoſitions or theſes againſt indulgences, penance, purgatory, and the authority of the pope (Z). The archbiſhop took no notice of his letter, but ſoon after *John Tetzel*, a *Dominican*, and director of the ſales of indulgences in *Saxony*, publiſhed a hundred and ſix propoſitions in defence of the pope's authority, and, as inquiſitor of the faith, ordered thoſe of *Luther* to be burnt. The ſtudents at *Wittemberg* treated the propoſitions of *Tetzel* in the ſame manner; and the diſ- d e

[b] GUICCIARDINI, l. xiii. [c] Idem ibid. [d] Idem ibid. [e] SLEIDAN. l. i. COCHLÆ. de Act. & Script. Luther. ULEMBERG. in vit. Luther.

(Y) Indulgences were originally exemptions from taxes, granted by the emperors and governors to provinces that had been harraſſed by enemies, earthquakes, unfruitful ſeaſons, &c. the popes applied them to ſpiritual matters, and granted them to thoſe who went to recover the *Holy Land* from the *Saracens*. They diſpenſed them likewiſe to thoſe who, inſtead of marching perſonally againſt the infidels, contributed to the expence of the expedition. Afterwards the indulgences and pardons became more common; but *Leo*, at this time, proſtituted them to a greater degree than they had ever been before.

(Z) *Martin Luther* was born in 1483, at *Iſlebe*, in the county of *Mansfeld*, in *Upper Saxony*. His father, whoſe name was *Lotter*, or *Lauther*, intended that he ſhould follow the profeſſion of the law; but *Luther*, after he had finiſhed his courſe of philoſophy, having, while he was walking in the fields, being terrified with a clap of thunder, which killed his companion, he made a vow of becoming monk, which he accordingly performed two years afterwards at *Erford*, in the 22d year of his age. He was ſoon after appointed profeſſor in the univerſity, which *Frederic the Wiſe*, duke of *Saxony*, a few years before had eſtabliſhed at *Wittemberg*, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his active genius, his great memory, and natural eloquence. In 1516 he began to ſtudy the *Greek* and *Hebrew*, and publiſhed ſeveral theſes concerning free-will, the merit of good works, and human traditions, contrary to the opinions of the ſcholaſtic divines, for whom he had long teſtified a great contempt, as corrupters of the goſpel by their ſophiſtical philoſophy. By this proceeding it would appear, that the diſappointment of publiſhing the indulgences was not the only motive of his preaching againſt them. In 1524 he quitted the habit of a monk, and the year after married a wife, by whom he had three ſons. He died on the 18th of *February* 1546. According to *Baſnage*, he had many faults, as all great men have; but he always preſerved that devotion which appeared in his early youth. He had an ardent zeal for the glory of God, and the re-eſtabliſhment of the church, and a firmneſs of mind that was unſhaken by the greateſt dangers (1).

(1) *Spond. Annal. Sleiden. l.* ~~xvi.~~ *in fin. Ulemberg in vita Lutheri. Baſnage Hiſt. de Calerig. des Egliſ. reform. t.* iii. *p.* 66.

a pute, which at firſt was looked upon only as a ſcholaſtic controverſy, quickly began to be regarded in a more ſerious manner. The theſes of *Luther* were greatly read and approved; however, one *Eckius*, a profeſſor of divinity at *Ingolſtadt*, wrote againſt them; and at *Rome* they were impugned by one *Prieras* a *Dominican*, and maſter of the ſacred palace, who, in his book, treated *Luther* with contempt and ridicule, not knowing that he was attacking his adverſary with his own weapons; for ſoon after *Luther* publiſhed an anſwer to *Prieras*, in which he retorted the ridicule upon his opponent. He uſed the ſame arms againſt one *Holſtraten*, another *Dominican*, who had written with great bitterneſs againſt him, and exhorted the pope to condemn him as a heretic [f]. *Luther* judging likewiſe that his adverſaries were endeavouring to defame him, in the month of *June* he wrote in a b ſubmiſſive manner to the pope, in his own juſtification, promiſing all obedience to the apoſtolic ſee, and declaring that he had publiſhed his theſes only with the intention of diſputing in a ſcholaſtic manner [g].

A. D. 1518. *The* Dominicans *defend the pope's authority, and condemn the theſes of* Luther.

*LEO* gave but very little attention to theſe commotions in a remote part of *Germany*, being much more alarmed by the progreſs of the grand ſignor *Selim*, who the year before had conquered *Egypt*, and put an end to the government of the *Mamalukes*. As he was a prince of great ambition, and had now no enemy in *Aſia*, *Leo* was apprehenſive leſt he ſhould turn his victorious arms againſt *Italy*; he therefore cauſed devout proceſſions to be made at *Rome*, and walked himſelf barefoot, with all his court, from the *Vatican* to the church of *Minerva* [h]. He then wrote to all the Chriſtian princes, exhorting them to a mutual truce for five years; c and having ſettled the plan of the expedition, he ſent legates into the different kingdoms of *Europe*, to excite the princes to grant their contingents [i]. But *Selim* remaining inactive, the danger ſeemed to vaniſh; ſo that the ſecular princes, upon various pretences, refuſed to act, and the *Spaniſh* clergy abſolutely refuſed to pay the tythe, as they gave no credit to the reaſons urged by the pope. Cardinal *Cajetan*, a *Dominican*, went as legate to *Germany*, and was preſent at the diet of *Augsburg*, held in the beginning of *Auguſt*, where the emperor, the electors, and many other *German* princes, aſſembled, to conſult of the *Turkiſh* expedition. *Cajetan*, in the preſence of the diet, conferred a cardinal's hat on the archbiſhop of *Mentz*, a brother of the elector of *Brandenburg*, by which proceeding he diſguſted the *German* princes, who were offended that one of their members ſhould take a particular oath of obedience to d the holy ſee. The elector of *Saxony*, and many other princes, made great complaints of the violation of the *Germanic Concordata*, and propoſed to ſuppreſs the mandates and grants of reſervation ſtill uſurped by the popes; but as the diet was not unanimous, nothing was effected [k].

*The pope endeavours to promote a general cruſade againſt the* Turks.

*A diet held for that purpoſe at* Augsburg.

The emperor, in the beginning of the diet, had written to the pope, deſiring him to proceed againſt *Luther*; but before his letter arrived at *Rome*, *Leo* having received repeated complaints againſt *Luther* from *Germany*, had cited him to appear at *Rome* within ſixty days, and had written to the duke of *Saxony* to deliver him to *Cajetan*. However, at the interceſſion of the elector of the univerſity of *Wittemberg*, he conſented that his cauſe ſhould be tried at *Augsburg*. *Luther*, having obtained a ſafe-conduct from the emperor, appeared e before *Cajetan* about the middle of *October*, and had ſeveral conferences with him; but the legate inſiſting abſolutely upon his recantation, and refuſing to enter into any diſpute, excepting ſlightly urging the authority of a decree of *Clement* VI. *Luther* declared, that he would not retract the doctrines that he had preached and written, unleſs he was convicted of their error; but, as he was a man, and therefore fallible, he ſubmitted his opinion to the deciſion of the church, and to the univerſities of *Germany*, and particularly to that of *Paris*. As he was then threatened by the legate, he privately left *Augsburg*; but before his departure he cauſed an appeal to the pope to be fixed up in the public places of the city [l]. *Cajetan* immediately wrote to *Rome*, complaining of *Luther*'s obſtinacy, and ſent a letter to the duke of *Saxony* to baniſh him from his dominions. At the ſame time *Luther* wrote a ſubmiſſive f letter to the pope, complaining againſt *Cajetan*; and, a few weeks after, being informed that his appeal was rejected, he again appealed from the pope, who, like other men, was fallible, to a future general council.

Leo *cites* Luther *to appear at* Rome.

Luther *has a conference with the cardinal* Cajetan *at* Augsburg

*LEO*, to put a ſtop to the diſputes in *Germany* concerning the ſupremacy of the pope, on the 9th of *November* publiſhed a new bull, confirming his indulgences; in which he affirmed, that all ought to believe that the biſhop of *Rome* had a power of forgiving ſins. Soon after he ſent a golden roſe to the duke of *Saxony*, and ſollicited his counſellors to perſuade him to withdraw his protection from *Luther*. However, his endeavours were in vain; for the elector, upon the death of the emperor, which happened on the 12th of *January*, aſſuming, as vicar, the government of great part of the empire during the interregnum, *Luther*'s g authority increaſed, and he began to be looked upon as a man ſent from God, to remedy the

Leo *renews his bull for indulgences.* A. D. 1519.

[f] Sleidan. l. i. [g] Cochlæ. Ulemberg ut ſupra. [h] Victorel addit. ad Ciacon. [i] Ap. Goldast. Conſt. imper. t. ii. ap. Bemb. Epiſt. l. xiv. & xv. [k] Fugger. l. vi. c. xix. p. 1359. Struv. period. x. p. 971. Georgi. l. v. c. 7. n. 12. [l] Cochlæ. ut ſupra. Act. Luther. ap. Cajetan. t. i. Sleidan.

diſorders and abuſes of the *Roman* church. The elector refuſed to accept of the roſe; however the nuncio, who was a *German*, prevailed upon *Luther* to write in a ſubmiſſive manner to *Rome*, and to ſubmit his cauſe to the judgment of a *German* biſhop. *Luther* accordingly wrote in very reſpectful terms to the pope, but he added, that he would not retract his opinions, unleſs they were proved to him to be erroneous. He afterwards refuſed to ſubmit to the deciſion of the archbiſhop of *Triers*, as he heard that cardinal *Cajetan* was to be preſent at the conferences, and the pope had not authorized the archbiſhop to give a final determination. However, he conſented to a public diſpute with *Eckius* of *Leipſic*, a city under the dominion of *George*, duke of *Saxony*, couſin of the elector *Frederic*, whither he repaired with *Caroloſtadt* and *Philip Melancthon*, who the year before had been appointed *Greek* profeſſor at *Wittemberg*. The diſpute continued for ſeveral days, each party claiming the victory; but the univerſities of *Cologn*, *Louvain*, and *Paris*, which laſt had been choſen as judge of the diſputation, decided in favour of *Eckius* [m]. a b

During theſe proceedings, *Charles* of *Auſtria*, king of *Spain*, was elected emperor on the 28th of *June*, cardinal *Cajetan* having, by the pope's authority, diſpenſed with the impediment of his being king of *Naples*. *Leo* ſoon after, to prevent a war in *Italy*, granted him the inveſtiture of that kingdom, and wrote to him in *Spain*, exhorting him to war againſt the *Turks*. In the mean time, notwithſtanding his nephew *Lorenzo* had died witnout iſſue, he ſtill kept poſſeſſion of the duchy of *Florence*, and endeavoured to ſurprize the city of *Ferrara*; but his deſign being diſcovered, it proved ineffectual [n]. Mean while the favourers of *Luther* not only increaſed in the empire, but, according to *Guicciardini*, his doctrines began to be attended to in *Italy* [o]. The king of *Denmark* publicly approved of his proceedings [p]; and *Laurence* and *Olaus Petri*, two brothers that had ſtudied at *Wittemberg*, publiſhed his doctrines in *Sweden*, where they met with a favourable reception [q]. It appears likewiſe from the letters of *Eraſmus* to him and the duke of *Saxony*, that his opinions were well received in *England* and *Flanders* [r] (A). While his writings and doctrines engaged the attention of great part of *Europe*, *Ulric Zuinglius*, born in the canton of *Glaritz*, preached againſt the abuſes and errors of the *Roman* church in *Switzerland*, without having any correſpondence with him, from whom he differed in ſome points of his new doctrine. Notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the biſhop of *Conſtance*, the magiſtrates of *Zurich* approved of the proceedings of *Zuinglius*, and that whole canton, with thoſe of *Bern*, *Baſil*, and *Schaffhauſen*, embraced his opinions [s]. c d

Luther's *doctrines meet with great reception.*

Zuinglius *preaches againſt the church of* Rome *in* Switzerland.

A. D. 1520. *LUTHER*, in the mean time, being aſſured of the protection of the duke of *Saxony*, and other princes of the empire, publiſhed a treatiſe on Chriſtian liberty, which he ſent to *Rome*, with a letter addreſſed to the pope, in which he declared, that he had no other deſign than the glory of God, and the diſcovery of truth, the profeſſion of which he would never forſake. He then affirmed that the court of *Rome* was more corrupt than ever *Babylon* or *Sodom* had been; and that it were better for *Leo* to be a ſimple prieſt, than to be ſurrounded by ſo many flatterers, like a lamb in the midſt of wolves. About the ſame time he publiſhed ſeveral other treatiſes concerning confeſſion, vows, the celibacy of the clergy, and the communicating under both kinds, ſome of which were ſoon after cenſured by the univerſities of *Cologn* and *Louvain*. *Luther* quickly wrote an anſwer in his own juſtification, and in his preface treated the univerſities with great freedom, affirming, that *Ariſtotle* was their chief God, and that it was their practice to perſecute great men, ſuch as *Picus* of *Mirandola*, *Laurence Valla*, and *Reuchlin*. To protect himſelf from the malice of his enemies, he wrote at this time to the emperor, intreating him to defend him from all violence, till his cauſe ſhould be tried. *Charles* V. about the ſame time, was ſollicited by cardinal *Adrian*, the pope's e

Luther *publiſhes ſeveral treatiſes againſt the doctrines of the church of* Rome.

[m] Iidem ibid. [n] Guicciard. l. xiii. [o] Idem ibid. [p] Huitfele. Hiſt. Dan. t. viii. [q] Jorenson. Hiſt. Guſtavus I. [r] Epiſt. Erasm. l. vi. [s] Sleidan. l. i. Melchior. Adam. in vit. Theol. Germ. Rainald, ad an. 1520.

(A) *Eraſmus* was at this time about fifty years of age, and had rendered himſelf famous by his writings over all *Europe*. As he had written very freely againſt the monks, the ſcholaſtic divines, and ſeveral ſuperſtitions of the *Roman* church, *Luther* expected that he would declare for him, and both he and the elector of *Saxony* wrote to him to know his ſentiments. *Eraſmus*, in his anſwer, declared, that he had not read *Luther*'s books; that he greatly diſapproved of the bad uſage he had received from the monks, who had likewiſe expreſſed great enmity againſt himſelf; that he could neither condemn nor approve of his proceedings; and that what had not yet been examined, ought not to be condemned; but for the future he counſelled him to proceed with more moderation, and rather attack thoſe who abuſed the pope's authority, than the popes themſelves. Although he all his life refuſed to declare for the party of *Luther*, yet, on account of the notes which he publiſhed on ſeveral parts of ſcripture, contrary to the received opinions of the ſchool divines, and the liberty he took in ridiculing the ignorant clergy; he was looked upon by many as *Luther*'s forerunner and inſtructor, and was accuſed by the monks of hereſy, error, and impiety. His opinions, which after his death were condemned by the council of *Trent*, appeared ſo dubious, that they gave riſe to the proverb, *Aut Lutherus Eraſmiſat, aut Eraſmus Lutheriſat*; Luther *has either turned* Eraſmian, *or* Eraſmus *turned* Lutheran (z).

(z) *Spond. Annal. Epiſt. Eraſm.*

nuncio

a nuncio in *Spain*, to order *Luther* to be apprehended; but he declaring that he could not ſatisfy the pope till after his coronation at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, *Leo* aſſembled the cardinals and divines at *Rome*, and, on the 15th of *June*, drew up a bull, by which he condemned forty-one of the propoſitions of *Luther*, and ordered them, and all his writings, to be burnt, commanding likewiſe the author, and all his followers, to recant within ſixty days, under pain of being excommunicated and reckoned heretics [t]. *He is excommunicated.*

By this bull, which was read for ſeveral days in the churches in *Germany*, *Luther* ſaw himſelf cut off from all hopes of an accommodation, unleſs he would recant, for otherwiſe it was impoſſible for the pope, without contradicting his claim to infallibility, to retract his decree. Reſolving, at all hazards, to defend the propoſitions which he had advanced, he immedi-
b ately publiſhed a book againſt the church of *Rome*, exhorting the *German* nation to ſhake off its authority, and to oblige the pope and biſhops to ſubmit to the emperor. He likewiſe renewed his appeal to a future council; and as his books had been burnt at *Rome*, *Louvain*, and *Cologn*, he, in return, erected a pile of wood without the walls of *Wittemberg*, where, in preſence of almoſt the whole city, and a great many doctors, he ſet fire to the wood, and threw the canon law and the pope's bull into the flames [u]. A few weeks after the pope celebrated a diet at *Worms*, which was opened on the 6th of *January*. Among other matters, this aſſembly propoſed to take cognizance of the cauſe of *Luther*, notwithſtanding the objections of *Alcandre*, one of the pope's nuncios, who aſſerted, that they ought not to intermeddle in an affair that had been already determined by the pope. The emperor having
c granted his ſafe-conduct to *Luther*, he arrived at *Worms* on the 16th of *April*, where he again abſolutely refuſed to retract his opinions, unleſs he was convinced, by reaſon or ſcripture, that they were erroneous. The elector of *Treves*, a few days after he had appeared before the diet, adviſed him, at a private conference, to think of ſome remedy for the preſent diſorders: but he ſtill continuing in his former ſentiments, the emperor ordered him to leave *Worms*, and granted him a ſafe-conduct for twenty-one days [w]. After his departure he put him to the ban of the empire, by an edict which was publiſhed on the 8th of *May*, by which, after accuſing him of hereſy, he confirmed the pope's bull againſt him and his followers, prohibited all from affording him any protection, and ordered him to be ſeized and impriſoned after the expiration of the time preſcribed in his ſafe-conduct. All his books
d were likewiſe prohibited, and ordered to be burnt [x]. *A. D. 1521.* *and is put to the ban of the empire.*

Mean while the pope, who now began to be alarmed by the commotions in *Germany*, held frequent conſiſtories at *Rome*, to conſult of means to oppoſe *Luther* [y]. On the 2d of *January* he not only excommunicated him, but denounced the ſame ſentence againſt all who favoured or protected him [z]. This bull he again repeated on the *Thurſday* before *Eaſter* [a]; and having received a book from *Henry* VIII. king of *England*, in defence of the doctrines of the *Roman* church impugned by *Luther*, he conferred on that prince the title of *Defender of the Faith*. About the ſame time he, with great imprudence, fomented the jealouſies betwixt the emperor and the king of *France*, who had been rivals for the empire. In the vain expectation of expelling the *French* and *Spaniards* from *Italy*, and enlarging the poſ-
e ſeſſion of the church by the acquiſition of *Ferrara*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, inſtead of uſing his authority as a mediator, he, with great earneſtneſs, promoted a war [b]. At firſt he adhered to the king of *France*; but being informed of his unſucceſsful expedition againſt *Navarre*, he entered into an alliance with the emperor and the king of *England* againſt him: and ſoon after ſending troops to the *Milaneſe*, which were reinforced with others from *Germany*, he quickly made himſelf maſter of *Milan*, *Pavia*, *Lodi*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*. In the midſt of theſe conqueſts, and while he was ſolliciting the *Venetians* to declare againſt the *French*, he was cut off by a ſudden death, which happened to him on the 2d of *December*, and which was believed to be the effect of poiſon, adminiſtered to him by *Barnabas Malaſpina*, gentleman of his bedchamber, who, on that ſuſpicion was impriſoned, but af-
f terwards ſet at liberty by the cardinal of *Medicis*, who ſuppreſſed all examination on that affair [c]. According to *Guicciardini*, *Leo* was poſſeſſed of a great many good qualities, which were blemiſhed with a great number of bad ones; and he diſcovered, during his pontificate, more prudence, and much leſs probity, than was expected [d]. He had a great love for the fine arts and ſciences, and was very liberal to learned men; but he is accuſed of having been a voluptuary, ambitious, and extremely revengeful. *Paul Jovius* charges him with the crime of ſodomy, and *Picus* of *Mirandola* affirms that he was an atheiſt [e].

Leo *renews the excommunication againſt him,*

*and enters into an alliance with the new emperor againſt the king of* France.

*He dies ſuddenly.*

Upon the death of *Leo*, the college of cardinals were at a loſs whether to eſpouſe the party of the king of *France* or the emperor; and giving no orders to the army in the *Mi-*

[t] Sleidan. l. i. Spond. Annal. Pallav. Hiſt. Conc. Trid. l. i. c. 21. t. xiv. Conc. collect. Lab. p. 394. [u] Sleidan. l. ii. [w] Idem, l. iii. Cochlæ. ut ſupra. Pallav. l. i. c. 26. 28. Seckend. l. i. ſect. 44. n. 98. [x] Ap. Goldast. Conſt. imper. t. ii. Bzov. hoc an. [y] Guicciard. l. xiii. [z] Spond. Annal. [a] Sleidan. [b] Guicciard. l. xiv. [c] Idem ibid. Onuphr. in vit. Leon. [d] Guicciard. l. xiv. [e] Paul Jov. Onuphr. Victorel. in vit. Leon. Basnage ut ſupra.

*laneſe*, the duke of *Urbino*, while they were deliberating at *Rome*, recovered his former duchy, a
and the duke of *Ferrara* again got poſſeſſion of ſome of his antient territories in *Romagna*;
but the *French* ſtill continued too weak to face the imperialiſts. The cardinal of *Ivrea*, who
favoured the *French*, being ſeized in *Lombardy* on his journey to *Rome*, the college made a
decree not to proceed to the election of a pope till he was ſet at liberty. He ſoon after ar-
riving at the city, thirty-nine cardinals entered the conclave on the 27th of *December*, and,
after a long conteſt, on the 9th of *January* unanimouſly choſe *Adrian* cardinal of *Tortoſa*.

THE conteſt was occaſioned by the great number of competitors, the chief of whom at
firſt was the cardinal of *Medicis*; but he was oppoſed by the others, in the intereſt of the
emperor and of cardinal *Wolſey*, who relying on the emperor's promiſe in his favour, and
the influence of his money, was in great hopes of ſucceeding. Though *Charles* had indeed
made great promiſes to *Wolſey*, in order to ſecure the friendſhip of *Henry* VIII. yet he had b
no intention at that time of fulfilling them, but deſired to have a pope, who he knew would
be entirely in his intereſts. He therefore, not to offend *Wolſey*, with great ſecreſy intrigued
with the conclave; and, after having ſecured the majority of votes, one of the cardinals,
*Adrian VI. is elected* A.D. 1522. on the laſt day of the election, propoſed *Adrian* as it were by chance; and being ſeconded
by another, who made a long ſpeech in his favour, all that faction declared for him, and
were followed by the whole conclave[f] (B). As *Adrian* was utterly unknown to the car-
dinals, had never been in *Italy*, and was entirely unacquainted with the cuſtoms of the court
of *Rome*, the *Romans* were greatly offended at his election; and when the conclave broke
up, inſulted and abuſed the cardinals, who, in their own defence, alleged, that they had
been directed by the holy ſpirit[g]. c

THE new pope received the news of his election in *Spain*, where he was governor during
the abſence of the emperor; and retaining, contrary to the uſual cuſtom, his own name,
*He arrives at Rome,* he embarked at *Terragona*, and arrived at *Rome* on the 29th of *Auguſt*, where two days
after he was ſolemnly crowned in the portico of St. *Peter's* church. Before his arrival in
*Italy*, the *French* had entirely loſt all their poſſeſſions in *Lombardy*, except the caſtles of *Mi-
lan*, *Cremona*, and *Novara*, and the Soltan *Solyman*, who had lately ſucceeded *Selim*, beſieged
the city of *Rhodes* with an immenſe army. In *Germany* likewiſe *Luther* perſevered with great
Luther *zealous in promoting the reformation.* zeal in promoting the reformation. Upon his return from *Worms*, the elector of *Saxony*, to
protect him from the conſequence of the ban, had ordered a troop of maſked horſe-men to
meet him on the road, and to conduct him to the caſtle of *Wartburg*, in which ſolitude he d
continued near ten months, neither his friends nor enemies at firſt knowing what was be-
come of him. There he publiſhed ſeveral books, eſtabliſhing his new doctrines; but be-
ing informed that *Caroloſtadt* was making himſelf a chief of a party at *Wittemberg*, and had
excited the young people to deſtroy the altars, and pull down the images and crucifixes, he
left *Wartburg* in the beginning of *March*, without leave of the elector, and again appeared
in public. He blamed the proceeding of *Caroloſtadt*, who in reſentment quitted *Wittem-
berg*, and went to a different part of *Saxony*, in the neighbourhood of the river *Sala*, where
he aſſociated with others who had thrown off the authority of the church of *Rome*, but be-
gan to pretend to have revelations from God, by whom they ſaid they were commanded
to kill all the wicked[h]. *Luther*, in the mean time, publiſhed a tranſlation of the bible, e
which, not being conformable to the vulgate, and wanting ſeveral canonical books, was
prohibited by ſeveral princes.

DURING theſe tranſactions, *Adrian* having arrived at *Rome*, employed his whole attention
to underſtand the affairs of his court; but putting little confidence in the cardinals, his chief
favourites were *John Rufus* biſhop of *Conſenza*, and *William Eikenwort*, and *Theodoric Hetius*,
both *Dutchmen*, the firſt of whom he created a cardinal and biſhop of *Tortoſa*. The em- f
peror *Charles*, about the ſame time, having gone into *Spain*, and his brother, whom he had
Adrian *ſends a legate to the diet of* Nuremberg. appointed his vicar, ſoon after convoking a diet at *Nuremberg*, *Adrian* ſent *Francis Cheregat*
as his legate into *Germany*, who was commiſſioned to demand of the diet, that they would
put in execution the bull of his predeceſſor againſt *Luther*, and grant aſſiſtance to the
knights of *Rhodes* againſt the *Turks*. Neither the pope nor the Chriſtian princes having ex-
A.D. 1523. erted themſelves in earneſt in defence of that city, it was obliged to ſurrender to the Soltan,
after a ſiege of ſeven months: and on the 1ſt of *January*, the grand maſter, with all the

[f] GUICCIARD. PAUL JOV. Acta literar. Faſcic. vi. p. 65. BURMAN ANELED. Hiſt. de Adrian VI. p. 141.
[g] GUICCIARD. l. xiv. [h] SLEIDAN. l. iii.

(B) *Adrian* was born at *Utrecht* in *Holland*; his father, according to ſome authors, being a weaver of tapeſtry, and, according to others, a brewer. Having made great progreſs in learning, he was promoted to the vice-chancellorſhip of the univerſity of *Louvain*, and afterwards appointed preceptor to *Charles* V. who created him one of his chief counſellors of ſtate; and by the intereſt of his grand-father *Maximilian*, procured for him a cardinal's hat from *Leo* X. in 1519 (3).

(3) *Spond. Annal. Victorel in addit. ad Ciacon.*

knights,

a knights, quitted the iſland, and ſailed for *Crete*[i]. *Adrian* was more intent on recovering *Rimini*, which had revolted during the vacancy of the ſee; for that purpoſe having ſent forces into *Romagna*, he obliged *Sigiſmond Malateſta* to quit the city, and ſoon after was reconciled to the dukes of *Ferrara* and *Urbino*, having annulled all the bulls that had been publiſhed againſt them by his predeceſſors, *Julius* II. and *Leo* X[k].

MEAN while *Luther*, having procured a copy of the pope's letter to the diet, tranſlated it into the *German* language; and *Adrian* having confeſſed that there was great need of a reformation, but that they ought to proceed ſtep by ſtep, *Luther*, in his notes, added, that the popes had hitherto taken 100 years betwixt each ſtep to reform any grievances. The diet likewiſe declared to the nuncio, that it was impoſſible to put the edict of the emperor
b againſt the *Lutherans* in execution, without hazarding a civil war, as the people, by the books that were lately publiſhed, were now well inſtructed in the oppreſſions of the court of *Rome*; and that the beſt means to quiet the diſturbances would be to aſſemble a general council, with the condition that the members ſhould ſwear to declare their ſentiments freely, and without diſguiſe. Notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the legate, they alſo drew up a memorial, which they intitled *Centum Gravamina*, or *the Hundred Grievances*; and on the 6th of *March*, they publiſhed an edict, prohibiting the preachers to diſcourſe of any ſubject tending to diſturb the public peace, which, with the memorial, the pope's brief, and their anſwer to the legate, they ſent over all *Germany*, and even to *Rome*, where the ingenuous confeſſion of the pope, that his court and the clergy were the original ſource of the evil, gave great of-
c fence to the prelates [l].

*which remonſtrates againſt the oppreſſions of the church of* Rome.

DURING theſe proceedings in *Germany*, the king of *France* was making great preparations for an expedition into *Italy*, eſpecially as he heard the *Venetians* were ſtrongly ſollicited to enter into an alliance with the emperor. *Adrian* at the ſame time earneſtly exhorted the Chriſtian princes to agree to a truce, and to turn their arms againſt the *Turks*; but *Francis* I. not agreeing to this propoſal, which would deprive him of the opportunity of recovering the *Milaneſe*, the pope, at the perſuaſion of the emperor and the king of *England*, on the laſt day of *April* publiſhed a bull, ordering all the Chriſtian princes to obſerve a truce for three years, under pain of excommunication and interdict. *Francis* ſtill continuing his preparations for his intended expedition, the pope, at the inſtigation of the viceroy of *Naples*, ac-
d ceded on the 3d of *Auguſt* to the treaty that had been formed againſt *France* by the emperor, the king of *England*, the archduke of *Auſtria*, the duke of *Milan*, the *Florentines*, the *Genoeſe*, *Venetians*, *Luccheſe*, and *Sienneſe*. Notwithſtanding this formidable alliance, *Francis* ſoon after ſent an army into the *Milaneſe*, where he quickly recovered ſeveral towns, as *Proſpero Colonna*, the general of the confederate army, had neglected to repair the fortifications. Mean while *Adrian*, having granted to the emperor *Charles*, the right of preſenting to all biſhoprics in *Spain*[m], died at *Rome* on the 14th of *September*, in the 65th year of his age, and the 2d of his pontificate. His death, which was ſuſpected to be the effect of poiſon, gave great joy to the *Romans*, who were offended with his ſobriety and regular manners, having been debauched by the luxury introduced by his predeceſſor *Leo*[n] (C).

Adrian *dies at* Rome.

e AFTER the funeral obſequies of *Adrian*, the cardinals entered the conclave, where they ſpent thirty days in diſputes before they were determined in their choice of a ſucceſſor to the papal dignity. According to ſome authors, *Nicolas Scomberg*, a *German*, and archbiſhop of *Capua*, was propoſed as a candidate[o]; but the chief conteſt was occaſioned by the cardinals *Colonna* and *Medicis*, the firſt of whom was ſupported by the intereſt of the king of *France*, and the laſt by that of the emperor. After long diſputes, the cardinal of *Medicis*, having increaſed his party by promiſing the vice-chancellorſhip of the church to cardinal *Urſino*, was at length unanimouſly elected on the 18th of *November*, and aſſuming the name of *Clement* VII. was ſolemnly crowned on the 25th of the ſame month[p] (D). As *Clement* was in the poſſeſſion of the ſtate of *Florence*, had been long practiſed in the adminiſtration of the affairs

Clement VII. *is elected.*

[i] SPOND. Annal. FONTANI Hiſt. bell. Rhod. [k] GUICCIARD. l. xv. BELCAR. l. xvii. [l] SPOND. Annal. SLEIDAN. l. iv. STRUV. per. x. ſect. iv. COCHLÆ. de act. Luther, p. 85. SECKEND. l. i. p. 255. PALLAV. l. ii. GOLDAST. in Conſt. imper. t. ii. [m] MARIAN. in Summar. BULL. t. i. Hadrian VI. Conſt. I. [n] ONUPHR. SPOND. Annal. GUICCIARD. l. xv. [o] Addit. ad CIACON. [p] GUICCIARD. ONUPHR. MASSON in vit. Clement. VII. Jov. in vit. Pomp. Colon.

(C) He was buried in the church of St. *Peter*'s, with this epitaph: Adrianus *papa VI. hic ſitus eſt,---qui nihil ſibi infelicius in vita,---quam quod imperaret---duxit* (4).

(D) *Clement* VII. was the natural ſon of *Julian de Medicis*, who was murdered in the church of *Florence*, by *Pazzi* and other conſpirators. He was educated with great care by his uncle *Laurence*; after whoſe death, when his family was baniſhed from *Florence*, he was created knight of *Rhodes*, and grand prior of *Capua*. *Leo* X. his kinſman, conferred upon him the archbiſhopric of *Florence*, and dignity of cardinal, and likewiſe created him chancellor of the *Roman* church, which is the higheſt office in the pope's court (5).

(4) *Spond. Annal.* (5) *Spond. Annal.*

of the *Roman* church, and was diſtinguiſhed for his gravity, conſtancy, and application to a
buſineſs, great expectations were raiſed among the Chriſtian princes upon the news of his election. The duke of *Ferrara* immediately laid aſide his deſign upon *Modena*, and *John de Saſſatello* ceaſed all hoſtilities in *Romagna*, into which province, during the vacancy of the ſee, he had marched with a conſiderable body of troops [q] (E).

*He refuſes to become a party in the war betwixt the emperor and the king of* France. A. D. 1524.

*CLEMENT*, ſoon after his election, received an embaſſy from the emperor and the king of *France*, each of whom endeavoured to draw him into their alliance; but he refuſed at firſt to engage in their diſputes, otherwiſe than as mediator; and in the beginning of the year ſent legates to them, and to the king of *England*, to exhort them to a peace or truce, which propoſition was rejected by all the princes. About the ſame time he ſent the cardinal *Campegio*, as his legate, to the diet of *Nuremberg*, who, at the deſire of the princes, entered the b
city without any pomp, not to give any offence to the *Lutheran* party, which was there very powerful. He complained to the diet, that the ban publiſhed againſt the *Lutherans* was not put in execution; but the princes replying, that the moſt proper means to reſtore the public peace, was to redreſs immediately the grievances they complained of, he declared that he had ſeen a copy of the *Centum Gravamina* at *Rome*, which neither the pope nor cardinals believed to have been publiſhed by order of the *Germanic* body, as it contained many things derogatory to the authority of the apoſtolic ſee, on which articles he had no commiſſion to treat; but that he was willing to regulate, with their concurrence, other matters tending to reform the abuſes in *Germany* [r]. He accordingly drew up a form of reformation, which was rejected by the princes, as it regarded only the inferior clergy, and tended in the main to c
enlarge the pope's authority, and that of the eccleſiaſtic princes of the empire, to the prejudice of the lay princes [s]. The diet therefore, on the 18th of *April*, publiſhed a decree for obſerving the edict of *Worms* as far as poſſible, and for ſolliciting the emperor and pope to convoke a free council in *Germany* [t]. The legate objected to ſeveral articles in this new edict, as derogatory to the authority of the pope; but the diet breaking up, he went with the archduke *Ferdinand*, the two dukes of *Bavaria*, the archbiſhop of *Saltzburg*, the biſhops of *Trent* and *Ratisbon*, with the deputies of nine other biſhops, to the city of *Ratisbon*, where, on the 6th of *July*, they entered into a mutual alliance, and publiſhed a decree, ordering the edict of *Worms* to be fully executed within their reſpective dominions. On the other hand, the deputies of the ſtates, that had embraced *Luther*'s doctrines, aſſembled in d
the ſame month at *Spire*, where they ordered all the controverted articles of religion to be collected by their own divines, with the intention of preſenting them at the following diet, which was to be held in the ſame city in the month of *November*.

*The* German *princes inſiſt upon a redreſs of their grievances.*

*A league formed for the ſupport of the religion of the church of* Rome.

THIS diet, however, never aſſembled; for the pope having written to the emperor, complaining of the proceedings of the diet of *Nuremberg*, *Charles*, who had great need of *Clement*'s aſſiſtance againſt the *French* in *Italy*, wrote from *Burgos* in *Spain* to the *German* princes, annulling the edict of *Nuremberg*, and prohibiting the aſſembling of the diet at *Spire* [u]. Notwithſtanding this declaration of the emperor in favour of the papal authority, *Clement* ſtill refuſed to join in the alliance againſt *France*: however, he ſecretly granted 70,000 ducats to the duke of *Bourbon*, the commander of the imperialiſts; who receiving a e
reinforcement of 6000 *Germans*, obliged the *French* army to evacuate *Italy*, and entering *Provence* took *Aix*, and ſeveral other places, and laid ſiege to *Marſeilles*; but *Francis* I. marching to the relief of that city, with an army of 40,000 men, he was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, after forty days open trenches, and retreat with precipitation into *Lombardy*. *Francis* purſued him, retook *Milan*, and ſeveral other towns, and inveſted the city of *Pavia*, which he ſoon reduced to great extremity. The pope, by this unexpected ſucceſs, was prevailed upon to conclude a treaty with him, and, according to ſome authors, adviſed him to attack the kingdom of *Naples* [w], though *Guicciardini* expreſly affirms, that he diſſuaded him from that expedition, and that the king intended chiefly by that diverſion, to oblige the *Spaniards* to ſurrender *Pavia*. However it was, it proved very fatal both to the f
king of *France* and the pope; for the imperialiſts having received ſeveral reinforcements from *Germany*, on the 24th of *February* attacked the *French* army, weakened by the detachment to *Naples*, and harraſſed with a ſiege that had continued four months, and after a fierce engagement of ſome hours, entirely defeated them, and took the *French* king, with many nobles and chief officers, priſoners.

*The* French *are expelled from* Italy.

Francis I. *repaſſes the* Alps *with an army, and concludes a treaty with the pope.*

A. D. 1525.

[q] GUICCIARD. ut ſupra. [r] SLEIDAN. COCHLÆ. ut ſupra. [s] PALLAVICIN. l. ii. c. 10. [t] STRUV. period. x. p. 992. SLEIDAN. ut ſupra. [u] HENTER. l. ix. c. 1. RAINALD. ad. an. 1524. SLEIDAN. ut ſupra. [w] MEM. DE BELLAI. l. ii. D. ANTON. DE VERA. Hiſt. Carol. V.

(E) This year ſome of *Luther*'s followers were perſecuted in *France*; and at *Bruſſels*, two *Auguſtine* monks were burnt, for denying the ſupremacy of the pope (6).

(6) *Idem ibid. Sleidan, l.* iv. *Ezov. hoc an. Eraſm. Epiſt.*

DURING

a During these hostilities, the pope, on the 21st of *December*, had published a bull for the celebration of a jubilee, to commence at *Christmas*. He accordingly on that day opened the *Holy Gate* of *St. Peter*'s with great solemnity; but by the spreading of *Luther*'s doctrines, indulgences had greatly sunk in their value, so that very few persons appeared at *Rome*, especially as their pilgrimage was rendered dangerous by the great number of troops in *Lombardy* [x]. Upon the news of the victory at *Pavia*, all *Italy* was struck with consternation, but the pope especially was filled with great terror, as he had a few weeks before published his alliance with the *French* king, which had greatly irritated the emperor. The *Venetians* likewise were very apprehensive of the emperor's resentment; but being informed that the king of *England*, from a jealousy of the emperor's over-grown power, inclined to favour b *France*, they immediately solicited the pope to enter into a league for the defence of *Italy*, and proposed to hire 10,000 *Swiss*, which, with the *Italian* troops, would be sufficient to oppose the imperialists, who, since the victory of *Pavia*, had even mutinied for want of pay. But *Clement*, by the arrival of his secretary, the archbishop of *Capua*, from *Lombardy*, having received some hopes of an accommodation, preferred his particular interests to the general welfare, and concluded a treaty with the viceroy of *Naples*, who stipulated that the emperor *Charles* should oblige the duke of *Ferrara* to restore *Reggio*, should allow the pope to dispose of all benefices in the kingdom of *Naples*, and should grant the investiture of *Milan* to *Francis Sforza*; on which account the pope ordered the *Florentines*, who were included in the treaty, to pay 100,000 ducats to the viceroy, and promised to pay another 100,000 c upon being put in possession of *Reggio*.

*A jubilee celebrated at* Rome.

*The pope seeks an accommodation with the emperor:*

The *Venetians* had twenty days allowed them for acceding to this treaty, which was concluded on the first of *April*, but they refused to strengthen their enemy by furnishing them with money, which might be employed to better purpose against them: however, many other *Italian* states followed the example of the pope, and purchased their peace with money. *Clement* being disappointed by the emperor, who refused to ratify the treaty concluded with the viceroy, he entered into a confederacy against him, a few months afterwards, with the marquis of *Pescara* his general, the *Venetians*, and the duke of *Milan*, whose chancellor, offended at the extravagant conditions on which the emperor offered the investiture of the *Milanese*, formed the design of expelling the *Spaniards* and *Germans* from *Italy*. The d pope promised to give the investiture of *Naples* to the marquis, who on that account engaged to disperse the imperial army in such a manner, that it should not be able to make any resistance against the confederates; but instead of fulfilling his engagements, he discovered the whole treaty to the emperor, who on that pretence seized the duchy of *Milan* [y].

*his offers being rejected, he enters into a confederacy against him.*

The great commotions in *Italy* prevented the pope from attending to the affairs of *Germany*, where the enemies of the *Roman* church were divided into several sects. *Muncer* and *Pliffer*, and several other anabaptist preachers, had excited the peasants to take arms against the nobles and magistrates, but they were at last reduced, with the loss of 100,000 men. The emperor, upon the news of this general insurrection, wrote to the *German* princes, appointing a diet to be held at *Augsburg*, which was deferred till the following year by the arch-e duke *Ferdinand* [z]; and, in the mean time, a controversy about the eucharist was carried on, with great warmth, betwixt *Luther* and *Zuinglius*, whose opinion was embraced by *Oecolampadius*, minister at *Basil*. Though *Clement* did not interfere in the affairs of *Germany*, yet being informed by the queen regent of *France*, that the doctrines of *Luther* began to be attended to in that kingdom, he wrote to the parliament of *Paris*, exhorting them to be vigilant in opposing the *German* heresy, and defending the ancient religion [a].

*Great commotions in* Germany *occasioned by anabaptists.*

Being recovered from his consternation, occasioned by the victory of *Pavia*, the pope wrote to the emperor with great earnestness in behalf of the duke of *Milan*: but *Charles* delaying, upon various pretences, to declare expressly in what manner he intended to dispose of the *Milanese*, *Clement* soon after concluded an alliance with the *Venetians* and the king of f *France*, who, in consequence of a treaty with *Charles* at *Madrid*, had returned to his own kingdom. Immediately after the papal and *Venetian* troops took the field, under the command of the duke of *Urbino*; and all *Lombardy*, especially the city of *Milan*, being ready to revolt from the *Spaniards*, the imperial ambassador at *Rome* was very earnest with the pope to abandon *Sforza*. *Clement* rejected all his offers; however, the negligence and bad conduct of the duke of *Urbino* gave leisure to the imperialists to fortify themselves; and they having received some reinforcements, not only quieted the disorders in *Milan*, but obliged *Sforza* to surrender the castle, while the duke of *Urbino* continued inactive, waiting for succours from *Switzerland*.

Clement *concludes an alliance with the king of* France *and the* Venetians. A. D. 1526.

The imperialists were not only successful in *Lombardy*, but by the assistance of the family of *Colonna*, who were wholly addicted to the emperor's interest, surprised the pope in *Rome*,

*Is surprized by the* Neapolitans *at* Rome.

[x] Spond Annal. Guicciard. l. xvi. [y] Brantome Vie du Marq. de Pesc. Anton. de Vera Hist. Carol. V. p. 124. [z] Sleidan. l 5. [a] Idem ibid.

and obliged him to agree to a truce with the emperor for four months, to forgive the outrage, and recal his troops from the *Milaneſe* [b]. The *Neapolitan* troops, however, had no ſooner retired from *Rome*, than *Clement*, refuſing to fulfil the articles which he had been compelled to promiſe, depoſed the cardinal of *Colonna*, declared all his family rebels, and ſending a conſiderable body of troops into their territories, plundered and burnt a great number of their towns. The cardinal of *Colonna*, in the mean time, reſiding at *Naples*, appealed to a future general council; and knowing that the name of a council was a great terror to the pope, he cauſed writings to be fixed to the church doors in *Rome*, citing him, in the name of the emperor, to appear at *Spire* before a council [c]. A general diet of the empire had been held in that city in the months of *July* and *Auguſt*, in which the party of the *Lutherans* appeared more powerful than ever. The princes propoſed to petition the emperor to aſſemble a general council, or at leaſt a national one, to ſettle the diſputes about religion; and it was reſolved, that, till the celebration of the council, each prince ſhould ſo govern his ſubjects, as he ſhould be able to give an account to God and the emperor [d]. *Charles* likewiſe being greatly exaſperated againſt the pope, for abſolving the king of *France* from his obligations to obſerve the treaty of *Madrid*, and for entering into an alliance with him and the *Venetians*, he wrote a long letter to him, complaining of his proceedings, and appealing from him to a general council, which he inſiſted upon being immediately convoked [e]. In the mean time continual ſuccours arrived in *Lombardy* from *Spain* and *Germany*, and the viceroy of *Naples* returned to that kingdom from *Spain* with a ſtrong reinforcement. The pope likewiſe, having received a ſubſidy of 30,000 crowns from the king of *England*, paid no regard to the remonſtrance of the emperor, but ſent his troops againſt the kingdom of *Naples*, which was likewiſe at the ſame time attacked by his gallies, in conjunction with thoſe of *France* and *Venice*. The land-forces made themſelves maſters of *Aquila*, while thoſe at ſea took *Salerno*, *Sorrento*, and ſeveral other maritime places [f]. However, the pope not being able to bear the expence of the war, as he received very little aſſiſtance from the king of *France*, and as the imperialiſts were daily growing more powerful both in *Naples* and *Lombardy*, he agreed to a truce for eight months with the viceroy of *Naples*, in conſequence of which the conquered places on both ſides were immediately reſtored.

*Liberty of conſcience allowed to the* Lutherans *in* Germany.

A. D. 1527.

*The pope agrees to a truce with the viceroy of* Naples.

THE chief motive which induced the pope to conclude a truce, was the fear of an invaſion of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate from the imperialiſts in *Lombardy*; for the duke of *Bourbon* having left 7 or 8000 men at *Milan*, had marched with about 30,000 men towards *Bologna*, the greateſt part of whom were *Germans*, and ſome *Lutherans* [g], who for five months that they had been in *Italy*, had received almoſt no pay. During their reſidence in the *Milaneſe* they had lived at free quarters, and ſubſiſted on their march by levying heavy contributions; and tho' *Bourbon* publiſhed that his intention was to march to *Naples*, yet it was generally believed that he propoſed only to ravage *Tuſcany*. The pope therefore, by the truce concluded with the viceroy, promiſed to pay *Bourbon* 60,000 ducats, on condition that he withdrew his army from the eccleſiaſtical ſtate and the territories of *Florence*; and as he had reſtored the towns in the kingdom of *Naples*, he, in full aſſurance of a peace, immediately diſmiſſed the greateſt part of his army. The duke of *Bourbon*, who had already advanced to the *Bologneſe*, refuſed his conſent to the truce, notwithſtanding the viceroy had come to his camp, and had offered to cauſe 140,000 ducats to be paid to him within two months. As his troops had already mutinied twice, and allowed him only the ſhadow of command, he was conſtrained to ſubmit to their impetuoſity, they calling out in a tumultuous manner, *to Rome*, *to Rome*. He accordingly, partly by inclination and partly by conſtraint, continued his march; and as there was no army to interrupt him, and as he was not encumbered with baggage or artillery, he arrived before *Rome* on the 5th of *May*, and demanded a paſſage through the city to *Naples*. His demand being refuſed, next morning he aſſaulted the city; and tho' he was killed himſelf in the beginning of the attack, yet his troops about ſun-ſet gained the place by ſtorm, and while the pope and the cardinals retired to the caſtle of *St. Angelo*, they were employed in committing all manner of violences and barbarities. The ſacking continued for ſeveral days: the *Lutherans* diſcharged their fury againſt the church of *St. Peter*, and the tombs of the popes, and dragging the bodies of the ſaints from their ſhrines, trampled them under their feet, while the *Spaniards* and *Italians*, more rapacious and cruel than the *Germans*, tortured the nobles, prelates, and magiſtrates, to oblige them to pay exceſſive ranſoms. As the duke of *Urbino*, tho' at the head of a numerous army, delayed advancing to the relief of *Rome*, the pope was obliged to capitulate with the prince of *Orange*, who, upon the death of *Bourbon*, ſucceeded to the

*The imperial general in* Lombardy *refuſes his conſent to the truce, and marches to* Rome,

*which is taken by ſtorm, and ſacked.*

[b] GUICCIARD. l. xvii. SPOND. Annal. [c] GUICCIARDINI, ut ſupra. JOVI. in Vite Pomp. Card. [d] SLEIDAN. l. vi. [e] Ap. GOLDAST. Conſt. imper. tit. i. [f] GUICCIARD. l. xviii. [g] Jov. in Prolog.

chief

a chief command. It was agreed that the pope ſhould immediately pay 100,000 ducats, and 300,000 more within two months; that he ſhould put into the hands of the emperor the caſtle of *St. Angelo*, *Civita Vecchia*, *Citta Caſtellana*, *Parma*, *Placenza*, and *Modena*; and that upon paying the firſt 150,000, he ſhould be conducted with the cardinals to *Gaeta* or *Naples*, but until that payment ſhe ſhould remain a priſoner. Upon theſe and ſome other conditions, proviſions were carried into the caſtle, where he continued ſix months longer a priſoner, not having money to complete the firſt payment [h]. Mean while the plague raged with great violence in *Rome*, by which great numbers of the imperialiſts daily periſhed. The *Florentines*, upon the news of the pope's calamity, expelled *Hippolito* and *Alexander de Medicis* from their city, and creating a *Gonfalonier*, reſtored the antient republican govern-
b ment. They likewiſe broke the ſtatues of *Leo* X. and of *Clement*, and perſecuted all thoſe that favoured that family. About the ſame time the emperor, being informed of the great ſucceſs of his arms in *Italy*, diſſembled his joy, and even put on mourning, and ordered proceſſions and public prayers, to implore the aſſiſtance of heaven for the diſtreſſed church. However, his actions did not correſpond with theſe profeſſions; for, to draw all the advantage that he could from the pope's diſtreſs, he delayed giving any orders to ſet him at liberty, tho' the plague was then very mortal, not only in *Rome*, but even in *St. Angelo*.

*The pope is detained a priſoner in the caſtle of* St. Angelo.

NOTWITHSTANDING this proſperous appearance of the emperor's affairs in *Italy*, by his too great ſecurity he ſoon found them in a worſe ſituation than in the beginning of the
c campaign; for while he neglected to reinforce his army, two thirds of which were cut off with the plague, the king of *France* prevailed with *Henry* VIII. of *England* to enter into the league with the *Venetians*, and other *Italian* ſtates, againſt him. In the beginning of *Auguſt*, he ſent an army into *Italy*, under the command of *Lautrec*, who took *Alexandria*, and ſome other places: and *Genoa* likewiſe ſubmitting to the *French*, he paſſed the *Po* about the middle of *October*, with the intention of marching to *Naples*. *Charles*, being informed of the conqueſts of *Lautrec*, immediately ſent deputies to *Rome* to negotiate with the pope, with whom they concluded a treaty, much to the advantage of the emperor; but the conditions being ſuch, that it was impoſſible for the pope to fulfil them, by the aſſiſtance of cardinal *Colonna*, to whom he was reconciled, he eſcaped, on the 9th of *December*, from the
d caſtle, and was conducted to *Orvieto* [i].

*He eſcapes,*

SOON after he received an ambaſſador from the king of *England*, who deſired him to renew his alliance with the confederates, and to declare his marriage with the queen *Catherine* null, which the divines and lawyers of *England* had already affirmed to be unlawful, as ſhe had been firſt married to his elder brother prince *Arthur* (F). *Clement* was likewiſe ſollicited by the king of *France* to declare for the league; but as he had ſuffered ſeverely for interfering in the emperor's diſputes with *France*, and by the firſt article of the late treaty in *St. Angelo* had promiſed not to act againſt him, he excuſed himſelf to the *French* and *Engliſh* ambaſſadors, and declared for a neutrality. He ſeemed inclined to ſatisfy the king of *England* in his demand of a divorce, but ſtarted ſeveral difficulties as to the manner of proceed-
e ing, which only heightened the king's hopes, and increaſed his importunity [k]. At length, however, he appointed ſeveral cardinals and divines to examine the validity of the marriage, who unanimouſly declared, that it was agreeable to the law of God [l]. This examination of the cardinals was perhaps only propoſed by the pope as a means of delay, as he afterwards protracted the time for the deciſion of the affair upon various pretences. The *Engliſh* ambaſſadors again urging, that they could prove the diſpenſation of *Julius* II. in favour of the marriage not canonical, he appointed a ſecond examination; and, at the deſire of the cardinals, two judges were named to decide the affair in *England*, namely, the cardinals *Wolſey* and *Campegio*, to which laſt he gave a bull, annulling the marriage, with leave to ſhew it to the king and *Wolſey*, but with expreſs orders not to give ſentence till he ſhould
f receive a ſecond mandate from *Rome* [m].

*and is ſollicited by the king of* England *to grant him a divorce from his queen.* A. D. 1528.

[h] GUICCIARD. l. xviii. SPOND. Annal. Jov. in Vite Pomp. Colon. REINER, l. vi. p. 114. MYCON. Hiſt. Reform. c. 14. Mem. de DU BELLAI, l. iii. CÆSAR GLORIER. Hiſt. expugnat. Urb. [i] BZOV. hoc an. Jov. in Vite Pomp. Colon. & Hiſtor. l. xxv. [k] GUICCIARD. ut ſupra. [l] SPOND. Annal. [m] GUICCIAD. l. xix. BELCAR. l xix. GODWIN. SANDER. de ſchiſm. l. i.

(F) *Henry* VIII. had then lived with his queen many years, and is ſaid to have requeſted this divorce from various motives. He himſelf pretended a ſcruple of conſcience, on account of his queen's former marriage with his brother, and was beſides very deſirous of having male iſſue, which he could not then expect from *Katherine*. His love for *Anne Bullyn* is aſſigned by ſome as his chief motive for objecting to his firſt marriage; and others affirm, that cardinal *Wolſey* chiefly excited him to think of a divorce, and intended for his ſecond wife *Margaret Atençon*, the ſiſter of the king of *France*, thereby to gratify his own reſentment againſt the emperor, who was nephew of queen *Katherine*; and had not only baulked him twice in his expectations of the pontificate, but had lately refuſed him the archbiſhopric of *Toledo*, the richeſt benefice in Chriſtendom (1).

(7) *Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation.*

*The emperor is greatly ſuperior to the allies in* Italy.

THIS dilatory proceeding of the pope was owing to the unexpected ſucceſs of the emperor's affairs in *Italy*; on which account *Clement* began to think of abandoning the neutrality, and attaching himſelf to *Charles*, by whoſe aſſiſtance he might recover the dominion of *Florence*. *Lautrec*, the general of the league againſt the emperor, had, about the middle of *January*, marched from *Bologna* to invade *Naples*, great part of which kingdom he quickly reduced. The remains of the imperial army, which for nine months had committed all manner of violences in *Rome*, upon the motion of *Lautrec*'s army, left that city, and proceeded to the defence of *Naples*; but before their departure, not content to have ſtript the city of all its ornaments and riches, they inſiſted upon receiving two months pay. Their joining the *Neapolitan* troops did not interrupt the progreſs of *Lautrec*, who having reduced a great many cities, about the end of *April* ſat down before *Naples*; but here he expe- b
rienced a reverſe of fortune, for during the ſiege, which continued four months, the plague carried off almoſt his whole army, and at laſt proved mortal to himſelf. The remains of the army retired to *Averſa*, where, in their turn, they were beſieged by the garriſons of *Naples*, and ſome other towns, and obliged to capitulate on very diſadvantageous terms; while *Doria*, the *Genoeſe* admiral, deſerted their alliance, and prevailed with that city to declare for the emperor.

DURING theſe tranſactions the pope, who had fixed his court at *Viterbo*, and recovered ſome places that had been ſeized during his confinement, ſeemed inclined, in the beginning of the campaign, to declare for the league; but obſerving the ſucceſs of the imperialiſts, he entered into a private negotiation with *Charles*, before the departure of *Campegio* from *Rome*, who was ordered on that account to delay giving judgment on the divorce as long as poſſible. To prevent giving ſuſpicion to the allies, he pretended to be wholly occupied in reforming the church, and publiſhed his reſolution of going into *Germany* to oppoſe the progreſs of *Lutheraniſm*. The princes of that perſuaſion having entered into a league for their own defence, to which they invited the ſacramentarians, or followers of *Zuinglius*, whoſe doctrines had been received this year in *Berne*, *Conſtance*, and *Geneva*, in conſequence of which the magiſtrates of *Straſburgh* publiſhed an order prohibiting the celebration of the maſs [n] in their juriſdiction (G).

A. D. 1529. THE pope had no real intention of going to *Germany*, but was chiefly attentive to the affairs of *Italy*; and as the king of *France* was ſtill in poſſeſſion of ſeveral places in *Naples*, he d
promiſed to adhere to the league, if he would oblige the *Venetians* to reſtore *Cervia* and *Ravenna*, which they had ſeized during his impriſonment [o]. At the ſame time he continued his negotiations with the emperor; and as he had greater expectations from him, and as he and his brother *Ferdinand*, king of *Hungary*, had both proteſted againſt judging of the affair of the divorce in *England*, he ſent a nuncio to *Campegio*, with orders to burn the bull, and to delay the trial. Soon after, having concluded a treaty with *Charles* at *Barcelona*, and queen *Katherine* having appealed from *Campegio* and *Wolſey* as partial judges, he wrote to his legates, declaring his intention to judge the cauſe of the divorce at *Rome*, with which proceeding the king of *England* was greatly offended [p]. By the treaty with the emperor, e
which was publiſhed in the end of *June*, the pope promiſed to grant the inveſtiture of *Naples* to *Charles*, for the yearly tribute of one white horſe; but the conceſſions made by the emperor were very advantageous to *Clement*, *Charles* engaging to eſtabliſh *Alexander de Medicis*, grand nephew of the pope, as prince and ſovereign of the city and territory of *Florence*, and to give him his natural daughter *Margaret* in marriage, with a dowry of 20,000 ducats yearly revenue; to put the pope in poſſeſſion of *Cervia*, *Ravenna*, *Modena*, *Reggio*, and *Rubiera*, to aſſiſt him in reducing the duke of *Ferrara*, and to reduce the *Lutherans* by force to the obedience of the church [q].

*The pope concludes a treaty with him.*

THO' the affairs of the king of *France* were quite ruined in *Italy*, yet *Charles* a few weeks after concluded a treaty of peace with him at *Cambray*, as the grand ſignor, who had in- f
vaded *Hungary* with an immenſe army, threatened an irruption into *Auſtria*, and the tranquility of *Germany* was in great danger of being diſturbed by the diſputes about religion. In conſequence of his mandate, the ſtates of *Germany* had aſſembled at *Spire* on the 15th of *March*, and, after long debates, publiſhed a decree, revoking the former edict, which allowed liberty of conſcience, as they alledged it had been productive of great miſchiefs. Several princes, and the deputies of fourteen imperial cities, proteſted againſt this edict, and appealed to the emperor and a free council, from whence the name of *Proteſtants* was given

*The* Lutheran *princes proteſt againſt the edict of* Spire.

[n] SLEIDAN. l. vi. COCHLÆ. ut ſupra. [o] GUICCIARD. l. xix. [p] Idem ibid. SANDER. ut ſupra.
[q] GUICCIARD. l. xix. DUMONT. Corps Diplom. t. iv. par. ii.

(G) *Clement* this year confirmed the order of capuchins, which had been inſtituted three years before, by one *Matthew Baſio*, a monk, born in the territory of *Romagna* (8).

(8) *Spond. Annal.*

to

a to all thoſe ſects in *Germany* that oppoſed the doctrines of the *Romiſh* church [r]. After the diſmiſſing of the diet, the proteſtants ſent ambaſſadors to the emperor to juſtify their proceedings; but *Charles*, who had then arrived in *Italy* from *Spain*, would not admit of their excuſe, and ordered them to obey the edict, under pain of his diſpleaſure. The ambaſſadors informing the proteſtants of this determination of the emperor, they aſſembled in the end of *November* at *Smalcald*, where they propoſed to enter into an alliance for their mutual defence.

*The pope and* Charles V. *have a conference at* Bologna;

In the beginning of the ſame month *Charles* and *Clement* both arrived at *Bologna*, where they had ſeveral conferences concerning the ſuppreſſing the reformation in *Germany*, and the reducing of the *Florentines*, who ſtill refuſed to ſubmit to the family of the *Medicis*.
b Beſides, at the ſolicitation of the pope, the emperor reſtored the duchy of *Milan* to *Francis Sforza*, and concluded a peace and an alliance with the *Venetians*, who, among other articles, reſtored to the emperor the towns they poſſeſſed in *Apulia*, and to the pope all that they had ſeized in *Romagna* [s]. By this laſt treaty tranquility was reſtored to *Italy* after a long and deſtructive war of eight years continuance; however, the city of *Florence* muſt ſtill be excepted, which, refuſing to ſubmit to the pope, was at this time inveſted by the imperialiſts. Mean while *Charles* being earneſtly ſollicited by his brother *Ferdinand*, and the other electors, to return to *Germany*, would not proceed to *Rome*, but received the imperial crown at *Bologna*, on the 24th of *February*, being the day of his birth, and that on which he had gained the ſignal victory of *Pavia*. A few weeks after, having obtained a promiſe from the pope
c to conſent to a general council, if it ſhould be found neceſſary, for the extirpation of the *Lutheran* hereſy, he ſet out for *Germany*, attended by cardinal *Campegio*.

A. D. 1530.

*where the latter is crowned emperor.*

The pope, after his departure, returned to *Rome*; and, in the mean time, the imperial and papal troops continuing the ſiege of *Florence*, that city, after being reduced to the greateſt extremity, was at length obliged to capitulate on the 9th of *Auguſt*, ſubmitting their form of government entirely to the pleaſure of the emperor, on condition that their liberties ſhould not be violated, and promiſing to pay 80,000 ducats within a few days to the beſieging army, provided a full pardon ſhould be granted to all thoſe who had injured the pope or his friends. In conſequence of this capitulation, the articles of which were afterwards obſerved with very little fidelity, *Alexander de Medicis* was acknowledged prince and ſovereign
d of *Florence*, with power to receive and ſend ambaſſadors, to coin money, to conclude alliances, and to make peace and war as he ſhould think proper [t].

*The pope's nephew declared ſovereign of* Florence.

During theſe proceedings in *Italy*, the emperor had aſſembled a diet at *Augſburg*, to conſult of the affairs of religion and of a war againſt the *Turks*. A few days after the opening of the diet, the *Lutherans* preſented their confeſſion of faith, which, after ſeveral objections, was publickly read in the emperor's palace on the 25th of *June*, and being examined by the popiſh doctors, a refutation of it was read in the ſame place on the 3d of *Auguſt*. The emperor and the catholic princes approved of this refutation, and deſired that it might be received by the proteſtant princes: but they ſtill adhered to their former confeſſion, and demanded that a free general council might be called, to whoſe determina-
e tion they would ſubmit. Several private conferences were afterwards held for an accommodation of both parties, and the emperor privately ſollicited the elector of *Saxony*, the langrave of *Heſſe*, and the marquis of *Brandenburgh*, by temporal motives, to be re-united to the church of *Rome*; but his endeavours proving ineffectual, he, on the 22d of *September*, publiſhed a decree, declaring, that tho' the proteſtant confeſſion had been refuted by ſcripture, yet he allowed them till the 15th of *April* to conſider of returning to the boſom of the church; in the mean time prohibiting them from publiſhing any thing concerning religion, and promiſing to uſe his endeavours with the pope and Chriſtian princes, that a general council ſhould be convoked within eighteen months. Next day the proteſtants proteſted againſt this decree, affirming, that their confeſſion had not been refuted by
f ſcripture; and, after their departure, their deputies, who remained at the diet, requeſted the emperor to grant a general peace through the empire, and liberty of conſcience in affairs of religion. The emperor, inſtead of granting their demand, entered into a league for the defence of the old religion, with the catholic princes and deputies that ſtill remained at the diet; and on the 19th of *November* publiſhed an edict, prohibiting any other religion than that of the church of *Rome* [u].

*The proteſtants preſent their confeſſion of faith to the diet at* Augſburgh.

A. D. 1531.

Although the emperor had acted with great zeal in defence of the popiſh cauſe, *Clement* nevertheleſs was greatly diſſatisfied with the proceedings of the diet. He blamed the emperor for allowing the proteſtant confeſſion to be read, and for conſenting to aboliſh ſome ceremonies; but what chiefly offended him, was his promiſe for procuring a general council,

[r] Sleidan. l. vi. Pallav. l. ii. c. 18. Rainald, ad hunc an. [s] Guicciard. l. xix. in fin. [t] Idem l. xx. Rainald, ad an. 1530. [u] Sleidan. l. vii. Celestein de confeſ. Auguſt. Muller. l. iii. c. 39. Mycon. Hiſt. Reform. c. 15.

the thoughts of which ſtruck him with great apprehenſions: he therefore aſked the advice of the cardinals, who declared that the convocation of a general council at that time, when the *Turks* were threatening to invade *Germany*, was very improper [w]. The pope likewiſe thought himſelf greatly aggrieved by the ſentence which *Charles* ſoon after gave in favour of the duke of *Ferrara*, by which *Reggio* and *Modena* were declared to belong to the duke, who was ordered to pay the pope 100,000 ducats, for a new inveſtiture of his duchy. *Clement* proteſted againſt this ſentence, and refuſed to accept of the money which was offered him by the duke, who, to excite the emperor againſt him, wrote to *Charles* that he had intercepted two letters of the pope to the kings of *France* and *England*, by which he promiſed to grant them whatever they ſhould deſire, provided they would, by any means, prevent the aſſembling of a general council. The pope challenged the duke to produce the letters, aſſured the emperor of his innocence, and ſoon after ſent his nephew, the cardinal of *Medicis*, to *Germany*, to attend him as legate in his expedition againſt the *Turks*, promiſing him likewiſe a ſubſidy of 40,000 ducats a month during that war [x].

*Reggio and Modena declared to belong to the duke of Ferrara..*

A. D. 1532.

*CHARLES*, about that time, held an imperial diet at *Ratisbon*, to conſult of the means to quiet the diſturbances in *Germany*, with regard to religion, and to provide againſt the invaſion of the grand ſignor, who was making immenſe preparations to invade *Auſtria*. As he had offended the proteſtant princes the year before, by cauſing his brother *Ferdinand* to be elected king of the *Romans*, and by his rigorous proceedings againſt the *Lutherans*, they refuſed to appear at the diet, and aſſembled by themſelves at *Schweinfurt*, where they compoſed thirteen articles, for ſecuring the liberty of their religion, and the rights of the empire, which were rejected by the emperor. However, the proteſtants ſoon after aſſembling at *Nuremberg*, the elector palatine and the archbiſhop of *Mentz*, who acted as mediators, agreed to an accommodation with them on the 23d of *June*, which a few weeks after was ratified by the emperor, who ordered all proſecutions of the proteſtants to be ſuſpended, and a general peace to be obſerved through all *Germany*; and that all perſons ſhould enjoy a liberty of conſcience, till the aſſembling of a general council, which he would endeavour to prevail with the pope to convoke within ſix months, to be aſſembled a year after [y]. In conſequence of this peace, the proteſtants, with great ardour, raiſed the ſupplies for the *Turkiſh* expedition, and *Charles* ſoon found himſelf at the head of an army of near 200,000 men; however, the grand ſignor not daring to advance, and retiring to *Conſtantinople*, *Charles* likewiſe retreated to *Germany*, disbanded the greateſt part of his army, and marched with the *Italian* auxiliaries towards that kingdom. The *Italians* on their march, notwithſtanding the preſence of the emperor, plundered and burnt ſeveral towns and villages in *Germany*; and the cardinal legate, and one *Piermaria Roſſo*, being accuſed as the authors of the ſedition, the emperor ordered them to be apprehended, but quickly after ſet the cardinal at liberty, and excuſed himſelf to the pope.

*Liberty of conſcience again granted to the proteſtants.*

*The emperor returns to* Italy.

THOUGH *Clement* was greatly offended that the emperor had preſumed to grant liberty of conſcience to the proteſtants, yet he received him with great appearance of affection at *Bologna*; however, he ſtill refuſed to conſent to a general council, or to give his niece *Katherine* in marriage to *Francis Sforza*. A few weeks after he renewed the alliance with the emperor and the *Italian* ſtates, for ſecuring the peace of *Italy*, and to oppoſe the deſigns of the king of *France*, who ſtill formed pretenſions to the *Milaneſe*. *Clement* conſented very willingly to renew his alliance with the emperor, that he might thereby awe the kings of *France* and *England*, who, at a conference in the neighbourhood of *Boulogn*, had reſolved to compel the pope to grant their demands, by threatening to withdraw their kingdoms from the obedience of the apoſtolic ſee, as they ſuppoſed the *Turks* would find employment for the emperor in *Hungary*. By the unexpected retreat of the *Turks*, and the emperor's journey to *Italy*, their deſign was fruſtrated: however, *Henry* VIII. on his return to *England*, prohibited his ſubjects from all intercourſe with the court of *Rome*, prejudicial to the juriſdiction or prerogative of his kingdom; and *Cranmer*, archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, ſoon after pronouncing a ſentence of divorce betwixt him and queen *Katherine*, in the beginning of *April* he publicly married *Anne Bulleyn*, although the pope had prohibited, under ſevere cenſures, any proceedings in *England* with regard to the divorce. *Clement* being informed of the king's ſecond marriage, immediately laid him under an interdict, and threatened to excite all Chriſtendom againſt him.

*and renews his alliance with the pope;*

A. D. 1533.

ABOUT the ſame time alſo he ſent nuncios to *Scotland*, to exhort *James* V. not to follow the example of the king of *England*, and to puniſh the favourers of *Luther's* doctrines, who began to be pretty numerous in that kingdom. His nuncios were very ſucceſsful; for the king aſſembling his parliament at *Edinburgh*, it was decreed, to pay the accuſtomed and ancient obedience and honour to the church of *Rome* [z], and puniſh all heretics according

*who ſends nuncios to* Scotland *to oppoſe the progreſs of* Lutheraniſm;

[w] GUICCIARD. l. xx. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Ap. GOLDAST. Conſt. imper. t. i. & iii. SLEIDAN. l. viii. [z] LESLÆ, l. ix. COCHLÆ & ULEMBERG, in vit. Luther.

a to the ſeverity of the law. To oppoſe the progreſs of *Lutheraniſm* in *Sweden*, *Clement* likewiſe created *John Magnus*, the hiſtorian, archbiſhop of *Upſal*; and having given him the pall, ſent him to that kingdom with the authority of legate *à latere*. The pope ſoon after embarked at *Piſa* with his cardinals, and in a few days landed at *Marſeilles*, where he had a conference with the king of *France*. The reaſons he pretended for this journey were, a deſire to promote an expedition againſt the *Turks*, to obtain the conſent of the king of *France* to a general council, and to uſe his mediation in reconciling the king of *England* to the church of *Rome*; but his chief purpoſe was to conclude a marriage betwixt *Francis*, ſecond ſon of the duke of *Orleans*, and his own niece. The marriage was accordingly ſolemnized with great pomp; and though there was no treaty concluded be-
b twixt the pope and the king, *Clement* conſented to the ſeizing of the *Milaneſe* for his ſiſter's husband; and *Francis* declared, that he would not oppoſe the judicial proceedings of the pope againſt the king of *England*, whoſe ambaſſadors at *Marſeilles* appealed from the deciſion of the pope to a general council [a].

*and has a conference with the* French *king at* Marſeilles.

Clement, having continued ſome weeks in *France*, returned to *Rome* in the end of *December*, and ſoon after, at the inſtigation of the emperor's ambaſſadors, he excommunicated the king of *England* and all his ſubjects, becauſe he had rejected his lawful wife and married another. *Henry* VIII. was no ſooner informed of this ſentence, which was publiſhed on the 24th of *March*, than he withdrew his obedience from the church of *Rome*, and by an act of parliament aboliſhed the pope's authority in *England*, and even made it capital
c to name the word pope. He declared the king head of the church under Chriſt in *England*, ordered the archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to lay aſide his title of apoſtolic legate, and prohibited the payment of the annual tribute to *Rome*, commonly called St. *Peter's pence*. *Clement* ſurvived this ſentence but a few months, and died at *Rome* on the 25th of *September*, in the 57th year of his age. Although he had a great capacity, was very grave and moderate, yet, according to *Guicciardini*, he died hated by his whole court, as he was reckoned avaricious and deceitful, and ſeldom ſhewed any inclination to oblige [b].

*He excommunicates the king of* England, A. D. 1534.

*and dies at* Rome.

The funeral rites of *Clement* being performed with the uſual ceremonies, thirty-five cardinals entered the conclave on the 10th of *October*, and the ſame day, according to *Guicciardini*, or two days after according to others, unanimouſly elected cardinal *Farneſe* biſhop
d of *Oſtia*, then in the 67th year of his age, who by artfully ſeeming more infirm than he really was, thereby more eaſily acquired all the votes. The new pope aſſumed the name of *Paul* III. and was ſolemnly crowned on the 2d of *November*, to the great joy of the *Romans*, who had again got a pope of their own nation, after an interruption of 103 years (H). *Paul*, immediately after his promotion, created two of his relations cardinals, though they were both baſtards; and being deſirous to know the ſtate of *Germany*, he recalled his nuncio *Vengerius* from that country: however, he quickly ſent him back to feed the *Germans* with the hopes of a council [c], and to excite them againſt the king of *England* (I). He likewiſe ſent nuncios to the emperor, the king of *France*, and other princes, to declare that he had determined upon celebrating a council, though he had not yet fixed a time or
e place. As he was naturally inclined to peace, he endeavoured to effect an accommodation betwixt the emperor and the king of *France*; and obſerving a ſtrict neutrality with regard to their diſputes, he refuſed to renew the treaty of *Bologna*. *Peter Paul Verger*, the nuncio in *Germany*, endeavoured to prevail with the proteſtants to agree to the celebration of the council at *Mantua*; but the princes of that profeſſion aſſembling in the beginning of *December* at *Smalcald*, to renew their league, declared, that they deſired a free council, unawed by the pope, and inſiſted that it ſhould be held in *Germany*, according to the emperor's promiſe. They likewiſe concluded an alliance with *Henry* VIII. of *England*, but they rejected

Paul III. *is elected pope.*

A. D. 1535. *He declares his intention of calling a general council.*

[a] Guicciard. in fin. Sander. de ſchiſm. Ang. l. i. [b] Idem ibid. Jov. Hiſt. l. xxxii. Onuphr. in vit. & Chron. [c] Sleidan, l. ix.

(H) The anceſtors of cardinal *Farneſe* had formerly come from *Germany*, and ſettled in *Italy*. He himſelf was born at *Canino* in *Tuſcany*, his paternal ſeat, and, after enjoying ſome of the inferior dignities in the *Roman* court, he was created a cardinal deacon by *Alexander* VI. and being afterwards made a biſhop, he was nominated for the pontificate at the death of *Leo* X. and *Adrian* VII (1).

(I) This year *Ignatius Loyola*, a gentleman of *Biſcay*, inſtituted the order of jeſuits at *Mount Martre*, in the neighbourhood of *Paris*. He at firſt had followed the profeſſion of arms; but being dangerouſly wounded at the ſiege of *Pampeluna*, during his ſickneſs he made a vow to embrace an eccleſiaſtical life, and, after his recovery, he applied himſelf to ſtudy in *Spain* and *France*; and having undergone many dangers and difficulties, he, with ſix others, took the vows of his ſociety in the church of the virgin *Mary*. The chief of theſe vows are to renounce all temporal pomp and grandeur, to preſerve an inviolate chaſtity, to receive nothing for celebrating maſs, to go to preach at *Jeruſalem*, but if prevented from undertaking that pilgrimage, to offer their ſervice to the pope without any reſerve (2).

(1) *Onuphr. in vit. Paul III.* (2) *Spond. Annal.*

the offers of a treaty made by the king of *France*, as he desired them to enter into an alliance with him against the emperor [d]. a

*assists the emperor in his expedition against* Barbarossa *the pirate;*

During these proceedings in *Germany*, the pope granted the tythe of the *Gallican* church to the king of *France*, on condition that he should maintain thirty gallies for the defence of the *Italian* coasts. He also granted the tythe of the ecclesiastical revenues in *Spain* to the emperor, to assist him in his expedition against *Barbarossa*, the pirate, who had expelled the prince of *Algiers*, and seized his government; and as a reinforcement to the emperor's fleet, he fitted out thirteen gallies, and went to *Civita Vecchia*, where he gave his benediction to the whole armament. A few months after the emperor, having restored the banished prince and returned to *Naples*, *Paul* sent two legates to him, to congratulate him upon his victory.

At the same time, being informed that *Henry* VIII. of *England* had seized the revenues b
of 376 monasteries, had obliged upwards of 10,000 monks and nuns to resume the lay habit, and had executed *Thomas More* his late chancellor, and *Fisher* bishop of *Rochester*, lately created a cardinal, because they had refused to acknowlege the king as supreme head of the church, he published a bull against him, ordering him to repent, under pain of excommunication and deposition, allowing him ninety days to appear by proxy at *Rome*; and, in case of his disobedience, declaring him immediately excommunicated and deposed, absolving his subjects from their obedience, and prohibiting all catholics from holding any commerce with the *English*. He likewise ordered all the clergy to quit his dominions, the nobles to take up arms against him, and absolved foreign princes who were in alliance with him from the obligation of their treaties. This bull, which was published on the 28th of *November*, he c
ordered to be fixed up in several places on the opposite shore of *Holland*, [e]; but his attention was soon after called off in some manner from the affairs of *England*, by new commotions in *Italy*.

*and pronounces a sentence of excommunication and deposition against the king of* England.

A. D. 1536.

*FRANCIS SFORZA*, duke of *Milan*, dying in *October* without heirs, the *Milanese* again became the subject of dispute between the king of *France* and the emperor. *Francis* I. renewed his pretensions in right of his great grandmother *Valentina Viconti*, and, having commenced a war against his uncle the duke of *Savoy*, threatened to enter *Lombardy* with a formidable army. *Charles*, who claimed the *Milanese* as a fief devolved to the empire, immediately ordered forces into *Italy* from *Spain* and *Germany*, and, leaving *Naples*, arrived in a triumphant manner at *Rome* on the 5th of *April*, where he continued 13 days. The day be- d
fore his departure, in a full consistory, and in the presence of the foreign ambassadors, he made a long harangue in *Spanish* against the king of *France*, for disturbing the peace of *Italy* by his ambition, and concluded with requesting the pope's mediation for an accommodation, or his assistance in case the king of *France* should obstinately continue the war. The pope declared his willingness to act as mediator, and, as the emperor was very importunate for the convocation of a general council, he ordered six cardinals and three bishops to draw up the bull [f]; which was accordingly published a few weeks afterwards, appointing a general council to be held at *Mantua*, to begin the following year on the 22d of *May*.

*A bull published for a general council.*

*PAUL* likewise, refusing to engage as a party in the war betwixt the king of *France* and the emperor, in the month of *September* published another bull for reforming the corrupt e
manners of the city of *Rome*, and ordering all persons, under severe penalties, to obey those cardinals to whom he had given the direction of that affair. Soon after he sent cardinal *Poole*, a relation of *Henry* VIII. as his legate to the king of *France*, to excite him, and *James* V. of *Scotland*, who was then at *Paris*, against the king of *England*. But *Henry* being informed that the cardinal intended to raise an army in *France* to invade his kingdom [g], desired of the *French* king to deliver him up as his subject, and set a price of 50,000 crowns upon his head; which obliged the pope to recal him to *Rome*, and to appoint him a guard of soldiers for his protection [h]. *Paul* about the same time appointed four cardinals, and three other learned men, to draw up a form of reformation of the church, with regard to manners and discipline (K); and, as the duke of *Mantua* made several objections to the assembling of the f
council

A. D. 1537.

[d] Idem ibid. [e] Spond. Annal. ex. t. i. Bull. Paul. III. const. vii. [f] Bell. l. v. & vi. Sleid. l. x.
[g] Calv. ep. xiii. [h] Sleid. l. x. Spond. Annal.

(K) This plan of reformation was presented to the pope in the beginning of the following year; however, it was then kept secret, and no alteration or amendment ensued. Though it proposed a very superficial and partial reformation, and was therefore ridiculed by *Luther* and *Sturmius* at *Strasburgh*, who procured a copy of it from *Rome*, yet it contains several particulars which scarcely could have been expected from the composers. They complained of the pride and ignorance of the bishops, and proposed that none should receive orders but learned and pious men, and therefore care should be taken to have proper masters to instruct the youth. They condemned transportations from one benefice to another, grants of reservation, non-residence, and pluralities; and declared it intolerable, that bishoprics should be conferred on cardinals, or that an *Italian* should enjoy a benefice in *Spain* or *England*, and a *Spaniard* or *Englishman* in *Italy*. They proposed that some convents should be abolished, that printers should be prohibited from publishing some kinds of books, and that the colloquies of *Erasmus* should not be taught in the schools; that the questors of St. *Antony*, and of many other saints, should be

a council in that city, he prorogued the time of its meeting till the month of *November*, and soon after appointed it to be held at *Vicenza*, and to be opened on the first of *May* the year following. The king of *England*, however, objected to the assembling of the council in *Italy*, and published a writing, wherein he affirmed, that the emperor and other Christian princes had an authority to call a general council, and not the pope.

*The assembling of which is prorogued.*

THE protestants of *Germany* likewise, in their diet at *Smalcald*, declared to *Helde*, the emperor's vice-chancellor, that they would not consent to a council in *Italy*, where the pope, who was their adversary, would likewise be their judge, and had even already, in some measure, condemned them, by declaring in his bull, that the council was called on account of some late raised heresies. They insisted on a free council in *Germany*, in which b they intended to accuse the pope and his accomplices of having corrupted the doctrine of the church, and ordained many things in direct opposition to the laws of God [i]. *Helde*, not being satisfied with the answer of the protestants, retired from *Smalcald*, and, assembling the catholic princes at *Nuremberg*, concluded a league with them, in the name of the emperor, for eleven years, for the defence of their religion, which was afterwards known by the name of the holy league. The protestants, being informed of this league, assembled the following year at *Brunswick*, and received into their alliance *Christiern* king of *Denmark*, who a few months before had entirely renounced the authority of the pope in his dominions, and had been solemnly crowned by *Bugenhagius*, a *Lutheran* minister, sent thither at his desire by *Luther* [k].

*The holy league formed by the catholic princes of* Germany. A. D. 1538.

c *PAUL* in the mean time concluded an alliance with the emperor and the *Venetians* at *Rome* against the *Turks*, with such assurance of success, that he even made a partition of the *Turkish* empire with his allies. By the treaty, which was concluded in *February*, the war was to be carried on every year with 200 gallies, 100 armed ships, 50,000 foot from *Italy*, *Germany*, and *Spain*, and 4,500 horse. The pope was to bear one sixth-part of the expences of the war, and to furnish 36 gallies; and *Andrew Doria*, who some years before had been created prince of *Melphi* by the emperor, was to have the chief command of the confederate fleet. In consequence of this alliance a numerous fleet assembled at *Corcyra*; but, instead of making conquests on the *Turks*, *Doria*, who commanded, twice declined the engagement, though his fleet was superior to that of the enemy; which behaviour gave confi- d dence to *Barbarossa*, who pursued him, and took and sunk several ships [l].

*The pope concludes an alliance against the* Turks, *and*

IMMEDIATELY after the conclusion of the alliance, and before the confederate fleet had assembled, the pope earnestly sollicited the king of *France* and the emperor to agree to a peace or truce, and was so successful as to prevail with them to consent to a personal conference with him at *Nice*, a maritime city belonging to the duke of *Savoy*. The pope accordingly arrived there in the end of *May*, and *Charles* and *Francis* arriving a few days after, he prevailed with them to agree to a truce for ten years. At the same time he concluded a treaty of marriage betwixt his grandson *Octavian* and *Margarite* the emperor's natural daughter, and widow of the duke of *Florence*, who died a few years before. He could not, however, prevail with the emperor and the king of *France* to see each other, which *Jovius* and *Onuph-* e *rius* say, was owing to their resentment against the pope, who, they found, was chiefly intent upon his own private interest [m]. But others affirm, that *Paul* endeavoured from policy to prevent their conference, which he thought would interrupt his private schemes [n]. He pressed them both earnestly to repair to the council at *Vicenza*, and to order the prelates of their dominions thither; but, each excusing himself, he returned to *Genoa* by sea, accompanied by the emperor; where, being informed that only a very few prelates had arrived at *Vicenza*, he prorogued the council till the following year at *Easter*.

*has a conference with the emperor and the* French *king at* Nice.

HE likewise soon after sent cardinal *Alexandre* into *Germany* at the request of *Ferdinand* king of the *Romans*, who had declared, that there were some hopes of reconciling the *Lutherans* to the church of *Rome*. This declaration, however, was false; for the protestants absolutely refused to acknowlege the authority of the pope, and only continued to express their desire of living in friendship and peace with the catholics: but *Ferdinand*, who had come to an accommodation with his competitor, the vayvode of *Transilvania*, and had received certain intimation from him and the king of *Poland*, that the *Turks* were making great

*The protestants are falsly supposed to desire a re-union with the church of* Rome. A. D. 1539.

[i] SLEID. l. xii. [k] Idem ib. CHYTR. Saxon. l. xv. [l] SPOND. Annal. MAUROC. l. v. JUSTIN. l. xv. [m] Jov. l. xxxvii. ONUPHR. in Paul III. [n] MEZER. abr. Chron. t. iii. p. 914.

be abolished, and that the effects and personal estate of ecclesiastics should, at their death, be given to the poor. They concluded with complaining of the infinite number of indigent and ragged priests that frequented St. *Peter*'s church, and declared that it was a great scandal to see the whores lodged so magnificently in *Rome*, and riding through the streets on fine mules, and the cardinals and others accompanying them in a familiar manner. The several articles of this plan of reformation were published at *Antwerp* two years after, with the answer of *Cochlæus* to the objections of *Sturmius*. They are likewise prefixed to the History of the Council of *Trent* by *Peter Cabre*, and were afterwards published at *Paris* in 1612 (1).

(1) *Pauvin. in Paul. III. Sleid. l.* xii. *Spond. Annal.*

pre-

preparations to invade *Germany*, reſolved, if poſſible, to conclude a peace with the proteſtants, that he might have their aſſiſtance againſt the infidels [o]. Accordingly a diet was held at *Frankfort* of the catholics and proteſtants, where, after long debates, an accommodation was agreed to on the 19th of *April*; by which a truce was granted to the proteſtants for fifteen months, excluding however, the anabaptiſts and ſacramentarians. It was decreed likewiſe, that, during the time of the truce, a conference ſhould be held betwixt learned and moderate men of both parties to ſettle the conteſted points of religion; that, if they could not come to an agreement in that affair, nevertheleſs the peace ſhould continue till the firſt general diet of the empire; and laſtly, that the preſent treaty ſhould have no effect, unleſs it was ratified by the emperor within ſix months. a

*The pope blames the emperor for granting a truce to the proteſtants.* A. D. 1540.

THE pope, upon the news of this accommodation, was greatly offended with the catholic princes for daring to treat of religion to the prejudice of the council which he had convoked, and immediately ſent a nuncio to *Spain*, who diſſuaded the emperor from ratifying the treaty. About the ſame time, as no prelates repaired to *Vicenza*, he ſuſpended the celebration of the general council for an unlimited time; and ſoon after, being informed that the emperor intended to paſs through *France* to quell a revolt of the city of *Ghent* in *Flanders*, he ſent cardinal *Alexander Farneſe* as his legate to him, who accompanied him from *Paris* to *Ghent*, where *Charles* immediately received an embaſſy from the proteſtants to deſire the continuation of the peace. The proteſtants a few weeks after received a very ambiguous anſwer from the emperor, which was laid before their deputies, who were then aſſembled at *Smalcald*. As *Charles*, by the perſuaſions of his counſellor *Granvelle*, was inclined to prevent a rupture, and had ſent two ambaſſadors to that aſſembly, the proteſtants, on the 11th of *April*, preſented a long memorial to them, in juſtification of their proceedings. b c

THE pope's legate exerted himſelf with great earneſtneſs to prevent an accommodation, and declared that it could not be done without the authority of the apoſtolic ſee; however the emperor, being perſuaded of the neceſſity of a peace, appointed a diet to be held at *Haguenau* for that purpoſe, at which the legate, who had not been conſulted, was greatly offended, and immediately left *Flanders* [p]. *Paul* in the mean time was engaged in reducing *Perugia*, which had revolted on account of the impoſition of a new tax. Having quieted that inſurrection, he ſoon after confirmed the order of the *Jeſuits*; but as the great multitude of monks began now to be even a nuſance at *Rome*, he reſtricted the number of the profeſſed in the new order to ſixty [q]. Finding likewiſe, that the emperor and his brother *Ferdinand* inclined greatly to an accommodation, and that, though nothing had been effected at the diet of *Haguenau*, yet a conference was appointed at *Worms*, to put an end, if poſſible, to all differences, he ſent *Campegio*, biſhop of *Feltri*, to be preſent at the aſſembly as his legate, being afraid that ſomething ſhould be tranſacted to the prejudice of the church of *Rome*. Both parties ſtarted a great many difficulties about the manner of diſputing, and the papiſts particularly, being apprehenſive leſt the majority of the votes of the aſſembly would be againſt them, propoſed very extravagant conditions. d

*He confirms the order of the* Jeſuits.

A. D. 1541.

*A public diſputation betwixt the catholics and proteſtants.*

IT was at laſt agreed, that *Eckius* for the papiſts, and *Melanchon* for the proteſtants, ſhould begin the diſpute; but three days after the aſſembly was transferred by the emperor's order to *Ratisbon*, where cardinal *Contareni*, famous for his learning and abilities, ſoon after arriving as legate from the pope, the diet was opened on the fifth of *April*. A few days after the emperor nominated three doctors of each party, and ordered them to reſume the diſpute which had been begun at *Worms*. They accordingly debated for more than two months, but were as far from an accommodation as at firſt. At length the proteſtants preſented a memorial to the emperor, containing ſeveral articles for a general reformation, which *Charles* immediately communicated to the legate *Contareni*, who inſiſted that the whole ſhould be referred to the determination of the pope, or a general council, who alone had authority to decide in matters of faith. The emperor, after conſidering the remonſtrances of both parties, finally determined to continue the truce, and to poſtpone all farther diſputes till the aſſembling of a general or national council; which laſt abuſe greatly offended the legate, who wrote to all the princes, deſiring it to be annulled, as a *German* council could not decide affairs that concerned the univerſal church [r]. e

*The legate wants the contended articles to be referred to the pope.* f

HOWEVER *Contareni* might ſeem to the proteſtants to have defended the popiſh cauſe, yet he was accuſed by the catholics, both in *Germany* and at *Rome*, of having betrayed their religion to the heretics. Cardinal *Caraffa* accuſed him in the conſiſtory, and *Eckius* condemned him in an apology which he ſoon after publiſhed for the catholics; however, he was defended by his friend cardinal *Fregoſa*, and the emperor, arriving in *Italy*, juſtified him to the pope at *Lucca*, where he had a conference with his holineſs, and, contrary to his advice, embarked for *Africa* with an army of 23,000 men, which was almoſt entirely de- g

[o] SLEID. l. xii. [p] Idem, l. xiii. JOV. l. xxxix. [q] SPOND. Annal. ORLAND. Annal. Societ. Jeſ. l. ii. & iii. [r] SLEID. l. xiv. GOLDAST. Conſt. Imper. t. ii.

ſtroyed

a ſtroyed by the cold and tempeſtuous weather, it being then about the beginning of winter [s].

THE emperor having returned to *Spain* with the remains of his army, ſoon after, by his deſire, a diet was held at *Spire* by his brother *Ferdinand*, who had lately been defeated by the *Turks* in *Hungary*. The pope ſent the biſhop of *Modena* as his nuncio to this aſſembly, who exhorted the princes to arm againſt the infidels, promiſing, in the name of the pope, a body of 5000 foot, if the emperor ſhould command in perſon. He likewiſe declared, that the pope had abſolutely determined to celebrate a council in the city of *Trent*, on the confines of *Germany*, as the proteſtants had objected to a city in *Italy*, and as he himſelf, being loaded with years and infirmities, could not be able to bear the fatigue of a journey into b *Germany*. The proteſtants ſtill refuſed to acknowledge the pope's authority to call a council, and declared they would not appear at *Trent*; but, as the catholic princes gave their aſſent, the pope, on the 20th of *May*, publiſhed a bull for the aſſembling of the council on the 1ſt of *November* of the ſame year [t], and about the ſame time ſent *Alexander Vitellius* with 3000 foot, as a reinforcement to the allied army in *Hungary*; which, acting without unanimity and vigour, ſpent the campaign without gaining any advantages over the infidels. A. D. 1543.

*A bull publiſhed for celebrating a council at* Trent.

IN the mean time the pope endeavoured by his legates to reconcile the emperor and the king of *France*, which laſt had renewed the war, and attacked the dominions of *Charles* in five different places, but without any conſiderable advantage. As the time for the opening the council approached, he likewiſe ſent three cardinals to *Trent* to preſide as his legates *à* c *latere*; and, being informed that the doctrines of *Luther* began to meet with a favourable reception in many places of *Italy*, he appointed a congregation of ſix cardinals, who ſhould act with full power as inquiſitors of the faith [u]. Soon after hearing that the emperor, who lately had concluded an alliance with *Henry* VIII. of *England* againſt *France*, intended to paſs into *Flanders* by the way of *Italy*, he reſolved to have a conference with him on his journey, and for that purpoſe left *Rome* on the 26th of *February*, and ſoon after arrived at *Bologna*, where he continued till the middle of ſummer, when *Charles* landed at *Genoa*. The emperor conſented, with great difficulty, to an interview; but upon repeated intreaties, he agreed to meet the pope at *Buſetto*, a caſtle betwixt *Parma* and *Placentia*. *Paul* intreated the emperor to reſtore theſe cities to the holy ſee, and, according to *Sleidan*, made an offer d to purchaſe the duchy of *Milan* for his grandſon *Octavius Farneſe* [w]; but the emperor rejecting both theſe propoſals, he then began to treat of public affairs, and exhorted him to a reconciliation with the king of *France*, that the Chriſtians might be at leiſure to turn their arms againſt the infidels. *Charles*, who was greatly exaſperated againſt *Francis*, refuſed likewiſe to hearken to this exhortation; ſo that the pope, having ſpent three days at *Buſetto*, returned diſappointed to *Bologna*: where, on the 4th of *July*, he ſuſpended the celebration of the council of *Trent*, as ſcarce any prelates had arrived at that city. From *Bologna* likewiſe he wrote to the chapter of *Cologn*, commending them for their zeal in oppoſing the innovations introduced by their archbiſhop, who was eminent for his piety and charity; but, having employed *Bucer*, *Melancthon*, *Piſtorius*, and other reformers, to preach in the cities of his juriſ- e diction, and to reform abuſes, was now ſtiled a wicked captain of heretics [x].

*A college of inquiſition appointed at* Rome. A. D. 1543.

*The pope offers to purchaſe the duchy of* Milan.

SOON after the pope ordered public proceſſions and ſupplications to be obſerved through all Chriſtendom, and granted the ſame indulgences to thoſe who prayed for the peace and tranquility of the church, as the pilgrims enjoyed who viſited *Rome* in the year of the jubilee: and, being informed that the emperor had convoked a diet at *Spire*, he ſent the biſhop of *Amalphi* as his nuncio to *Germany*. This diet, which was very numerous, opened in the month of *January*, and, with great unanimity, ſubſidies were decreed againſt the king of *France* and the *Turks* his allies. As their united fleets a few months before had made an unſucceſsful attempt on the city of *Nice*, on the *Genoeſe* coaſt, ſome of the princes, at the deſire of the emperor, wrote to the pope, thanking him for the aſſiſtance that he had given to f the duke of *Savoy*, and intreating him to continue his ſuccours to that prince, as they were informed that the *Turks* were refitting their fleet at *Toulon*, and intended a ſecond deſcent in *Savoy*. *Paul*, in his anſwer, related the great pains he had taken to oppoſe the *Turks*, and, in his turn, recommended to the diet the care of the Chriſtian commonwealth, and exhorted the princes to a reconciliation with *France*, that the council might aſſemble for the reformation of the church. Not long after, being informed that the emperor had prolonged the truce to the proteſtants, had ordered a ſuſpenſion of all proceſſes againſt them, and had even promiſed to cauſe a plan for a general reformation to be drawn up, he wrote a long letter to him, reproving him for intermeddling with ſacred affairs, which only belonged to the apoſtolic ſee; and declaring, that by treating of religious matters in the diet, he had en- g dangered his ſoul. He therefore enjoined him, under pain of his diſpleaſure, to revoke the conceſſions he had made to the rebels of the holy ſee [y]. A. D. 1544.

*The* French *and* Turkiſh *fleet attack the city of* Nice.

*The pope is offended with the emperor's indulgence to the proteſtants.*

[s] SPOND. Annal. JOV. l. xl. BELCAR. l. xxii. [t] SLEID. l. xiv. Hiſt. Hung. l. xv. [u] SPOND. Annal.
[w] SLEID. l. xv. [x] Idem ibid. SPOND. Annal. [y] SLEID. l. xv. & xvi.

*CHARLES* paid no regard to this letter; but, having entered *France* with a powerful army, advanced in the month of *September* within two days journey of *Paris*, which obliged the king of *France* to make propoſals of peace; in conſequence of which a treaty was concluded betwixt them at *Crepy*. The pope expreſſed great ſatisfaction upon the news of this peace, congratulated both princes by his nuncios, and ordered ſupplications for three days through all Chriſtendom; however, he is ſaid to have been a little piqued, that he had not been deſired to act as mediator. A few weeks after, having publiſhed another bull for the aſſembling of the council of *Trent* in the month of *March*, he thereby irritated the emperor, who expected to have been firſt conſulted; and therefore ſoon after *Charles* prohibited three *Spaniards*, whom, among others, the pope had promoted to the dignity of cardinal, from aſſuming the title of wearing the habit. a b

A. D. 1545. As it had been an article of the peace concluded at *Crepy*, that both the princes ſhould uſe their utmoſt endeavours to reſtore the old religion, the king of *France* ordered the *Pariſian* divines to aſſemble at *Melun*, to compoſe ſome fundamental articles of religion proper to be eſtabliſhed at the council. They accordingly aſſembled at *Melun*, and confirmed twenty-five articles, which had been drawn up two years before at *Paris*. About the ſame time the emperor, by an imperial edict, confirmed thirty-two fundamental articles that had been drawn up by the divines of *Louvain*, and ordered them to be taught and received thro' all the provinces of *Lower Germany* (L). He likewiſe gave ſeveral orders to the prelates of *Spain* and *Flanders*, and that he might ſeem the principal promoter of the council, he ſent ambaſſadors to different princes to intreat them to ſend their deputies to *Trent*. *Paul*, in the mean time, being informed that the emperor intended to be preſent at the diet of *Worms*, which was opened at the end of *March*, ſent his nephew cardinal *Farneſe* to attend him as his legate. The cardinal arrived at *Worms* about the middle of *May*, but he did not concern himſelf with the diet, or tranſact any buſineſs in public; however, it was firmly believed, that the intent of his journey was to excite the emperor to declare war againſt the proteſtants, as news ſoon after arrived from *Rome*, that the pope had promiſed 12,000 foot and 500 men at arms to act againſt the heretics. c

*He excites him to declare war againſt them.*

*They refuſe to acknowledge the council of* Trent.

WHAT probably provoked the pope was the firmneſs of the proteſtants, who inſiſted that the peace ſhould be continued and maintained without any reſpect to the determinations and concluſions of the council of *Trent*, the authority of which they abſolutely refuſed to acknowledge: nor would they grant any ſuccours againſt the *Turks*, till their religion was ſecured; on which account the emperor, who replied, that he could not exempt them from obedience to the council, ſent his ſecretary to *Solyman* to demand a truce, and on the 4th of *Auguſt* broke up the diet, when he renewed the former edicts for the peace, appointed another diet to be held in *January* at *Ratiſbon* to determine the affair of religion, and in the mean time nominated four doctors of each party to ſettle the diſputed point of a conference [z]. This condeſcenſion of the emperor gave great offence to the biſhops aſſembled at *Trent*, who thought it very injurious to the council that points of religion ſhould be debated in a diet; and therefore, notwithſtanding the intreaties of the legates, many of them, upon various pretences, returned home. About the middle of *March*, the pope had ſent three cardinals to preſide at the council as his legates *à latere*. The emperor, the king of the *Romans*, and the king of *France*, had likewiſe ſent their ambaſſadors to *Trent*; however, as the diet about the ſame time opened at *Worms*, the legates deferred opening the council till they received an immediate anſwer from the pope [a]. A decree for that purpoſe at length arriving from *Rome*, the council was opened with great ſolemnity on the 15th of *December*, and the ſecond ſeſſion appointed to be held on the 7th of *January*. d e

*The firſt ſeſſion of the council.*

*PAUL* in the mean time cited the archbiſhop of *Cologn* to appear within ſixty days at *Rome*, to juſtify himſelf with regard to the charge of favouring heretics. He likewiſe, without any regard to the general murmur of the public, and the oppoſition of ſeveral cardinals, gave the inveſtiture of *Parma* and *Placentia* to his ſon [b]. Being alſo greatly offended with the proteſtants for ſtill refuſing to acknowledge the council of *Trent*, he ſollicited the emperor, with great earneſtneſs, to declare war againſt them. By the great warlike preparations in *Germany*, it ſoon appeared that the ſollicitations of his holineſs were not without effect; for the emperor, without publiſhing his deſign, gave orders for raiſing troops with f

A. D. 1546.

[z] Idem, l. xvi. [a] SPOND. Annal. PALLAV. [b] RAINALD, ad an. 1546.

(L) As theſe articles of *Louvain*, as well as thoſe of *Paris*, were publiſhed in a magiſterial ſtile, without any proofs of ſcripture, *Bucer* publiſhed a comment upon them at *Straſburgh*, and *Luther*, in oppoſition to them, wrote ſeventy five theſes in *Latin* and *German*; in which he accuſed the popiſh divines of hereſy, idolatry, and impiety, for compelling people by fire and ſword to give their aſſent to propoſitions, which they either would not, or could not defend by ſcriptures (1).

(1) *Sleid. l.* xvi. *Spond. Annal.*

a all expedition; which alarming the proteſtants, they began with great vigour to prepare for their defence. *Charles*, that he might the better deceive his adverſaries, pretended a great deſire of peace, and tho' the pope, on the 16th of *April*, had excommunicated and depoſed the archbiſhop of *Cologn*, and ordered all to yield obedience to his coadjutor count *de Schawemburg*, the emperor nevertheleſs ſtill acknowledged the archbiſhop, that he might not ſeem to regard the difference of religion, as he intended to declare war againſt the proteſtants only as ſeditious perſons and diſturbers of the public peace.

*The archbiſhop of* Cologn *is excommunicated and depoſed.*

MEAN time, beſides his levies in *Germany*, he ordered *Spaniſh* and *Neapolitan* troops to march from *Italy*, and ſent the cardinal of *Trent* to the pope, to demand the ſuccours which he had formerly promiſed. As *Paul* was greatly terrified with the news of the ſtrength of b the proteſtants, who were reported to have a deſign of marching directly to *Rome* with an army of 80,000 foot and 40,000 horſe [c], he immediately concluded a treaty with the emperor on the following conditions: that he ſhould depoſit 200,000 crowns for the expences of the war, ſhould furniſh 12,000 foot and 500 horſe, ſhould grant the emperor one half of the eccleſiaſtical revenues of *Spain* for one year, and allow him to mortgage 500,000 crowns of the income of the monaſteries in that kingdom, provided he gave ſecurity for repayment of that ſum out of his royal domains; that the emperor ſhould not make any peace with the proteſtants for ſix months without the pope's conſent, who ſhould likewiſe be intitled to a certain portion of the conqueſts [d]. Soon after the concluſion of this treaty, which was ſigned on the 26th of *June*, the pope's troops began their march for *Germany*, under the c command of his grandſon *Octavius*, and his elder brother cardinal *Farneſe*; which laſt, upon his departure from *Italy*, was reported to have ſaid, *That there would be ſuch a fine butchery in* Germany, *that his horſe would ſwim in the blood of the* Lutherans [e]. Beſides theſe troops, the duke of *Florence* ſent 200 bombardeers, and the duke of *Ferrara* 100 men at arms.

*The emperor makes preparations for war, and concludes a treaty with the pope.*

DURING theſe tranſactions, the fathers of *Trent* held their ſecond ſeſſion on the 7th of *January*; in which a decree was read, ordering prayers for the unity of the church, the celebration of maſs every *Sunday*, the obſervation of a faſt each *Friday*, and the beſtowing of alms; after the reading of which, the following ſeſſion was appointed to be held on the 4th of *February*. They accordingly aſſembled on that day, when a decree was read concerning the creed uſed by the *Roman* church, which was accounted a ſhield againſt all hereſies. They d afterwards appointed the fourth ſeſſion to be held on the 8th of *April*, to give time to ſeveral prelates to arrive at the council, as there were then only preſent five cardinals, ſix archbiſhops (M), thirty biſhops, three abbots, and five generals of monkiſh orders. Mean time general congregations were held twice a week, on *Mondays* and *Fridays*, in which the points to be treated of in the ſeſſions were examined and diſcuſſed. Beſides, ſeveral extraordinary congregations were held, after which the fourth ſeſſion was celebrated according to appointment; in which a decree was publiſhed, whereby the fathers profeſſed, that, according to the example of the orthodox fathers, they received all the books of the Old and New Teſtament, together with the traditions regarding faith and manners, as dictated verbally by Chriſt, or by the Holy Spirit, and preſerved by a continual ſucceſſion in the catholic e church. An anathema was then denounced againſt thoſe who did not receive the ſacred books as canonical, as they were publiſhed in the old vulgate *Latin*, or who wilfully deſpiſed the aforeſaid traditions. The ſcripture was ordered to be received according to the ſenſe of the church, which alone has a right to interpret the ſacred writings; and all were prohibited from printing books on ſacred ſubjects without adding the name of the author, or from keeping or ſelling them without the leave of the ordinaries [f].

*Proceedings of the council of* Trent.

As the emperor had not yet proceeded to an open rupture, the proceedings of the council gave him great offence. He was afraid leſt the deciſion of controverted points of faith would alarm and irritate the proteſtants, who, perceiving their doctrines ſo publicly condemned, would unite more firmly in their own defence; whereas he intended to detach the f imperial cities from the princes of the *Smalcaldic* league, and had even ſucceeded ſo far, that he had received ſeveral reinforcements of proteſtant troops. He therefore intreated the pope and the fathers at *Trent* to defer deciding points of faith for a few months, till he had finiſhed the war, and in the mean time to treat only of a reformation. However, his requeſt was refuſed both by the council and his ally the pope, who, notwithſtanding the pretences

[c] PALLAV. l. viii. c. 1. [d] BELCAR. l. xxiv. n. 21. SLEID. l. xvii. RAINALD, ad an. 1546.
[e] SLEID. ibid. [f] SPOND. Annal.

(M) Among the archbiſhops were two nominal ones; namely, *Olaus Magnus*, titular archbiſhop of *Upſal* in *Sweden*, and *Robert Venace*, by ſome called *Robert Wachop*, a *Scotchman*, who had obtained from the pope the title of archbiſhop of *Armagh* in *Ireland*. There were beſides in the beginning only two *French* biſhops, five *Spaniſh*, and one *Illyrican*, all the reſt being *Italians*; ſo that, with great juſtice, the proteſtants might refuſe to ſubmit their cauſe to the deciſion of ſuch intereſted judges (1).

(1) *Sleid. l.* xvii.

of the emperor, declared war to be undertaken on a religious account, and preſſed *Charles* to allow his legate to publiſh a cruſade [a]. The fathers at *Trent* likewiſe, in their fifth ſeſſion, which was held on the 17th of *June*, publiſhed a decree concerning the doctrine of original ſin; in the end of which they declared, that they had no intention to comprehend, under original ſin, the bleſſed and immaculate virgin *Mary*. They alſo added ſome rules for regulating the manner of inſtructing the people and preaching the goſpel, and appointed the next ſeſſion to be held on the 19th of *July*; which, however, was afterwards prorogued till the 13th of *January* in the following year, the fathers in the mean time aſſembling in general congregations, and diſcuſſing other points of faith [b].

*Several proteſtant princes ſubmit to the emperor.*

A FEW weeks after this prorogation, the pope's troops with 5000 *Spaniards* and *Neapolitans*, having joined the emperor's camp, he marched againſt the elector of *Saxony* and the landgrave of *Heſſe*, whom he had put to the ban of the empire. Tho' the proteſtant army at firſt was more numerous than the imperialiſts, and gained ſome ſmall advantages, yet, upon account of diviſions among their chiefs, the emperor, before the end of the campaign, was greatly ſuperior, and obliged the elector palatine, the duke of *Wirtemberg*, and ſome imperial cities, to ſubmit and aſk pardon [i]. The pope being offended, that, in the accommodation which he made with thoſe who had ſubmitted, he had tolerated hereſy, recalled his troops from the emperor's ſervice, and refuſed to continue the grant of the ſubſidy from the church revenues of *Spain*, as *Charles* would not allow his legate to preſide in the army, and had not, according to the treaty, ſhared with him the contributions which he had raiſed from the proteſtant towns.

*The ſixth ſeſſion of the council.* A. D. 1547.

As the emperor likewiſe would not agree to a ſuſpenſion of the council, *Paul* wrote to his legates at *Trent* to proceed to determine the points of faith. They accordingly, on the 13th of *January*, held the ſixth ſeſſion of the council; in which, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the imperial prelates, a decree was read and approved concerning juſtification, containing the doctrine of the *Roman* church on that point, and thirty anathemas were added againſt thoſe who ſhould corrupt that doctrine in any article. Another decree was likewiſe read concerning reformation; namely, regarding the reſidence of prelates, and the puniſhment of thoſe who ſhould be abſent from their dioceſes above ſix months at a time, and for compelling the inferior clergy to reſidence; concerning the viſitation of the chapters of cathedral churches, and for prohibiting any from officiating as prieſts out of their own dioceſes, without the leave of the ordinaries [c]. Before the following ſeſſion, which was appointed to be held on the 3d of *March*, the fathers held ſeveral congregations, in which they debated with great warmth concerning the ſacraments, and the compatibility or incompatibility of holding more benefices than one. At length, after many conferences and diſputes, the decrees were publiſhed; firſt, concerning the ſeven ſacraments in general, in thirteen canons, with as many anathemas; then particularly of baptiſm; and laſtly of confirmation. A decree was afterwards added concerning reformation, and the eighth ſeſſion appointed to be held on the 21ſt of *April*; however, it was celebrated on the 11th of the ſame month, when a decree was publiſhed for transferring the council for a time to *Bologna*, on account of a dangerous diſtemper that prevailed in *Trent* and its neighbourhood, owing, as it was ſuppoſed, to continual rains that had altered the temperament of the air, and, according to the opinion of the phyſicians of the council, rendered it dangerous for the prelates to remain in that city. Of the ſixty fathers who at that time compoſed the council, cardinal *Paciecus*, and fifteen other biſhops of the imperial party, diſſented from this decree, affirming that the danger of the diſtemper was magnified beyond the truth, and that the conſent of the pope, the emperor, and other princes, was neceſſary to the transferring of the council [d]; they therefore remained at *Trent*, and their conduct was approved by the emperor.

*The council is transferred to* Bologna.

THOUGH the pope two years before had given his legates a power to transfer the council, yet it is probable the laſt decree was publiſhed in conſequence of an immediate order from himſelf; for he was greatly diſſatisfied with the emperor for granting liberty of conſcience to the proteſtants that had ſubmitted, and he even began to be afraid of his power. The emperor had likewiſe diſobliged him, by refuſing to confirm the inveſtiture of *Parma* and *Placentia* to his ſon *Peter Lewis*, and the prelates of the imperial faction had advanced ſome things in the council derogatory to the authority of the apoſtolic ſee [m]. Soon after his jealouſy of the emperor's power was greatly increaſed; for *Charles*, on the 24th of *April*, having entirely defeated the proteſtants near the city of *Muhlberg*, took the duke of *Saxony* priſoner, and deprived him of his electorate, oliged the landgrave to ſurrender himſelf, and beſides the immenſe ſums of money which he raiſed from the proteſtant cities, ſtripped

*The emperor entirely defeats the proteſtants at* Muhlberg.

[a] ADRIAN. l. v. & vi. PALLAVICIN. l. viii. SLEID. l. xvii. [b] SPOND. Annal. [i] SLEID. l. xviii. [k] SPOND. Annal. DUVAL. de Diſcipl. Eccleſ. p. 3. q. 7. [l] SLEID. l. xix. SPOND. Annal. ex Act. Conc. edit. Archiep. Aquens. [m] ONUPH. in vit. Paul. III.

a them of five hundred pieces of cannon which he ſent to *Milan*, *Naples*, *Spain*, and the *Low Countries* [n]. The pope expreſſed great joy upon the news of this victory, and immediately ſent cardinal *Sfondrato* to *Germany* with a letter of congratulation to the emperor; however, he would not agree to his requeſt, for the return of the council to *Trent* [o]; but ſollicited *Charles* to order the *Spaniſh* biſhops to repair to *Bologna*, where, on the 21ſt of *April*, the council had held the ninth ſeſſion, in which they had only read a decree appointing the next ſeſſion to be celebrated on the 2d of *June*, when they again prorogued the ſeſſion to the 15th of *September*. As there were very few prelates at *Bologna*, the council was afterwards prorogued to a limited time [p].

*PAUL* in the mean time ſent a legate to *France*, to congratulate *Henry* II. who had *An unſucceſsful attempt to eſtabliſh the inquiſition at* Naples.
b ſucceeded his father *Francis* on the 31ſt of *March*, and ſoon after he granted a bull for eſtabliſhing the tribunal of the inquiſition in the kingdom of *Naples*, to which he had been ſollicited by the *Spaniſh* viceroy; but, upon the publication of the edict for the eſtabliſhment of the holy office, ſo violent an inſurrection followed, that the emperor was apprehenſive of a general revolt, and a few months after conſented to repeal his decree [q]. During theſe diſturbances at *Naples*, the pope was alarmed with the news of the murder of his ſon *Peter-Lewis*; who, having rendered himſelf odious by his infamous vices, was aſſaſſinated in his palace at *Placentia*. This city was immediately after ſeized by *Ferdinand Gonzaga*, the emperor's lieutenant in *Lombardy*; which raiſed a great ſuſpicion that *Charles* himſelf was conſcious of the murder. About the ſame time he likewiſe received a letter from the prin-
c ces and prelates of *Germany*, aſſembled at the diet of *Augſburg*, intreating him to reſtore the council of *Trent*, and a few weeks after an ambaſſador arrived at *Rome* from the emperor, to inform him that the proteſtant princes and cities had agreed to ſubmit to the council (N) of *Trent*, and to urge him to order the fathers to return to that city [r].

THE pope ſeemed inclined to grant the requeſt of the imperial ambaſſador, but deſired *The pope propoſes an alliance with the king of* France. A. D. 1549.
firſt to have the opinion of the fathers at *Bologna*, who declared that they could not return to *Trent* without violating the dignity of the council. He himſelf had no real inclination to gratify the emperor, and had even ſeveral months before propoſed an alliance with *Henry* II. of *France* againſt him, which he ſollicited with greater earneſtneſs ſince the murder of his ſon and the ſeizing of *Placentia*. *Henry* II. having ſent the cardinal *Guiſe* to *Rome*, to declare his
d obedience to the apoſtolic ſee, and having likewiſe given his ſecret orders to offer aſſiſtance to the pope, *Paul*, in the beginning of *January*, wrote an anſwer to the letter from the *German* biſhops, wherein he blamed them ſeverely for declaring, that, unleſs the council returned to *Trent*, they ſhould be obliged to take other meaſures, and aſſured them he was indifferent in what city the council was celebrated; but at the ſame time affirmed, that there was no place more proper than the city of *Bologna* [s]. The emperor, finding the *The emperor proteſts againſt the tranſlation of the council.*
pope unmoved by all his ſollicitations, ſent ambaſſadors to *Bologna*, who, on the 16th of the ſame month, proteſted againſt the tranſlation of the council as frivolous and illegal, while *Diego Mendoza*, his ambaſſador at *Rome*, read the ſame proteſtation, with a few alterations, to the pope and cardinals, in the preſence of all the foreign ambaſſadors [t].
e The pope in his anſwer, which he made to *Mendoza* on the firſt of *February*, accuſed him of having exceeded his inſtructions, and affirmed that the emperor had not ordered him to proteſt againſt him and the ſacred college, but to proteſt before them againſt the fathers at *Bologna*; he therefore, as lawful judge of the diſpute concerning the legality of the tranſlation of the council, cited the fathers at *Trent* and *Bologna* to juſtify their proceedings within a month before the cardinals *Paris*, *Burges*, *Creſcentius*, and *Poole*.

NOTWITHSTANDING this anſwer, *Mendoza*, in a ſecond declaration affirmed, that he had *A new form of reformation drawn up by his order;*
received expreſs orders from the emperor to proteſt in the manner he had done [u]; and *Charles*, reſolving to accommodate the differences with regard to religion independently of the council, about this time appointed ſeveral doctors to draw up a form of eccleſiaſtical
f reformation [w]. *Paul* in the mean time cited the fathers at *Trent* and *Bologna*, the firſt of whom excuſed themſelves from appearing; but the others immediately ſent their proxies to *Rome*; yet the judges, being apprehenſive of a ſchiſm, delayed giving ſentence during the whole pontificate of *Paul*, ſo that the prelates at *Bologna* diſperſed, excepting a few penſionaries of the holy ſee [x].

[n] SLEID. l. xix. [o] PALLAVICIN. Hiſt. l. x. c. 3. ADRIAN. l. vi. p. 412. [p] SPOND. Annal. [q] SLEID. l. xix. THUAN. l. iii. Natal. Comes, l. ii. & iii. [r] SLEID. ut ſupra. [s] BELCAR. l. xxv. ſect 4. SPOND. Annal. [t] SLEID. l. xix. & xx. [u] PALLAVIGIN. l. x. c. 13. RAINALD. ad an. 1548. [w] SLEID. l. xx. [x] SPOND. Annal.

(N) The elector palatine, and *Maurice* the new elector of *Saxony*, to ſatisfy the emperor, conſented, after many difficulties, to ſubmit to the council. The imperial cities, intimidated by their compliance, and afraid of the emperor's power, preſented a writing, wherein they expreſſed the conditions under which they likewiſe would acknowledge the council; which *Charles* pretended to accept of as an entire ſubmiſſion (1).

(1) *Sleidan. l.* xix.



5

THOUGH the pope, in compliance with the emperor, ſuſpended the council, and would not proceed againſt thoſe prelates that remained at *Trent*, yet he expreſſed great diſſatisfaction upon receiving a copy of the new form of reformation drawn up by the doctors in *Germany*, which was called the *Interim*, denoting, by that title, that its articles were to remain in force till others ſhould be compoſed by the pope and an univerſal council. He ordered his legate *Sfondrato*, who had continued with the emperor ſince the victory at *Muhlberg*, to cenſure it in general, but particularly the two articles allowing the marriage of prieſts, and the communicating under both kinds; the firſt of which had never been known, and the other could not be permitted by any authority but that of the apoſtolic ſee. *Charles* paid no regard to this remonſtrance; but, on the 15th of *May*, preſented his *Interim* to the diet, for which the archbiſhop of *Mentz* thanked him in the name of all the princes, without having previouſly demanded their conſent. The emperor, interpreting this ſpeech as a general approbation of his book, immediately ordered it to be printed in *Latin* and *German*, and peremptorily commanded it to be received both by the catholics and proteſtants. By this proceeding, inſtead of putting an end to the diviſions, he greatly inflamed both parties againſt himſelf; for the proteſtants objected to the book as containing the doctrines of popery, artfully diſguiſed, and the catholics rejected it for not having the ſanction of eccleſiaſtic authority; however, he would receive no excuſe from the *Lutherans*, many of whom were compelled by his *Spaniſh* and *Neapolitan* troops to give their aſſent to his book, while many doctors of that perſuaſion, to avoid perſecution, were obliged to quit *Germany* [y].

*which is condemned both by the papiſts and proteſtants.*

*CHARLES* likewiſe intreated the pope to ſend legates into *Germany*, to aſſiſt in putting his edicts into execution. *Paul* refuſed this requeſt, as derogatory from the apoſtolic authority; however, he ſent three nuncios into *Germany*, with full power to reſtore all perſons, even kings and princes, to their dignities, to grant the privilege of communicating under both kinds upon certain conditions, and to abſolve the uſurpers of eccleſiaſtical poſſeſſions, after reſtitution made by them of the lands, and a reaſonable compoſition for the revenues already conſumed. They had likewiſe authority to abſolve the catholics from their oaths given to heretics, and to unite eccleſiaſtical benefices to univerſities, ſchools, and hoſpitals; but though the bull was expedited on the laſt of *Auguſt*, they did not lay their mandates before the emperor till the 25th of *May* in the following year [z]. *Charles*, being diſſatisfied with their powers, prohibited the nuncios from putting them in execution, till they ſhould be altered in ſome articles by the pope; and even after they received ſome alteration, the nuncios were ſtill prevented from acting, by new difficulties that were ſtarted; ſo that they were at laſt obliged to delegate their powers to the *German* biſhops, to each within his own dioceſe, and to the other prelates within the extent of their juriſdiction [a].

*Three nuncios ſent to* Germany *with a power of reforming abuſes.*

A. D. 1549.

DURING theſe tranſactions, the pope earneſtly ſollicited the emperor to reſtore *Placentia*, which city he affirmed belonged to the dominions of the church; but finding his ſollicitations had no effect upon the emperor, he began to think of reſtoring *Parma* to the church, and to give his grandſon *Octavius* another territory. He accordingly appointed *Camillo Urſini* governor of *Parma*; but his grandſon refuſed to accept of any other territory, and privately left *Rome*, with the intention of taking poſſeſſion of that city. Being fruſtrated in his attempt to ſurpriſe the place, he wrote to his brother cardinal *Farneſe*, declaring, that, if his grandfather would not reſtore the city, he would treat with the emperor's lieutenant *Gonzaga*. This letter, being read to the pope, had ſuch an effect upon him, that he immediately fainted, and, reviving with much difficulty, about four hours after was ſeized with a violent fever, of which he died on the third day, being the 10th of *November* [b]. He is commended for his prudence and moderation, but he was greatly addicted to judicial aſtrology, and had made but ſmall proficiency in the learning of thoſe times (O). The expence of his funeral ſolemnity, which continued nine days, was ſuppoſed to amount to 50,000 crowns.

*The pope ſollicits the reſtoration of* Placentia.

*He dies at* Rome.

AFTER the death of *Paul* III. the cardinals delayed entering the conclave till the 28th of *November*; during which time the imperial and *French* miniſters warmly ſollicited the favour of cardinal *Farneſe*, who was at the head of a party of the ſacred college. Upon ſhutting the conclave, cardinal *Poole* was propoſed by a great many voices, and, upon the firſt ſcrutiny wanted only two votes to be legally elected; but the old cardinals, being jealous of his promotion, did their utmoſt to thwart his election, and at the next ſcrutiny cardinal

[y] SLEID. l. xx. & xxi. RAINALD. ut ſup. Conſtit. Imper. GOLDAST. t. i. p. 518. PALLAVICIN. l. x.
[z] SPOND. Annal. SLEID. l. xxi. [a] RAINALD. ad an. 1549. ADRIAN. l. vii. PALLAVICIN. l. xi. c. 2.
[b] SLEID. l. xxi.

(O) *Sleidan* relates, that, a little before his death, a book was publiſhed in *Italian*, under the name of *Ochinus*, and dedicated to *Aſcanio Colonna*; in which he was accuſed of the moſt infamous vices, ſuch as murder, inceſt, adultery, and parricide (1).

(1) *Sleidan. l.* xxi.

*Caraffa*

a *Caraffa* even accuſed him of hereſy. Several new *French* cardinals arriving, their faction appeared the moſt numerous; but cardinal *Farneſe* and his party joining the imperialiſts, cardinal *de Monte* was elected on the 9th of *February*, though one of the cardinals ſome days before had objected to him on account of his wicked life [c]. Cardinal *Farneſe*, before he conſented to give him his vote, obliged him to ſwear, that he would grant the poſſeſſion of *Parma* to his brother *Octavius*. A. D. 1550. Julius III. *is elected.*

THE new pope, aſſuming the name of *Julius* III. (P), was crowned with the uſual ſolemnity on the 22d of the ſame month; and two days after he publiſhed a bull, declaring that the year of the jubilee had commenced at *Chriſtmas*. The ſame day, according to the uſual ceremony, he opened the holy gate of St. *Peter*'s with a golden hammer, and gave acceſs b to an infinite number of pilgrims, who waited to have remiſſion of their ſins. Soon after he reſtored *Aſcanio Colonna*, who had been deprived of his poſſeſſions by *Paul* III. and, according to his agreement with cardinal *Farneſe*, conferred the government of *Parma* upon his brother *Octavius*, with a monthly revenue of 2000 crowns [d]. He likewiſe confirmed the election of patriarch of *Greater Armenia*, who had been perſuaded by the *Dominican* miſſionaries to ſubmit to the church of *Rome*, on promiſes of preferment which were never afterwards fulfilled. About the ſame time he made a promotion of twenty cardinals, and beſtowed his own hat on a boy of thirteen years of age, born of mean parentage at *Placentia*, whom he likewiſe adopted into his family; which gave occaſion to many ſevere paſquinades at *Rome* [e]. *A jubilee celebrated at* Rome.

c To manifeſt his deſire of ſuppreſſing hereſy, on the 28th of *April* he publiſhed two bulls, by one of which he prohibited all perſons, except the inquiſitors of the faith, from poſſeſſing or reading the books of the *Lutherans*, or other heretics; and by the other he allowed all thoſe who ſhould repent of their hereſies within three months, to be received into the church by the inquiſitors, upon performing private penance; but from this indulgence were excepted all thoſe who were under the general inquiſition of *Spain* and *Portugal* [f]. The emperor in the mean time urging him to re-eſtabliſh the council of *Trent*, he aſſembled a congregation of cardinals and other prelates, by whoſe advice he conſented to the emperor's requeſt, on theſe conditions; that the council ſhould be approved by the king of *France*, and the decrees already publiſhed be received by the proteſtants. Accordingly, having received the approbation of the d king of *France*, on the 14th of *November* he publiſhed a bull for reſtoring the council to *Trent*, ordering all prelates and perſons concerned to repair to that city on the 1ſt of *May*, when he intended to reſume the council, and to preſide at it either perſonally or by his legates. He ſent a copy of this bull before it was publiſhed to the emperor, who then held a diet at *Augsburg*, and upon conſulting with his miniſters, intreated *Julius* to ſoften ſome expreſſions, but without any effect; for, on the 27th of *December*, he expedited a brief, ordering his bull to be read and affixed to the doors of the churches of St. *Peter* and St. *John*, and printed copies of it to be ſent to all the biſhops of Chriſtendom [g]. *The pope publiſhes two bulls for the ſuppreſſion of hereſy.*

THE emperor objected to the bull, becauſe he was afraid it would irritate the proteſtants, ſome of whom in the diet had agreed to the continuation of the council without any conditions; but others had inſiſted that the proteſtant divines ſhould not only be heard in the e ſeſſions, but even have a power of deciding; that the pope ſhould not preſide, but ſubmit to the council; and that the decrees already publiſhed ſhould be of no force [h]. His apprehenſions proved to be juſt; for when the bull was read in the diet on the 5th of *January*, the proteſtants expreſſed great diſſatisfaction: *Charles*, however, appeaſed them in ſome meaſure, by declaring that he would take ſuch methods, that nothing ſhould paſs in the council prejudicial to the liberties of the *German* nation. The emperor then diſſolved the diet on the 23d of *February*, and ſoon after ſent three ambaſſadors to *Trent*, who were preſent on the firſt of *May*, when the pope's legates celebrated the eleventh ſeſſion, in which a decree was read for reſuming the council, and the next ſeſſion appointed to be held on the f firſt of *September*, becauſe very few prelates were then arrived, and on account of ſome diſturbances in *Lombardy*, which threatened to interrupt the tranquility of *Italy* [i]. Theſe were occaſioned by *Octavius Farneſe*, who, being afraid of the deſigns of *Gonzaga*, the emperor's lieutenant, and deprived of his monthly ſubſidy from the pope, had introduced a *French* garriſon into *Parma*. Though the pope had allowed *Octavius* to provide for his own ſecurity as he thought proper, yet he never imagined he would have recourſe to the *French*; *Another for reſtoring the council of* Trent. A. D. 1551. *A new war in* Italy *betwixt the emperor and the king of* France.

[c] ONUPHR. de Rom. Pontif. ADRIAN. l. vii. [d] SPOND. Annal. SLEID. l. xxi. [e] SLEID. ibid. [f] SPOND. Annal. [g] HARÆUS, p. 656. PALLAVICIN. l. xi. c. 8. 10. & 11. RAINALD. [h] SLEID. l. xxii. [i] SPOND. Annal.

(P) *John Maria de Monte* was born at *Rome* in the year 1487, and when archbiſhop of *Siponto*, and auditor of the apoſtolic chamber, was created a cardinal by *Paul* III. and appointed by him firſt preſident of the council of *Trent*. (1)

(1) *Spond. Annal.*

therefore, to clear himself from any suspicions of the emperor, he cited *Octavius* to appear at *Rome* within thirty days. As he neglected the citation, he applied to *Gonzaga* for assistance, and about the middle of *May* the pope's troops and imperialists invested *Parma* and *Mirandola*. The king of *France* ordered his ambassador at *Rome* to justify his proceeding to the pope, and to declare, that, unless he ceased hostilities, he would prohibit his bishops from going to *Trent*; but *Julius*, being assured of the emperor's assistance, ordered the king to withdraw his troops, and even threatened him with excommunication. Mean while the *French* troops being reinforced in *Italy*, made several incursions into the *Bolognese*, and attacked the *Milanese* on the side of *Piedmont*; hostilities likewise commencing betwixt *France* and the emperor in *Lorrain* and *Flanders* [k]. a

THOUGH the emperor, by besieging *Parma*, had given *Henry* II. a pretence for a rupture, and had thereby involved himself in a new war with *France*, yet he did not neglect the affairs of religion, and wrote to the protestant states, desiring them to send ambassadors to *Trent*; and as they insisted upon a safe-conduct from the council, he promised to apply to the fathers for that purpose. In the mean time the electors of *Mentz* and *Triers*, with several other *German* bishops, repaired to *Trent*, and were present at the twelfth session; when a decree was read, appointing the following session on the 11th of *October*, and declaring that a canon would then be published concerning the sacrament of the eucharist. A letter and protestation from the king of *France* were then read, wherein he declared, that unless the pope would cease his hostilities against *Parma*, he would not acknowledge the council. The fathers declared that they would answer the king's deputy at the next sessions, but being then called he did not appear: they, however, drew up an answer to the protestation, and published a decree concerning the eucharist, adding eleven anathemas against those who should deny or alter the doctrine they had established. At the persuasion of the imperial ambassador, they delayed disputing concerning the use of the cup to laymen, till the arrival of the protestants; but they published another decree for reformation, particularly concerning the residence of bishops [l]. They likewise complied with the emperor's request, and granted a safe-conduct to the protestants; in consequence of which the elector of *Brandenburg*, and the duke of *Wirtemberg*, sent their ambassadors to *Trent*, who were soon followed by *Sleidan* the historian, as deputy from the city of *Strasburg*, who relating his own and his collegues negotiations, says, that they would not confer with the pope's legates, lest they should thereby seem to allow them a right of judging; but addressed themselves to the emperor's ambassadors, and to the cardinal of *Trent* and the electoral archbishops, desiring their confession of faith to be presented to the council. A few days before they proposed to present their confession, the fourteenth session was celebrated, on the 25th of *November*, when a decree was read concerning the sacrament of penance and extreme unction, and thirteen articles concerning reformation [m]. b c d

*Several* German *bishops repair to* Trent.

THE pope in the mean time, being tired of the expences of a war, sent a legate to the emperor, and another to the king of *France*, with proposals for a neutrality or truce for two years. *Henry* II. very readily embraced this offer, and in the beginning of the following year concluded a treaty with the pope, which gave great offence to the emperor, who was, however, afterwards obliged to consent to it. *Charles* resided then at *Inspruck*, within three days journey of *Trent*, and was chiefly attentive to the proceedings of the council. About the beginning of *January* the *Saxon* ambassadors arrived at *Trent*, and demanded that a safe-conduct should be given to the divines whom prince *Maurice* intended to send to the council, like that which was formerly granted by the council of *Basil* to the *Bohemians*; that the pope should not preside; and that the prelates who composed the council should be absolved from their oath of obedience to him. A few days after, the ambassadors of the duke of *Wirtemberg* presented their confession of faith in a general congregation, which was held at the legates' lodgings, and demanded that proper judges should be appointed to decide the disputes betwixt their divines and those of the catholics, and that all the past acts of the council should be revoked. The same demands were likewise made by the *Saxon* ambassadors, who were admitted in the evening; but they did not deliver their confession of faith, composed by *Melancthon*, as they had no instructions for that purpose. The fifteenth session was held the next day, which was the 25th of *January*, when a decree was read, declaring, that, at the demand of the protestants, all points which should have been decided that day were deferred till the 19th of *March*, and a new safe-conduct was granted to them, which the council affirmed was more ample than the former [n]. A few days after the protestants received copies of the safe-conduct; but perceiving that the articles which they insisted upon being inserted were wholly omitted, they complained of this proceeding to the e f

*The pope agrees to a neutrality with the emperor and the king of* France. A. D. 1552.

*The protestants deliver their confession of faith to the pope's legates at* Trent.

*Their complaints are disregarded.*

[k] BELLEFOR. l. vi. c. 71. PARADIN. ad an. 1551. SLEID. l. xxii. [l] SPOND. Annal. SLEIDAN, l. xxii. & xxiii. [m] Idem ibid. [n] RAINALD. SPOND. ad an. 1552. PALLAVICIN, l. xii. c. xv.

imperial

a imperial ambaſſadors, without receiving any ſatisfactory anſwer (Q). News in the mean time arriving that prince *Maurice* had declared war againſt the emperor, the electors of *Mentz* and *Cologne* immediatley left *Trent*; and the *Saxon* ambaſſadors having declared that they were intirely ignorant of their maſter's deſigns, retired to *Breſcia*, from whence they returned home by different routes. A few days after their departure, ſix divines arrived at *Trent* from *Wirtemberg* and *Strasburg*; and the fathers of the council ſtill refuſing to allow their confeſſion to be publicly read, they cauſed it to be printed and diſperſed, which gave great offence to the catholics. The next ſeſſion, which was appointed to be held on the 19th of *March*, was deferred till the 1ſt of *May*; and, in the mean time, the proteſtant ambaſſadors declared to thoſe of the emperor, that although the council had not granted their
b firſt demand, their divines offered themſelves to diſpute on the points of religion, on condition that their right ſhould not thereby be prejudiced; but as the catholics had diſputed on the firſt fundamental articles, it was reaſonable that the proteſtants ſhould be allowed to do the ſame. The legates paying no regard to this declaration, the proteſtant divines a few days after wrote to the imperial ambaſſadors, deſiring that their adverſaries would publiſh their objections to their doctrine in writing, which they were ready to anſwer [o].

THE legates, inſtead of complying with this requeſt, began to be afraid that the emperor was acting in concert with the proteſtants, and intended, by means of the prelates in his intereſt, to depreſs and reform the court of *Rome*. They therefore readily embraced all pretences for delays; and news arriving that the elector *Maurice* had made himſelf maſter of
c *Augsburg*, and that the confederate army was marching to ſeize the paſſes of the *Alps*, the greateſt part of the *Italian* biſhops fled to *Verona*, and the proteſtants, after giving in a writing in juſtification of their paſt proceedings, likewiſe left *Trent*. The legates immediately diſpatched an expreſs to the pope, who having ſent a bull for ſuſpending the council in caſe of neceſſity, they held the ſixteenth ſeſſion on the 28th of *April*, in which the council was formally ſuſpended for two years, notwithſtanding a proteſtation given in by twelve *Spaniſh* biſhops, who alledged, that the war in *Germany* was not a ſufficient reaſon for the ſuſpenſion of the council, which, by being continued, would rather be a means of procuring peace [p].

*Many prelates leave* Trent *on account of the diſturbances in* Germany.

*The council is ſuſpended for two years.*

BY this ſuſpenſion of the council the emperor loſt all hopes of inducing the proteſtants to
d return to the old religion, eſpecially as he was ſoon after obliged to conſent to a peace with the elector *Maurice* and the confederates, which was concluded at *Paſſau*. Among other matters it was agreed, that a diet ſhould aſſemble within ſix months, to conſult of the means of terminating all differences on account of religion; that, in the mean time, none ſhould be moleſted on account of their religious opinions; and that, although no means ſhould be found in the diet for accommodating the religious difference, the preſent peace and concord ſhould, nevertheleſs, continue for ever firm and unviolated [q]. *Julius*, in the mean time, appointed ſeveral cardinals to conſult of means to reform the abuſes of the church, and the corrupt and diſſolute manners of the clergy; but, after ſeveral meetings and adjournments, nothing was determined of any conſequence. His attention began to be A. D. 1553.
e engaged by the new commotions raiſed in *Italy*, on account of the revolt of *Siena*, which city had expelled the *Spaniſh* garriſon, and admitted *French* troops. As Don *Pedro de Toledo*, the viceroy of *Naples*, in the month of *January* began his march for *Tuſcany* with a formidable army, in order to reduce the rebels, *Julius*, remembering the fate of *Clement* VII. immediately levied 8000 men for the defence of the eccleſiaſtical territories, the command of whom he gave to *Camillo Urſini*. About the ſame time he ſent legates to the emperor and the king of *France*, offering them his mediation for a general peace.

*The proteſtants obtain an honourable peace.*

SOON after, at the deſire of *Mary* queen of *England*, who intended to reſtore the authority of the pope in that kingdom, he ordered cardinal *Poole* to repair thither as his legate *à latere*, and in his journey through *Germany* to exhort the emperor to peace. The cardinal left
f *Rome* about the end of *October*; but as he had not yet taken prieſt's orders, the emperor was apprehenſive leſt *Mary* ſhould chuſe him for her husband, in preference to his ſon *Philip*: he therefore found a pretence to ſtop him at *Augsburg*, and repreſented to the queen, that the cardinal's forward zeal for the intereſts of the holy ſee would certainly inflame the

*Cardinal* Poole *ſent as legate* à latere *to* England.

[o] SLEIDAN, l. xxiii. [p] Idem ibid. BELCAR. l. xxiii. ADRIAN. l. viii. PALLAV. l. xiii. SPOND. Annal.
[q] CHYTRÆ. Saxon. l. xvii. p. 458. GOLDAST. Conſt. imper.

(Q) Theſe articles, which had formerly been granted to the *Bohemians*, and were now omitted, were, 1. That the proteſtants ſhould have the right of voting in the council. 2. That the holy ſcripture, the practice of the primitive church, the ancient councils, and the fathers, whoſe writings agreed with the ſcriptures, ſhould be the judges of all controverſies. 3. That all ambaſſadors, during the continuance of the council, ſhould be allowed the free exerciſe of their religion in their own lodgings. 4. That nothing ſhould be ſaid or acted in contempt or ridicule of their religion (1).

(1) *Sleidan, l.* xxiii. *Belcar. l.* xxv.

people of *England*; and, at the ſame time, he urged the alliance with his ſon ſo ſucceſsfully, a
that the queen gave her conſent to the match, which was likewiſe approved by the parliament [r]. During theſe proceedings, *Julius* confirmed *Simon Sulaka* the patriarch of the Chriſtians on the eaſt ſide of the *Euphrates*; and having ordered him to be ordained a biſhop, he inveſted him with the patriarchal pall with his own hands, in the conſiſtory, conferred upon him ſeveral rich preſents, and ſent with him to his own country ſeveral religious men,
A. D. 1554. ſkilled in the *Syriac* language, and the rites of the *Roman* church [s]. At the ſame time he ſent ſome troops to aſſiſt the imperialiſts and *Florentines* in the ſiege of *Siena*, and ſoon after he received an embaſſy from the emperor's ſon *Philip*, informing him of his marriage with the queen of *England*, and offering homage for the kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, which, before the celebration of the nuptials, his father had reſigned to him. b

*He in vain endeavours to reconcile the emperor and the king of* France.

MEAN while, upon the complaints of cardinal *Poole*, the emperor had allowed him to proceed to *Bruſſels*, where he himſelf then reſided; but that he might delay his journey to *England* till the marriage ſhould be concluded, he pretended an inclination to a peace with *France*, and deſired the cardinal to act as mediator. *Poole* accordingly had a conference with *Henry* II. but quickly found that neither he nor the emperor had any real inclination to peace [s]. Soon after an embaſſy arriving from king *Philip* and queen *Mary*, inviting him to *England*, he took leave of the emperor, and ſet out for *London*, where, on the 23d of *November*, he was received with great demonſtrations of joy; and a few days after, being reinſtated in his former poſſeſſions and dignity, he ſolemnly abſolved the nation from the cenſures they had incurred on account of the ſchiſm and hereſy. Ambaſſadors were then c
ordered to proceed to *Rome*, to declare the obedience of that nation to the apoſtolic ſee; the news of which proceedings being brought by an expreſs to the pope, he immediately ordered public ſupplications over all *Italy*, and publiſhed general indulgences as in the year of jubilee [u]. About the ſame time, being informed that the emperor had appointed a diet to be held at *Augsburg* in the beginning of *February*, he ſent the cardinal *Moron* to *Germany*
A. D. 1555. as his legate, to exhort the proteſtants to follow the example of *England*, and to acknowlege the authority of the ſee of *Rome*, charging him, however, to avoid all conferences on the diſputed points of religion [w]. *Moron* had hardly arrived at the diet, when being informed of the death of pope *Julius*, he immediately ſet out for *Rome*, together with the cardinal of

Julius *dies at* Rome.

*Augsburg*. *Julius* died on the 23d of *March* of a lethargy, according to ſome authors; d
but others affirm, that his death was occaſioned by a change of diet, which his phyſician adviſed him to on account of the gout; while many alledged, that he altered his diet at firſt under a pretence of ſickneſs, that he might avoid calling a conſiſtory, which he knew would oppoſe the demands of his brother *Baldwin*, who deſired earneſtly to be put in poſſeſſion of *Camerino* [x].

Marcellus II. *is elected pope, and dies within twenty-two days after his election.*

*JULIUS* III. was ſucceeded in the pontificate by *Marcellus Cervinus*, a native of *Montfano*, and cardinal of the holy croſs at *Jeruſalem*, who being elected on the 9th of *April* retained his own name, and was next day conſecrated biſhop, and then ſolemnly crowned. Upon his promotion, he prohibited all his relations from coming to *Rome*, and communicated to the cardinal of *Mantua* his deſign of aſſembling a general council for a thorough reformation of e
the church, which, he ſaid, would rather eſtabliſh than depreſs the authority of the *Roman* ſee. However, he was prevented by death from putting his deſign in execution; for having greatly fatigued himſelf with the many ſuperfluous and troubleſome ceremonies, which he performed in the holy week before *Eaſter*, he died of an apoplexy, or, according to ſome authors, of poiſon, on the laſt day of *April*, on the 22d day after his election, and in the 54th year of his age [y].

A FEW days after the death of *Marcellus*, forty five cardinals, who were then at *Rome*, entered the conclave, where the cardinal of *Augsburg*, ſeconded by *Moron*, propoſed that, among the other articles which the ſacred college uſually ſwore to at an election, the two following ſhould be added, by which the new pope ſhould be obliged, within two years, to f
aſſemble a general council, for completing the reformation already begun, and to induce the proteſtants to receive the decrees of the council of *Trent*; and that he ſhould likewiſe bind himſelf by oath, not to create above four cardinals in the firſt two years of his pontificate [z].

Paul IV. *is elected*;

This motion, however, was oppoſed, and on the 22d of *May* cardinal *Caraffa* was elected pope, notwithſtanding the great oppoſition of the imperial party. As he ſeemed to have a great averſion to the *Spaniards*, and had received ſome bad offices from the emperor, it was generally concluded that he would favour the king of *France*. He aſſumed the name of

[r] BURNET's Hiſt. Reform. vol. ii. SLEIDAN, l. xxv. PALLAV. l. xiii. RAIN. [s] ONUPHR. in vit. Jul. III. [s] SPOND. Annal. ad an. 1554. [u] BURNET, ut ſupra. SLEIDAN l. xxv. [w] SLEIDAN, l. xxvi. PALLAVICIN, l. xiii. ADRIAN, l. xii. [x] SPOND. Annal PANVIN. in vit. Jul. III. [y] PANVIN. in vit. Marcellus II. GENEBR. Chron. l. iv. [z] RAINALD, ad an. 1555. PALLAV. l. xiii.

*PAUL*

a *Paul* IV. and was crowned on the 3d day after his election (R). As he was of a moroſe diſpoſition, and had been the author and contriver of the inquiſition, his election ſtruck a great terror into the *Romans*, who expected that he would proceed with great ſeverity in the reformation of abuſes. However, he began his pontificate with great magnificence, exceeded all his predeceſſors in pomp and ceremony at his coronation, and told the ſteward of his houſhold, that he would be ſerved *as became a prince*. Soon after he began to follow his natural temper, and publiſhed ſome very ſevere edicts for correcting the diſſolute manners of the city. He reformed the offices of the datary, the penitentiary, and the rota, and ordered the prieſts to be more moderate both in their dreſs and in their tables. He likewiſe conferred ſeveral new privileges on the *Romans*, who, as a teſtimony of their gratitude, erected
b a marble ſtatue to him in the capitol, and choſe more than 100 of their nobles, who were appointed to ſerve without any pay, as a life-guard to the popes, and were by him created knights of the faith [a].

*he receives the ſubmiſſion of the* Engliſh *ambaſſadors.*

In the beginning of his pontificate, the *Engliſh* ambaſſadors, who had been ſent to *Julius*, arriving at *Rome*, he gave audience to them with great ſtate and pomp, in his firſt conſiſtory; and, after they had continued for ſome time proſtrate at his feet, begging that the nation might again be received into the boſom of the church, he raiſed them and embraced them, and, in reward for the piety of the king and queen, he gave the title of a kingdom to *Ireland*. Afterwards, at a private conference, he inſiſted that all the eccleſiaſtical poſſeſſions which had been ſeized by *Henry* VIII. ſhould be reſtored, and that the *Peter-pence*
c ſhould immediately be collected for the uſe of the *Roman* ſee [b]. Soon after, being informed of the decree which was publiſhed by the diet of *Augsburg* on the 25th of *September*, confirming the peace of *Paſſau*, which the elector *Maurice* and the proteſtant confederates, three years before, had obtained from the emperor, he was greatly offended with *Ferdinand*, king of the *Romans*, who preſided at the diet, and even declared, that he would make the emperor and his brother repent the injury they had done to the holy ſee; that he would excommunicate the proteſtants, and all thoſe who protected them; but if *Charles* and *Ferdinand* would retract what they had granted them, he offered to ſecond them with his authority, and to oblige all Chriſtian princes, under pain of cenſures, to aſſiſt them with their forces [c].

*he condemns the toleration granted to the proteſtants of* Germany.

His reſentment againſt the emperor was owing to another cauſe than the peace granted
d to the proteſtants; for having formerly received a perſonal injury from the *Neapolitan* viceroy, who had refuſed to allow him to take poſſeſſion of the archbiſhopric of *Naples*, on pretence that he favoured the *French* party, he had then endeavoured, with great earneſtneſs, to excite *Paul* III. to declare war againſt the emperor. His hopes of revenge, however, being at that time fruſtrated, he now thought it a proper time to diſcover his enmity to the *Spaniards*; and having formed a deſign to deprive them of the kingdom of *Naples*, on the 16th of *September* he privately concluded a treaty with *Henry* II. for ſeizing that kingdom, by which means he hoped to aggrandize the princes of his family [d]. About the ſame time, by their inſtigation, he began to perſecute the family of *Colonna*, and others, who were known to have an attachment to the emperor. Under pretence of a plot, which he alleged had been
e formed by the imperialiſts againſt him, he increaſed his troops and guards by new levies, thruſt the cardinal *Sforza*, *Camilla*, *Colonna*, and the abbot of *Briſegna* into priſon, and confiſcating all the territories belonging to the *Colonna* family within the dominions of the church, beſtowed them on his nephew *John*, count of *Montorio*, whom he created duke of *Paliano*, and general of the forces of the church [e]. He likewiſe confiſcated the marquiſate of *Montebello*, which he conferred on *Anthony Caraffa*, another of his nephews; and being fully reſolved on a war, he fortified *Paliano*, which was conveniently ſituated on the frontiers of *Naples*.

*Reſolves to deprive the emperor of the kingdom of* Naples, *and*

*perſuades the king of* France *to violate his truce with the emperor, and* A. D. 1556.

Mean while he was greatly alarmed with the news of a truce, which his ally the king of *France* and the emperor had agreed to for five years. Though he was not a little offended
f with *Henry* II. yet he diſſembled his reſentment, and ſent the cardinal of *Piſa* to the emperor and *Philip*, and his nephew cardinal *Caraffa* to the *French* king, to congratulate them upon the truce, and to exhort them to a general peace, that the council might be re-aſſumed. *Caraffa*, however, preſſed *Henry* very much to engage in a *Neapolitan* war; and being ſeconded by the cardinal of *Lorrain*, and his brother the duke of *Guiſe*, he at length ſucceeded, and abſolved the king from the oath he had taken to obſerve the truce. In the mean time the imperialiſts, having marched to the aſſiſtance of the family of *Colonna*, under the command of the viceroy, and the duke of *Alva*, quickly made themſelves maſters of all the

[a] Panvin. in vit. Paul IV. [b] Spond. Annal. [c] Pallavicin. l. xiii. Rainald. [d] Belcar. l. xxvi. in fin. [e] Adrian, l. xiii. Panvin. in vit. Paul IV.

(R) *Paul* IV. was born of a noble *Neapolitan* family in the year 1476, and had obtained a great reputation for integrity and purity of manners. He was ſkilled in *Latin*, *Greek*, and *Hebrew*; and having been created archbiſhop of *Chieti* by *Julius* II. he inſtituted the order of regular clerks called *Theatins*, in 1524. He was elevated to the dignity of cardinal by *Paul* III. and *Julius* III. created him archbiſhop of *Naples*.

*Campania* of *Rome*, while the duke of *Guiſe* was preparing to march into *Italy* with an army of 12,000 *French*, to the aſſiſtance of *Paul*. This unexpected ſucceſs of the *Neapolitans* greatly diſtreſſed the pope, who, to ſupport the war, miſerably harraſſed his ſubjects. He exacted half a year's revenue from all offices, doubled the tythes upon all benefices, converted many of the churches into magazines and ſtorehouſes, ſeized all the horſes in *Rome* to ſerve in the war, and compelled all the monks, of what order ſoever, to labour at the works, and to carry earth to the fortifications. He likewiſe ordered all private debts to be paid into his treaſury, promiſing to ſatisfy the creditors afterwards, and raiſed all the cuſtoms and taxes to an exceſſive degree. However, the miſeries and groans of his ſubjects were not able to incline his fierce and implacable ſpirit to a peace; but the duke of *Guiſe* having, in the beginning of the year, entered *Lombardy*, he preſſed him earneſtly to advance with his army, and invade *Naples*, contrary to the opinion of the moſt prudent *French* generals, who thought it would be more advantageous to carry on the war in the *Milaneſe*, which was then in a very defenceleſs ſtate [f].

*to ſend an army into* Italy. A. D. 1557.

*PAUL*, in the mean time, having been informed that *Charles* V. had abdicated the empire in favour of his brother *Ferdinand*, he wrote to the eccleſiaſtical electors to prohibit them from receiving his reſignation; which, however, was approved of by the electors at a diet held at *Frankfort*, where *Ferdinand* conſented to receive the imperial enſigns, on condition that he ſhould be allowed to ſend an embaſſy to the pope, to aſk his confirmation. While *Paul* thus manifeſted his enmity againſt the emperor, the arms of his ſon *Philip*, to whom he had reſigned his hereditary dominions, were very ſucceſsful in *Italy*. The duke of *Alva* had obliged the *French* to raiſe the ſiege of ſome places on the frontiers of *Naples*; and towards the end of *Auguſt* approached with his army towards *Rome*, in hopes of ſurpriſing the city. At the ſame time the duke of *Guiſe* being recalled with his forces to oppoſe the *Spaniards* in *Flanders*, who in the beginning of the month had gained a ſignal victory over the *French* at St. *Quintin*, *Paul*, with great regret, was obliged to conſent to a peace, which was concluded on the 13th of *September*.

*He is obliged to conclude a peace with the viceroy of* Naples.

The war being finiſhed, *Paul* immediately ſent legates to the kings of *France* and *Spain*, offering himſelf as mediator of their differences, but without any ſucceſs. In the mean time, applying himſelf to the reformation of abuſes, he ordered the inquiſitors to compoſe an index of books, proper to be condemned and prohibited as impious and heretical (S). He likewiſe ordered the tribunal of the inquiſition to take cognizance of ſeveral crimes, which before had been under the juriſdiction of the other courts; and was ſo active and diligent in his enquiry after criminals, that he quickly filled all the priſons of the inquiſition. Suſpecting that cardinal *Moron* had ſome ſecret correſpondence with the proteſtants in *Germany*, he impriſoned him, together with the biſhop of *Cava*, in the caſtle of *St. Angelo*, where they underwent a ſevere inquiſition; and tho' they both proved their innocence, and were afterwards ſet at liberty, yet, on their account, he detained the biſhop of *Modena* a long while in priſon [g]. Abou tthe ſame time, to the general ſurprize of his court, he deprived cardinal *Poole* of his legation in *England*, and recalled him to *Rome*, thereby, as it was ſuppoſed, gratifying his own private reſentment againſt that prelate, whom he had formerly accuſed of hereſy in the conclave [h] (T). He likewiſe, ſoon after, publiſhed a ſevere bull againſt thoſe who ſhould receive benefices under the name of others, or ſhould offer annual penſions for them, or ſhould reſign their own for an annuity, or, laſtly, ſhould for a reward procure any benefices for another [i]. To put a ſtop to the cabals and intrigues of the cardinals of the imperial faction, he renewed all the former laws and canons againſt thoſe who ſhould hold conventicles or ſecret meetings, to ſollicit the votes of the ſacred college for the pontificate during the life of the pope, declaring them guilty of treaſon and ſimony, of whatever rank and degree, whether eccleſiaſtical or ſecular.

*impriſons cardinal* Moron *on ſuſpicion of hereſy:*

*recals cardinal* Poole *from* England, *and*

THE following year an ambaſſador arrived at *Rome* from the emperor *Ferdinand*, who, upon the reſignation of his brother, had accepted the imperial dignity. *Paul*, however, would not admit him to an audience, but affirmed, that the reſignation of *Charles*, and the ſubſtitution of *Ferdinand*, were both null, as done without the authority of the pope, into whoſe

*refuſes to acknowledge* Ferdinand *emperor.* A. D. 1558.

[f] ONUPH. in vit. Paul. IV. BELCAR. l. xxvii. Annal. [g] ONUPHR. PANVIN. ut ſupra. [h] SPOND. [i] Idem ibid.

(S) This *index expurgatorius* was publiſhed two years afterwards; and all were prohibited, under pain of excommunication, incapacity of enjoying any offices or benefices, perpetual infamy, and other arbitrary puniſhments, from poſſeſſing or reading any of the books mentioned in that catalogue (1).

(T) Some alledge that he was offended with the cardinal for being the author of the truce betwixt the emperor *Charles* and *Henry* II. others ſay, for not preventing queen *Mary* from declaring war againſt *France*, while the duke of *Guiſe* was in *Italy*. But whatever was the motive of proceeding, he thereby greatly leſſened his own reputation, without injuring in the leaſt that of the cardinal, who died in the end of the following year in *England*, in the 59th year of his age (2).

(1) *Spond. Annal.* (2) *Goduin. de Preſul. Ang. Cambden.*

a hands the resignation ought to have been made. He therefore insisted that *Ferdinand* should send a proxy to *Rome*, to renounce all the proceedings of the diet at *Frankfort*, and to resign the whole affair to his arbitration, declaring, that he would then confirm *Ferdinand* in the imperial dignity. The emperor hearing of the pope's determination, wrote to his ambassador to enter a protestation, and to leave *Rome*, if he was not admitted to an audience within three days after the receiving of this letter. Notwithstanding this peremptory command, *Paul* still remained inflexible. He only admitted the ambassador to a private interview, in the presence of some cardinals, desired him to enter his protestation, and return to *Ferdinand*; and declared, that he would forthwith send a legate to the emperor *Charles*, to treat of the affair of the resignation. *Charles* died a few months after at a b monastery in *Spain*, whither he had retired from worldly grandeur. *Paul*, however, during his whole pontificate, would never consent to acknowledge *Ferdinand* as emperor [k].

*The pope's nephews punished, and banished.* A. D. 1559.

THOUGH the pope, by his arrogance and severity, had rendered himself odious to the *Romans*, yet he gave general satisfaction in punishing the crimes of his nephews, who had greatly abused the trusts committed to their charge. On the 26th of *January*, in a full consistory, he removed the cardinal *Caraffa* from all administration of affairs, deprived him of his legation of *Bologna*, and banished him to *Patricia*: he dismissed the duke of *Paliano* from being admiral of the gallies, and general of the army of the church; and ordered the marquis of *Montebello* to resign the office of captain of his guards, and to retire to his own castle: he refused to hearken to any intercessions made by the cardinals in their behalf; c and suppressing some new taxes, which he pretended had been raised without his knowledge, he removed all those who had received any places from his nephews, and even put several of them in prison [l] (U). Applying his mind then wholly to the office of the inquisition, he ordered a box to be fixed in a public place of his palace, into which all persons were at liberty to put accusations and informations; and he commanded all causes belonging to the holy office to be tried before himself once a week. About the same time he published a bull, by which he renewed all the punishments and censures against heretics, which had ever been decreed by any popes, councils, and fathers, declaring all prelates, emperors, kings, and princes convicted of heresy, to be thereby, without any farther declaration, deprived of their benefices, empires, kingdoms, and principalities [m]. He likewise ordered all bishops to pro- d ceed to their own dioceses, and all those who had embraced a monastic life to return to their monasteries, admitting of no excuse in these last, but denouncing an anathema against those who should disobey; and executing his mandate in his own territories with such rigour, that many of the vagrant monks were imprisoned, and several of them sent to the gallies [n] (W).

*Several new bishoprics erected in* Flanders.

AT this time he also erected thirteen cities in the *Low Countries* into bishoprics, where there were only two before, namely *Cambray* and *Utrecht*, which, with the city of *Mechlin*, he raised to the dignity of metropolitan sees, with jurisdiction over the new-erected bishoprics; by which proceeding he greatly irritated the minds of the inhabitants, many of whom had embraced the doctrines of *Luther*, *Calvin*, and other reformers; and being ap- e prehensive that these alterations were only a prelude to the introduction of the inquisition, began to consult about freeing themselves from the oppression of the *Spaniards* [o]. A few days before the bull for these alterations was published, he received the news of a peace, concluded on the 2d of *April*, between the kings of *France* and *Spain*, at which he expressed great joy.

Paul *refuses to acknowledge the right of queen* Elizabeth *to the throne of* England.

HE was greatly dissatisfied, however, with the elevation of queen *Elizabeth* to the throne of *England*, which about this time was signified to him by the *English* ambassadors. He alledged, that as *England* was a fief of the apostolic see, she could not assume the administration of the kingdom without the leave of the pope, especially considering the defect of her right by birth; nevertheless, if she would submit to his arbitration, he would act to- f wards her with paternal tenderness. This ridiculous and absurd declaration was of great service to the queen, in weaning her subjects from any attachment to the *Roman* see. The pope, however, is supposed to have been only the dupe of the *French* ambassador, and to have objected to her succession from his insinuations of her secret attachment to *Lutheranism*, *Henry* II. being afraid that she would conclude a marriage with his rival in power the

[k] GODELEV. de abdicat. Carol. in tit. ii. Comes. l. xii. [l] ONUPHR. in vit. Paul IV. Natal. Comes. l. xii. [m] SPOND. Annal. [n] ONUPH. ut supra. [o] VANDERHAER. de init. tumult. Belg. l. i. OPER. Histor.

(U) After the banishment of his nephews, he behaved for some time with more than usual serenity, and is reported to have said, that from that period he ought to begin to count the years of his pontificate (1).

(W) In consequence of this edict 30,000 monks of different orders, who could not be received into monasteries, took refuge in the state of *Venice*, where the authority of the pope is greatly limited (2).

(1) *Epist. Princip. t.* iii. *Victorel. in Paul IV.* (2) *Spond. Annal.*

king of *Spain*; and beſides, being deſirous to promote the intereſts of his daughter-in-law, *Mary* queen of *Scotland*, who formed pretenſions to the *Engliſh* crown, on the ſuppoſition that *Elizabeth* was an adulterous baſtard [p]. a

*He dies at* Rome *greatly hated by the* Romans.

*PAUL* did not long ſurvive the news of the revolution of religion in *England*; but having been for ſome time afflicted with a dropſy, died on the 16th of *Auguſt*, in the 84th year of his age, and the fifth of his pontificate, after exhorting the cardinals, whom he called into his chamber, to unite in chuſing a worthy ſucceſſor, and recommending to them the continuance of the inquiſition [q]. Scarce any pope had ever acted with more arrogance and deſpotiſm. His intentions were good and ſincere, but there was ſo much ſavage ferocity in his behaviour, that he rendered himſelf univerſally hated; ſo that, even before his death, while he lay expiring, the *Romans* aſſembled in a tumultuous manner, curſed his name and b family, and, after having given liberty to the priſoners, ſet fire to the new building of the inquiſition, and were with great difficulty prevented from doing the ſame to the convent of the *Dominicans* at *Minerva*. He was no ſooner dead than they ran to the Capitol, broke off the head and right hand of his ſtatue, which they toſſed about the ſtreets for three days, and at length threw into the *Tyber*; and an edict being publiſhed, in the name of the *Roman* people, for aboliſhing the arms of the *Caraffa* family, it was executed with ſuch diſpatch, that the ſame day there was no memorial of that name left in the city [r].

Upon the death of *Paul* IV. the *Roman* ſee was vacant more than four months, occaſioned by the diſſentions among the cardinals, who, to the number of forty-four, entered the conclave on the 5th of *September*, where, after long conteſts and repeated ſcrutinies, c they at length, on *Chriſtmas* evening, unanimouſly choſe *John Angelo Medicini*, cardinal of *Sancta Priſca*, who aſſuming the name of *Pius* IV. was crowned on the 6th of *January* (X).

Pius IV. *elected.* A. D. 1560.

*Pius* began his pontificate with pardoning the riotous proceedings of the *Romans* upon the death of his predeceſſor, upon condition that they repaired all the damages done to the holy office of the inquiſition. He received without any ſcruple the ambaſſadors of the emperor *Ferdinand*, whoſe election he confirmed; and examining the ſeveral innovations of his predeceſſor, he revoked the trials of common cauſes to the uſual forms of law. A few months after his promotion, he ordered the nephews of the late pope, with ſeveral others of their kindred and ſervants to be apprehended and impriſoned in the caſtle of *St. Angelo*, where, after long confinement, they were condemned and executed, on account of their d enormous crimes, though the legal form of proceeding was not ſtrictly obſerved at their trial. Cardinal *Alphonſo*, the grand nephew of the late pope, was only fined; but ſeveral other cardinals were likewiſe thrown into priſon, and deprived of rich biſhoprics.

While he acted with this ſeverity towards the nephews of *Paul* and their dependents, he called his own nephews to his court, on whom he conferred ſeveral dignities and rich benefices. The moſt diſtinguiſhed of theſe was *Charles Borromeo*, then in the 22d year of his age, whom he created a cardinal, and, on account of his eminent virtues and abilities, appointed ſupreme adminiſtrator of all eccleſiaſtical affairs. Having likewiſe ſet cardinal *Moron* at liberty, he communicated his moſt ſecret councils with him and his nephew *Borromeo* [s]. Mean while he was ſollicited by the duke of *Savoy* to allow a conference to be e held in his dominions, to ſettle the diſputes concerning religion, as many of the inhabitants of the vallies in the *Alps* had renounced the faith and obedience of the *Roman* church, and ſtill perſiſted in their opinions, notwithſtanding the puniſhments of the inquiſition. *Pius* refuſed his demand; and perſuading the duke that heretics were more eaſily refuted by the ſword than by conferences, a war was begun in the vallies, which continued for a long time.

*He excites the duke of* Savoy *to make war on the proteſtants.*

*Great commotions in* France *on account of religion.*

The intention of the pope was chiefly engroſſed at this time by the diſturbances in *France*, where the proteſtants, together with ſeveral popiſh malecontents, had formed a deſign of depriving the duke of *Guiſe*, and his brother the cardinal, of the adminiſtration of the kingdom, and obliging the young king *Francis* II. to allow the free exerciſe of their re- f ligion. Tho' the plot was diſcovered before it could be put in execution, and was thereby fruſtrated, yet the power of the proteſtants or *Hugonots* appeared ſo formidable, that an edict was publiſhed, prohibiting all puniſhments on account of religion, provided that the doctrine and ceremonies of the *Romiſh* church ſhould be obſerved for the future. By another edict, that was ſoon after publiſhed, the trial of hereſy was taken from the ſecular

[p] Bellefor. l. vi. c. 86. Cambden. in vit. Eliz. Thuan. l. xx. [q] Onuphr. ut ſupra. [r] Idem. ibid. [s] Onuph. ut ſupra.

(X) *John Angelo de Medicini*, or, according to ſome, *de Medicis*, was born at *Milan*, in 1499. His father was a farmer of the public revenue; and his brother, the marquis of *Marigniano*, diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a general in the ſervice of the emperor *Charles* V. (1).

(1) *Spond. Annal.*

courts,

courts, and committed to the biſhops, thereby depriving the eccleſiaſtics of any pretence for introducing the inquiſition, which it was apprehended would have occaſioned a general inſurrection in the kingdom. Beſides, a general convention of eſtates, in the end of *Auguſt*, was held at *Fontainbleau*, in which ſome biſhops of *Dauphiny*, after exclaiming againſt the vices and ignorance of the popiſh clergy, and extolling the modeſty, learning, and piety of the *Calviniſt* miniſters, had propoſed to call a national council, as the moſt proper means to put an end to the diſturbances of the kingdom. The pope was greatly alarmed with the news of the proceedings of this convention, and was even apprehenſive that *France* intended to follow the example of *England*, and to form a church independent of the ſee of *Rome*, as the *French* prelates expreſſed a great deſire that the pragmatic ſanction ſhould be again
b renewed. He therefore ſent the biſhop of *Viterbo* immediately to *France*, to repreſent to the king, that a national council would be a great diminution of his royal authority, and would have the appearance of a ſchiſm from the univerſal church. He likewiſe wrote to the king of *Spain*, deſiring him to diſſuade the *French* king from aſſembling the *Gallican* clergy: but *Francis* ſtill inſiſting on the expediency of a national council, and deſiring the pope to ſend a legate into *France*, to aſſemble the biſhops of that kingdom, *Pius*, to cut off all pretences for aſſembling the *French* clergy by themſelves, reſolved to call a general council; and after long conſultations, at length determined to renew that of *Trent*, which had only been ſuſpended.

*The pope determines to renew the council of* Trent.

The emperor and the king of *France* both objected to this propoſal, alleging, that the
c very name of *Trent* was odious both to the proteſtants and *Hugonots*; and that they expected a new council, where all articles of faith might be canvaſſed with freedom. Notwithſtanding their objections, *Pius*, thinking it moſt for the honour of the *Roman* ſee to renew the old council, after long diſputes with the imperial and *French* ambaſſadors, on the 28th of *November* publiſhed a bull, taking off the ſuſpenſion of the council of *Trent*, which he appointed to be again opened on the following *Eaſter*. Immediately after he diſpatched nuncios to all the Chriſtian princes, deſiring them not to be offended with the word *continuation*, which he had put into his bull, as it would be no impediment to the reviſal of any former proceedings, and would not prevent the council from altering what had been decreed during the pontificate of *Paul* and *Julius* III. *Pius* began to be very
d anxious for aſſembling of the general council, as *Francis* II. had died in the ſecond year of his reign, a few days before the publiſhing of his bull, and the ſtates of that kingdom, who about the middle of *December* had aſſembled at *Orleans*, had by a decree ordered all thoſe who were impriſoned on account of religion, to be ſet at liberty, and that none ſhould be reproached or puniſhed for their opinions, or religious profeſſion; from whence he concluded, that *France* as well as *Germany*, intended to revolt from the obedience of the holy ſee [t].

*His nuncios meet with a general bad reception.* A. D. 1561.

About this time two of his nuncios arriving with the ambaſſadors of the emperor at *Naumberg*, where the proteſtants were aſſembled, invited them to ſend their deputies to the council of *Trent*. The proteſtant princes declared to the imperial ambaſſadors, that they
e did not reject a council, provided their divines were allowed to ſit and vote, and the ultimate deciſion ſhould be left to the word of God, and not to the pope; but they replied to the nuncios, that as they did not acknowlege any authority or juriſdiction of the pope, they did not deſire to know his intention in calling a council, and returned the letters unopened, which the pope had addreſſed to each of them ſingly [u]. One of the nuncios retiring from this diet, proceeded to *Lubec* in the north of *Germany*, from whence he ſent to the king of *Denmark*, deſiring leave to enter his kingdom: but *Frederic*, who two years before had ſucceeded to the throne, replied, that as neither he nor his father had ever any concern with the pope, he knew no buſineſs his nuncios could have with him. The nuncio to the queen of *Scotland* was obliged to enter that kingdom in diſguiſe, and obtained a promiſe from the
f queen, that ſhe would adhere to the decrees of the council [w]. But queen *Elizabeth* of *England*, notwithſtanding the intreaties of the emperor and the king of *Spain*, abſolutely refuſed to allow the nuncio to enter her kingdom [x]. In *Poland* the nuncio was received in an honourable manner; but the duke of *Muſcovy* replied to his ſollicitations, that as he was an ally of the proteſtants, he would not conſent to the council [y]. The nuncios likewiſe did not meet with great encouragement from the emperor nor the king of *France*, who both objected to the word *continuation*, and declared, that unleſs there was an alteration made in the bull, they could not approve of the council, which, inſtead of doing any good, would only occaſion new ſchiſms [z]. *Charles* IX. of *France*, who was then a minor, and in ſome meaſure under the direction of the admiral *de Coligni*, declared, that if the pope did not grant

[t] Bellefor. l. xvi. c. 91. 92. Belcar. l. xx. Thuan. l. xxvi. [u] Onuphr. in vit. Pii IV. Caytræ Saxon. l. xxii. [w] Spond. Annal. [x] Sander. de Schiſm. l. iii. [y] Spond. Annal. [z] Idem ibid. Polan. Hiſt. Trident.

his demand, he ſhould be obliged to have recourſe to a national council, as the moſt proper means to quiet the diſturbances of his kingdom. a

Pius *offndes the king of* Spain, *by granting an audience to the ambaſſador of the king of* Navarre.

THE king of *Spain* alſo formed objections to the council, from his reſentment againſt the pope, who had granted a public audience to the ambaſſador of the king of *Navarre*. This *Philip* II. interpreted as a condemnation of his right to that kingdom, which had been unjuſtly ſeized by his grandfather *Ferdinand* of *Arragon*. *Pius*, to appeaſe the king, ſent a legate into *Spain* to excuſe his proceeding; and as the time for the opening of the council approached, he ſent two legates to *Trent*, who arriving at that city on the 9th of *April*, three days after *Eaſter*, found only nine biſhops, who had come thither a few days before. The pope likewiſe, to encourage the biſhops and prelates to repair to the council, publiſhed a bull, granting ſeveral privileges to thoſe who undertook that journey. b

*He ſends his legates to* Trent.

MEAN while the authority of the *Roman* ſee appeared to be daily ſinking in *France*, where, by a royal edict, the *Hugonots*, who were in the priſons, were ordered to be ſet at liberty, and thoſe who were baniſhed in the reign of *Francis* I. were permitted to return. In an aſſembly of the ſtates, which was held in the month of *Auguſt* at *St. Germains*, admiral *de Coligni*, who was the chief of the *Hugonots*, having by his intereſt procured a confirmation of the adminiſtration to the queen mother, ſhe promiſed to allow the free exerciſe of his religion. A conference was likewiſe granted to the *Hugonot* divines, which the pope uſed great pains to prevent; but not ſucceeding, he ſent the cardinal *Ferrara* thither as his legate, to prevent any thing being determined concerning the controverted points. The conference opened at *Poiſſer* on the 2d of *September*, in which *Auguſtine Marloratus*, *Theodore Beza*, *Peter Martyr*, and ten other *Hugonot* divines, defended their doctrines in the preſence of the king, the queen mother, the king of *Navarre*, a great many peers, ſix cardinals, and about ten biſhops; but after long diſputes the conference broke up on the 25th of *November*, without any thing being determined [a]. However the *Hugonots*, having obtained this public diſputation, grew more confident; and the queen regent, at the perſuaſion of ſome of their chiefs, and with the conſent of ſome of the catholic clergy, aſked of the pope, in the name of the *French* prelates, to allow the communion under both kinds in *France*, and divine ſervice to be celebrated in the vulgar tongue, which demands the pope abſolutely refuſed to grant.

*A conference betwixt the* Hugonots *and the papiſts.*

c

*The council is again opened at* Trent. A. D. 1562.

As the reformation was ſpreading into all parts of *Europe*, *Pius* determined to delay the opening of the council no longer; and having ſent other three leagues to *Trent*, deſired the firſt ſeſſion to be opened in the month of *December*. It was however deferred on account of the emperor's ambaſſador till the 18th of *January*, ſome preliminaries having been ſettled three days before in a general congregation. Upon reading the decree for the renewal of the council, a debate enſued; for it being therein propoſed that no queſtion ſhould be debated in the council, but what was firſt moved by the legates (*proponentibus legatis*,) four *Spaniſh* prelates refuſed their aſſent to that article, and urged, that it was an innovation, had never been uſed at former councils, and ſeemed to deprive all others of the liberty of propoſing any queſtion. Their oppoſition, however, was over-ruled, and the next ſeſſion appointed to be held on the 26th of *February*. The king of *Spain*, upon the repreſentation of his prelate, objected to the above article in the decree by his ambaſſador at *Rome*; but he received nothing but evaſive anſwers from the pope, who in his turn complained, that the *Spaniſh* biſhops plainly diſcovered their alienation from the holy ſee, as they had granted their king a free gift of 400,000 crowns annually for ten years, by which great injury was done to the *Spaniſh* church. d e

*The* Hugonots *obtain the free exerciſe of their religion.*

MEAN while the queen regent of *France*, at the perſuaſion of the prince of *Conde*, the admiral *de Coligni*, and the chancellor, publiſhed an edict, allowing the *Hugonots* rhe free exerciſe of their religion, without the walls of the cities, on condition that they taught nothing contrary to the old and new Teſtament, and to the council of *Nice*, and abſtained from railing againſt the maſs and other rites of the *Roman* church. The pope was greatly offended with this edict; nevertheleſs the queen, being afraid of an inſurrection, ſoon after publiſhed another, confirming the former, and even allowing them to hold their aſſemblies in all the cities of the kingdom, except *Paris*. This ſecond edict, however, had not the deſired effect; for the *Hugonots* reſolving to ſecure to themſelves the liberty of conſcience by arms, ſeized the cities of *Orleans*, *Rouen*, *Lyons*, *Poictiers*, *Anjou*, *Berry*, and *Tours*, which occaſioned a civil war, that continued for ſome time with great animoſity. f

*Proceedings of the council.*

BEFORE the commencement of hoſtilities in *France*, the council celebrated the ſecond ſeſſion, which was held on the 26th of *February*, in which a decree was read concerning an *index expurgatorius* of books; the biſhops of five churches, the emperor's ambaſſador for *Hungary*, the patriarch of *Venice*, four archbiſhops, nine biſhops, one *Benedictine*

[a] SPOND. Annal.

a abbot, two generals of the orders of *Franciſcans* and *Auguſtines*, having been appointed at a general congregation to compoſe the index, which was ordered not to be publiſhed till the concluſion of the council, for fear of exaſperating the proteſtants. The 14th of *March* being appointed for the next ſeſſion, the fathers, in the mean time, aſſembled in general congregations; in one of which they granted a very ample ſafe-conduct to all thoſe, of whatever nation, who differed from the ſynod in points of faith. They then diſputed about thoſe points which were afterwards to be decided in the ſeſſions, particularly about the reſidence of prelates and prieſts in their dioceſes and pariſhes. The greateſt part of the divines and fathers aſſerted with great warmth, that reſidence was *de jure divino*, or appointed by divine revelation; but the party for the pope maintained, that ſuch a doctrine would be
b the ruin of the hierarchy, as every biſhop would then conclude that he himſelf was ſupreme in his own dioceſe; nay, every prieſt would allege, that he had the ſole juriſdiction in his own pariſh. This diſpute continued for ſeveral days; but tho' the majority of the fathers propoſed to form a decree for confirming the divine right of reſidence, yet the legates found means to drop the affair, and leave it undetermined [b]. The *Spaniſh* ambaſſador likewiſe propoſed, that the preſent council ſhould be declared a continuation of the former, held in the ſame city; but his motion being oppoſed by the imperial ambaſſadors, and the legates being alſo divided, nothing was decided on that head: and as the *French* ambaſſadors were upon their journey to *Trent*, the third ſeſſion was formally celebrated without any buſineſs being propoſed, and next ſeſſion was appointed to be held on the 4th of *June*.

c In the mean time the *French* ambaſſadors arriving, were admitted to an audience in a general congregation on the 26th of *May*, when one of them made an elegant oration, wherein he exhorted the fathers to uſe freedom of debate, and to take ſuch meaſures as would free the flock of Chriſt from uſurpation and oppreſſion, as there was then no hazard of having the ſafe-conduct violated, or of diſputing with flames in that city. They then deſired the legates to declare the council a new one, as the *Hugonots* would not otherwiſe acknowledge it; but they replying, that they were only commiſſioned by the pope to preſide at the ſeſſions, the ambaſſadors conſulted with thoſe of the emperor, and agreed not to inſiſt upon their former demand, provided no mention ſhould be made of the continuation of the council in the public acts. They afterwards deſired that the diſcuſſing of
d the articles of faith might be delayed, till the arrival of the deputies from the proteſtants and *Calviniſts*; and added, the *Engliſh* ambaſſador in *France* had declared, that queen *Elizabeth* intended to ſend deputies to the council. In conſequence of their repreſentations all buſineſs was likewiſe deferred at the following ſeſſion, only the prolocutor of the council made an harangue in anſwer to that of the *French* ambaſſador, wherein he endeavoured to prove that the council was free, notwithſtanding the pope's legates preſided, and it had been called by his authority. The next ſeſſion was then appointed on the 16th of *July*, the pope in the mean time expreſſing great diſſatisfaction at the proceedings of the fathers. He blamed his legate, the cardinal of *Mantua*, becauſe he had oppoſed the motion of the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador, who wanted the preſent council to be declared a continuation of the
e former; and he accuſed the *French* amaſſadors as favourers of the *Hugonots* and proteſtants, alleging, that one of them had ſaid that he would bring as many biſhops to the council from *France* and *Germany*, as would be able to deſtroy the idol of *Rome*.

*The* French *ambaſſadors exclaim againſt the papal uſurpations.*

Great part of the council appeared no leſs diſſatisfied with *Pius*, and intended to moderate and limit his authority. The imperial ambaſſadors preſented the grievances of the *Germanic* body in a memorial, and demanded, that the pope ſhould ſubmit to a reformation both in his perſon and court; that the number of cardinals ſhould be reduced to twelve, as at the firſt inſtitution, or at leaſt to twenty-four; that all exemptions, contrary to law, ſhould be revoked; that diſpenſations ſhould not be granted, unleſs for urgent reaſons; that plurality of benefices ſhould be aboliſhed, and eccleſiaſtical offices ſhould not
f be ſet to ſale; that all ſuperfluous canons ſhould be repealed, and the reſt not accounted of the ſame obligation with divine laws; that divine ſervice ſhould be ſo celebrated, that it might be underſtood by the people; that the diſtinction of meats, and the rigour of faſts, ſhould he moderated; that eccleſiaſtics ſhould be allowed to marry, and the communion be granted to the laity under both kinds [c]. The legates, to whom the memorial was preſented, anſwered, that, before the next ſeſſion, they could only have time to determine the diſpute concerning the communion, and then propoſed ſome articles on that head to be diſcuſſed. A great many of the fathers were of opinion that the cup ought to be granted to thoſe of the laity who demanded it, very many catholics, as well as the proteſtants, expreſſing a great deſire to communicate under both kinds. *Gonzaga*, cardinal of *Mantua*, ſeemed inclined to this opinion; however, the papal party prevailed, and in the ſeſſion they eſtabliſhed four

*The imperial ambaſſadors preſent the grievances of the* Germanic *body.*

[b] Spond. Annal. [c] Rainald. ad an. 1562. n. 60 & 61. Goldast. Conſt. imper. t. ii.

articles with regard to the communion; but on account of the abſence of the *German* and *French* biſhops, they delayed determing whether the cup ought to be granted to the laity, and under what conditions it ſhould be allowed. They then read nine articles concerning reformation, by the laſt of which they entirely aboliſhed the name and office of queſtors (Y). a

THE legates, to prevent any farther diſputes about the cup in the euchariſt, remitted that article to the pope, out of regard (as they pretended) to the emperor, who would more eaſily obtain his demands from his holineſs, than from the fathers at *Trent*; whereas in reality theſe laſt, who conſiſted almoſt wholly of *Portugueſe*, *Spaniards*, and *Italians*, were only the tools of the former [d]. Having likewiſe appointed the next ſeſſion to be held on the 17th of *September*, they propoſed the articles concerning the inſtitution and efficacy of the maſs, of the ceremonies to be obſerved in that office, and of mixing water with wine, b to be diſcuſſed in the general congregations. The imperial and *French* ambaſſadors, with many others, inſiſted, that the ſeſſion ſhould be delayed till the arrival of the *French* and *Poliſh* biſhops, and till the concluſion of the *German* diet, which was to be held at *Frankfort* in the month of *November*; but as the pope had deſired the legates to haſten the concluſion of the council, it was carried againſt them; and the articles above-mentioned were debated in the congregations, in which a queſtion was ſtarted, Whether Jeſus Chriſt, when he firſt inſtituted the ſacrament of the euchariſt, did then offer and ſacrifice himſelf? If he did not at that time offer himſelf a ſacrifice, then the maſs, which is founded on the inſtitution, *Do this in remembrance of me*, is no ſacrifice; and if he did ſacrifice himſelf, it muſt have been propitiatory, as it is ſaid *he offered himſelf but once*, and then the ſacrifice on c the croſs had been unprofitable and unneceſſary, as the ſins of mankind had been expiated by the ſacrifice of the euchariſt.

*Decrees concerning the maſs.*

THIS queſtion occaſioned ſo much doubt and debate, that many propoſed to leave the article concerning the maſs undetermined by any particular canon: however, the majority were of a different opinion, and in the following ſeſſion nine articles were read containing the doctrine of the maſs; the ſum of which were, that it had been inſtituted by Chriſt in the laſt ſupper; that it was propitiatory for the living and the dead; that it was offered only to God, though it might ſometimes be celebrated in honour of the ſaints; that the canon of the maſs, and the rites and ceremonies appointed by the church for its celebration, were all free from error; that the maſſes in which the prieſt alone communicated, were common to d all the hearers; that in the chalice, water ought to be mixed with the wine; that the maſs ought not to be celebrated in the vulgar tongue, but that its myſteries ought frequently to be explained to the people: to all which articles anathemas were added againſt the adverſaries of that doctrine: however, twenty-two or twenty-three prelates refuſed their aſſent to this canon. In the ſame ſeſſion a decree was alſo read, concerning reformation, under eleven articles; by which, among other things, full power was given to biſhops to inſpect the nature of diſpenſations, whether they were fairly or ſurreptitiouſly obtained. And by another decree, the article about the cup in the euchariſt was remitted to the deciſion of the pope; at which the emperor was greatly offended, beng ſenſible that the greateſt part of the *Germans* would refuſe to accept of any conceſſion from the pope. Several other de- e terminations of this ſeſſion were likewiſe univerſally blamed, as giving too ample power and juriſdiction to the biſhops.

*Great diſputes concerning the divine right of epiſcopacy.*

THE fathers in the mean time continued their general congregations, and debated with great acrimony concerning the ſacraments of ordination and marriage. Very many, eſpecially of the *Spaniards*, aſſerted the divine right of epiſcopacy, and that the biſhops held their power and authority immediately from Jeſus Chriſt, and not from the pope. This declaration alarmed the legates, who at firſt allowed the debate to proceed freely, while the fathers were diſputing concerning the ſuperiority of the order of biſhops to that of prieſts; but now they prohibited them from treating farther on that ſubject. However, they ſoon after appointed four divines to anſwer the arguments of the *Spaniſh* biſhops; the f chief of theſe defenders being *Lainez*, general of the *Jeſuits*, who declaimed for two hours in a general congregation, and aſſerted, that epiſcopacy was no otherwiſe of divine right, than as the whole order of the hierarchy was inherent in the pope. Both parties defending their opinions with great heat and paſſion, the legates, in order to cool their ardour, deferred the general congregations, and even the approaching ſeſſions, till the arrival of the cardinal of *Lorrain*, with the *French* prelates, who had already entered *Italy*. The cardinal

[d] PALLAVICINI l. ii. c. 9.

(Y) Theſe queſtors were a kind of ſpiritual tax-gatherers, who dreſſed themſelves in ſtrange habits; and aſſembling the people with little hand-bells, extorted money from them under pretence of alms and contributions for pious works, thundering out curſes and anathems as againſt thoſe who refuſed to buy their indulgences. They appropriated the money they raiſed to their own uſe, after having given part of it to the officers at *Rome*, who had procured the authority for raiſing the contributions.

ſoon

a ſoon after entered *Trent*, where he was received with great honour, and on the 23d of *November* admitted to an audience in a general congregation, in which he delivered his credentials. Before his arrival, while the congregations were interrupted, the *Spaniſh* prelates aſſociated themſelves together, and demanded, in a poſitive manner, that epiſcopacy ſhould be declared of divine right. The legates, as the only means to excuſe themſelves, procured twenty prelates of their own party to come to their lodgings, and to demand that no determination might be made of that controverſy; ſo that, to ſatisfy both parties, the queſtion was ſtill left in ſuſpence. At the ſame time they uſed many arts to defeat the intentions of the cardinal of *Lorrain* and the *French* prelates, who had publiſhed on their journey to *Trent*, that they intended to deſtroy the greatneſs and pride of the pope, and
b to free the people from the oppreſſions and tyrannies of the court of *Rome*.

Upon their arrival the number of prelates amounted to 218; the majority of whom being ſuſpected to be enemies to the papal authority, *Pius* immediately diſpatched as many cardinals and biſhops from *Italy* as he could to the council, to reinforce his party The apprehenſions of the legates, with regard to the *French* prelates, ſoon appeared to be juſt, for they eſpouſed, with great warmth, the doctrine of the divine right of epiſcopacy. The cardinal of *Lorrain*, after exclaiming againſt the corruptions of the clergy, and deſcribing the miſeries of *France*, ſaid, *We, the eccleſiaſtics, are the cauſe of all theſe ſtorms; we that have departed and fled from the face of God, caſt us into the ſea, and the tempeſt will ceaſe.* Another declared, that if the cauſe of the civil diſturbances in *France* were required, he might
c anſwer as *Jehu* did to *Joram*, when he aſked, *Is it peace*, Jehu? *How can it be peace, ſo long as the whoredoms of thy mother* Jezebel *and her witchcrafts are ſo many?* As ſeveral others aſſerted that the authority of the pope differed not from that of any other biſhop, but that the church the ſpouſe of Chriſt, was enſlaved and proſtituted to the arbitrary pleaſure of a ſingle perſon, the papal party endeavoured to prove, that the government of the church was monarchical, and that the authority of the keys was only committed to *Peter* and his ſucceſſors [e].

During theſe tranſactions in the council, the pope publiſhed ſeveral bulls, ordaining reformations in ſome of his offices, and ſubjecting ſacred places and confraternities to the authority of the ordinaries and pariſh prieſts, and ordering that all indulgences ſhould for
d the future be given *gratis* [f]. He likewiſe received a letter from the emperor, who, after the diet at *Frankfort*, where his eldeſt ſon *Maximilian* was elected king of the *Romans*, had retired to *Inſpruck*, to attend the deliberations of the council. *Ferdinand* declared, that he intended to go perſonally to *Trent*, to promote the reformation of the clergy and people, which was very neceſſary; and he exhorted the pope likewiſe to repair thither, and to favour the liberty of the prelates, who were principally offended with three things, namely, that all affairs were firſt deliberated at *Rome*; that the legates alone had the li- A. D. 1563.
berty of propoſing what was to be debated in the general congregations; and that much time was ſpent in intrigues, for promoting the grandeur of the court of *Rome*. *Pius* wrote to the emperor, juſtifying himſelf from any ſiniſter views with regard to the council, and *The pope propoſes to transfer the council to* Bologna.
e ſoon after ſent the cardinal *Moron* to him as his legate, to diſſuade him from proceeding to *Trent*, and to propoſe the tranſlation of the council to *Bologna*, where, at the ſame time, he would confer upon him the imperial crown. *Ferdinand*, however, would not hearken to this propoſal, but demanded the redreſs of the complaints he had mentioned in his letter, and beſides required, that the council ſhould treat firſt of thoſe matters preſented by his deputies, and thoſe of *France*.

Mean while the tumults and confuſions at *Trent* ſtill increaſed. The ſeſſion, which ſhould have been held in *November*, was prorogued to the 3d of *February*; and, in the beginning of the year, the *French* ambaſſadors had preſented a memorial in the general congregation, propoſing a reformation in thirty-four articles, which greatly alarmed the le-
f gates and the papal party, as they tended to retrench the revenue, and alter the rites of the *Roman* church (Z). The king of *France* about the ſame period, to gain a favourable reception to the articles propoſed by his ambaſſadors, repealed the decree of the convention of *Orleans*, which had prohibited the payment of annates to the court of *Rome* [1]. The pope, however, expreſſed great diſſatisfaction upon reading the *French* memorial, and ordered his nuncios in *France* to ſollicit the king to alter ſeveral of the articles, which he ſaid were greatly prejudicial to the apoſtolic ſee, and tended to pull his authority to pieces. As

[e] Hiſt. Concil. Trident. Polan. [f] Spond. Annal.

(Z) Theſe articles were immediately printed in *Latin* and *French*, and are inſerted by *Thuanus* and *Natalis Comes* in their hiſtories. *Polanus* has likewiſe tranſcribed them; and *Goldaſt* has alſo given them a place among his imperial conſtitutions or edicts (1).

(1) *Thuan. l.* xxxv. *Natal. l.* xiv. *Polan. l.* vii. *Goldaſt. t.* iii.

their

their remonſtrances were ineffectual, *Pius* ordered his legates at *Trent* not to allow the memorial to be treated of in the congregations, where violent altercation and diſorder ſtill prevailed. a

NOTWITHSTANDING the oppoſition of a great many fathers, the ſeſſion was again prorogued to the 22d of *April*; and, in the mean time, the diſputes concerning the ſacraments of ordination and marriage ſtill continued, while the cardinal of *Lorrain* went to *Inſpruck* to have a conference with the emperor, whom he found greatly ſollicitous about the affairs of the council; which, on account of many prorogations, it was believed the pope had an intention of diſſolving. At the ſame time *Pius* recalled his nephew *Altaempſius*, one of the legates, that he might aſſiſt him in raiſing ſome troops, as he was informed that the dukes of *Saxony* and *Wirtemberg*, and the landgrave of *Heſſe*, were making new levies, and that b the *Germans* expreſſed a great deſire of again attacking *Rome*. Hearing likewiſe of the death of the cardinal of *Mantua* at *Trent*, he ſent the cardinals *Moron* and *Navagerius* thither, to ſupply his place and that of his nephew.

*He is apprehenſive of an irruption of the* Germans *into* Italy.

SOON after being informed that the king of *France* had conſented to a peace with the *Calviniſts*, by which he had granted them the free exerciſe of their religion, blaming the cardinal *Coligny*, brother to the admiral, who had renounced his eccleſiaſtical titles, and aſſumed that of count of *Beauvais*, he publiſhed a ſpecial mandate on the 8th of *April*, ordering the cardinals inquiſitors general to cite all prelates, of what dignity ſoever, who were ſuſpected of hereſy, to appear at *Rome*; and, in caſe of their not appearing perſonally, to proceed againſt them according to the ſentence which he ſhould pronounce in a ſecret conſiſtory. c In conſequence of this mandate, the inquiſitors general ſummoned cardinal *Coligny*, and nine or ten *French* biſhops, to appear within a certain limited time at *Rome*; but the *French* prelates deſpiſing the ſummons, and ſuffering the time to elapſe, on the 22d of *October* three of them were depoſed, and the others ſuſpended, till they ſhould clear themſelves from the ſuſpicion of hereſy [m] (A).

*He depoſes ſeveral* French *biſhops on ſuſpicion of hereſy.*

BEFORE the publication of this ſentence at *Rome*, the ſeſſion being again ſuſpended at *Trent*, the cardinal of *Lorrain*, in a general congregation, on the 10th of *May* preſented a letter from his niece *Mary* queen of *Scotland*, by which ſhe declared, that ſhe would ſubmit to the council, and promiſed that, if ſhe ſhould ever ſucceed to the crown of *England*, ſhe would ſubject both kingdoms to the authority of the *Roman* ſee. Four days after he made d a long diſcourſe concerning biſhops, and the means of preventing abuſes in their election, inveighing ſeverely againſt pluralities, though he himſelf then poſſeſſed church revenues to the amount of 1,000,000 of livres a year. As in the concluſion he exclaimed againſt the ſee of *Rome*, which he termed the ſource and original of all the corruptions in the church, the cardinal *Moron* made a reply, treating him with great ſeverity; on which account the animoſities inſtead of abating, were inflamed more than before. In the following congregation, which was held on the 21ſt of *May*, great diſputes aroſe about precedency betwixt the count *de Luna*, the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador, and thoſe of *France*. Theſe laſt at length conſented, that he might ſet in a place apart by himſelf; but the diſpute was again renewed at the celebration of maſs on the feaſt of St. *Peter*; when the *French* ambaſſadors having e been informed that the pope had ordered the *incenſe and the peace* to be given to them and the count *de Luna* at the ſame time, they interrupted the ſervice by their remonſtrances, ſo that the maſs was that day celebrated without giving either the incenſe or the peace. As the legates juſtified themſelves by the orders of the pope, the cardinal of *Lorrain* next day ſent his ſecretary to *Rome* to complain of the injury; and one of the *French* ambaſſadors declared, that, unleſs their juſt precedency was allowed, they would proteſt againſt *Pius*, who, they could prove, had obtained the pontificate by ſimony, and would appeal to a future pope and a future council, and in the mean time would call a national council, in *France*. As both the *French* and *Poles* threatened to withdraw their obedience from the apoſtolic ſee, ſeveral of the prelates prevailed with the count *de Luna* to inſiſt no farther on precedency, till he f ſhould receive new inſtructions from *Spain*.

*Diſputes about precedency betwixt the* French *and* Spaniſh *ambaſſadors.*

THIS diſpute betwixt the ambaſſadors, being in ſome meaſure calmed, the legates began to think of means to moderate the debates betwixt the divines concerning the articles of religion and reformation. The *French*, by orders from their court, began to abate in their zeal againſt the corruptions of *Rome*, the queen being deſirous to prevail with the pope to confirm the royal edict for the perpetual alienation of ſome revenues of the *Gallican* church,

[m] Idem ibid. SPOND. Annal.

(A) The ſentence againſt the cardinal was denounced in a private conſiſtory ſome months before, of which he was no ſooner informed, but, in contempt of the pope, he reſumed his cardinal's habit, and in that dreſs married a wife, and afterwards appeared at the convention of *Roum*; where, on the 16th of *Auguſt*, *Charles* IX. was declared of age, having then entered into the 14th year (1).

(1) *Belcar. Thuan. Spond. Annal*

a to the amount of 300,000 livres, under pretence of diſcharging a debt contracted in defence of the catholic religion. The cardinal of *Lorrain* likewiſe wanted to ingratiate himſelf with the papal party, as he was recalled to *France*, and knew that he was deteſted by the *Calviniſts* in that kingdom. About the ſame time the emperor, finding that his reſidence at *Inſpruck* rather retarded than forwarded the proceedings of the council, left that city, after having ordered his ambaſſadors to prevent, as much as poſſible, all diſputes about the authority of the pope, and that nothing might be decreed which would render an accommodation with the proteſtants more difficult. He likewiſe wrote to *Pius*, and to the legates of *Trent*, deſiring them to ſtop all proceedings againſt the queen of *England*, as it would only be a means of uniting the proteſtants more firmly in their own defence. The debates
b ſtill continuing in the congregations, the cardinal of *Lorrain* moderated, to the utmoſt of his power, the animoſities of both parties, and propoſed that they ſhould only treat of the power of the order of biſhops, and that, in the article of reſidence, all expreſſions might be kept out that would give offence, either to thoſe who reckoned it of human inſtitution or of divine. This propoſal was reliſhed by the legates, who, conſidering that a great part of the fathers were tired with the continual debates, and would agree to canons that were not abſolutely deciſive, they reſolved to draw them up in ſuch terms as would admit of a dubious interpretation.

All matters being at laſt ſettled, the ſeventh ſeſſion under *Pius*, and the twenty-third ſince the firſt commencement of the council under *Paul* III. was celebrated on the 15th
c of *July*; in which a *Spaniſh* biſhop declared in his ſermon, that though the faith of the catholics was the beſt, yet their morals were much inferior to thoſe of the heretics. After the celebration of maſs, and the uſual ceremonies, a decree was read concerning the ſacrament of ordination, conſiſting of four heads, by which they declared, that Chriſt had given the apoſtles, and their ſucceſſors in the prieſthood a power of conſecrating and offering the viſible ſacrifice, and of remitting of ſins; that the order of the prieſthood is divided into ſeven degrees; that as ſcripture and apoſtolic tradition affirm, that ordination confers grace, it is therefore a ſacrament; that as by this ſacrament an indelible character is conferred, their opinion ought to be condemned who aſſert that prieſts have only a temporary power, and, if they neglect their office, differ not from laymen; that all Chriſtians are not prieſts, but thoſe only who
d are ordained by the pope, or by authority derived from him. To theſe articles eight anathemas were added, condemning all thoſe who maintained any other doctrine; and then eighteen articles were read concerning reformation; the firſt of which ordained all prelates and curates to reſide with their flocks, prohibiting, under ſevere penalties, an abſence of above three months at a time; however a proviſo was added, unleſs the benefit and ſervice of the church and ſtate ſhould require it. The other articles regarded the collation and regulation of orders, which ought not to be conferred on debauched perſons, or ſuch as were unworthy of them; and directed the form of the government of ſeminaries where prieſts ſhould be educated, with ſeveral other matters of no great importance.

The decrees of this ſeſſion, which had been debated for near ten months, diſappointed
e the expectations of all *Europe*. The contradictions that appeared in the canons, and the weak preambles and abſurd concluſions, were every-where the ſubject of ridicule, eſpecially to the proteſtants, who, in their ſermons, took all opportunities of expoſing the proceedings of the council. The legates likewiſe, being ſenſible that the concluſion of the council was greatly deſired by the catholics, reſolved to haſten the deciſion of all the remaining points. They therefore altered the method of diſputing in the congregations, and propoſed the doctrines of indulgences, invocation of ſaints, images, and purgatory, to be examined at once. Having likewiſe obtained the conſent of the imperial, *French*, and *Spaniſh* ambaſſadors, to treat of the reformation of princes, they propoſed the article concerning marriage; and in the mean time drew up the heads of the reformation of princes, which they communicated to
f their ambaſſadors, who ſent them to their reſpective courts. This plan of a ſecular reformation was comprehended in thirteen articles in favour of the eccleſiaſtical liberty, which, as they were very extravagant, and tended greatly to the diminution of the prerogative of princes, the emperor declared that he would never ſuffer to be debated. The *French* ambaſſadors alſo af-

*The decrees of the council are ridiculed by the proteſtants.*

firmed, that they would proteſt againſt any deciſions of the fathers on theſe points, and would immediately withdraw from *Trent* with all the *French* prelates. The fathers of the council, upon hearing of theſe remonſtrances entered into an aſſociation to compel the legates to propoſe the articles concerning reformation of princes; on account of which diſturbances the pope ordered the ſeſſion to be prorogued till the 11th of *November*, and in the mean time ſent for the cardinal of *Lorrain* to *Rome*, to conſult with him about diſſolving the
g council. During the abſence of the cardinal, one of the biſhops, in a general congregation, held on the 22d of *September*, having deſired the articles concerning the reformation to be propoſed, one of the *French* ambaſſadors immediately roſe up, and, after declaiming a long while againſt the corruptions of the *Roman* court, proteſted againſt the proceedings of the fathers, and a few days after retired to *Venice*.

*The pope cites the queen of* Navarre *to appear at* Rome *on account of hereſy.*

THE prelates at *Trent*, however, continued their congregations, and drew up ſeveral articles of reformation; and the pope being greatly offended with the behaviour of the *French* ambaſſadors, who he believed were privately prompted by the queen of *Navarre* and her party, he cited her to appear within ſixty days at *Rome*, to clear herſelf from the ſuſpicion of hereſy, and other crimes, of which ſhe was accuſed. The cardinal of *Lorrain*, who had entered into a great intimacy with the pope, remonſtrated but faintly againſt this ſummons; but the *French* ambaſſador at *Rome* exerting himſelf in behalf of the queen, a ſtop was put to all judicial proceedings againſt her, only the pope refuſed to abſolve her from the ſentence of excommunication, which gave her no manner of uneaſineſs. Mean while the cardinal of *Lorrain* having returned to *Trent*, the eighth ſeſſion was celebrated on the 11th of *November*, at which one of the legates refuſed to be preſent, as he could not give his conſent to the nullity of clandeſtine marriages, and affirmed that the church had no authority to diſſolve them. The decree declaring marriage a divine inſtitution, indiſſoluble, and one of the ſacraments of the goſpel, was unanimouſly confirmed; but the cardinals *Moron* and *Simoneta*, and fifty-ſix fathers, diſſented from that article, by which the church was declared to have a power of diſſolving clandeſtine marriages. Twenty-one heads of a general reformation were then read, tending chiefly to eſtabliſh the pope's authority over the clergy; plurality of benefices was condemned, grants of reſervation were aboliſhed, and the right to benefices acquired by ſimony was declared null and void.

ALL nations now, except the *Spaniards*, earneſtly deſired a concluſion of the council. They, however, at length conſented, on condition that the pope ſhould regulate the matters which ſhould be left undecided by the council, and that, in the decree concerning indulgences, they ſhould not be ordered to be given *gratis*, which would injure the cruſade in *Spain*. As news arrived at *Trent* that the pope was dangerouſly ill, the points concerning purgatory, the invocation and relics of ſaints, images, and indulgences, were hurried over ſuperficially, and publiſhed in the ninth ſeſſion on the 3d and 4th of *December*; in which likewiſe twenty-two heads of reformation were read concerning regulars and nuns; after which twenty-one articles were publiſhed concerning a general reformation. The fathers alſo concluded the decree for the reformation of princes, under a general exhortation to them to protect the eccleſiaſtical liberty, and declared that the pope had full authority to diſpenſe with any of the canons made by the council. On the ſecond day of the ſeſſion a decree was read concerning indulgences and faſts; but as the index of books, the catechiſm, the breviary, and the miſſal, were not yet finiſhed, it was determined to ſubmit what was already written to the judgment and authority of the pope. All the decrees of the ſeſſions under *Paul* and *Julius* being then read, the council was ſolemnly diſſolved, the fathers deſiring the legates to aſk the confirmation of the pope to their proceedings; three prelates, however, declaring that there was no need for that confirmation. The day after the fathers ſubſcribed the decrees; namely, four legates, two other cardinals, three patriarchs, twenty-five archbiſhops, one hundred and ſixty-eight biſhops, ſeven abbots, thirty-nine proxies, and ſeven generals of orders, in all two hundred and fifty-five, very few of whom were from *Hungary* and *Poland*, none from *Sweden*, *Denmark*, *Scotland*, *England*, or the *Low Countries*; not one from *Germany* in the laſt ſeſſion, and not above forty from *Spain* and *France*; but there were more than one hundred and fifty from *Italy*, on which account the council was called the aſſembly of the pope and his *Italians*.

*The council of* Trent *is diſſolved.*

Maximilian, *king of the* Romans, *refuſes to yield obedience to the apoſtolic ſee.*

A. D. 1564.

A FEW months before the concluſion of the council, the pope received an embaſſy from *Maximilian*, king of the *Romans*, informing him of his election, and offering, not obedience, but devotion and reverence, to the pope and the apoſtolic ſee. *Pius* refuſed for a long time to give the ambaſſador an audience; but, after ſeveral meſſages betwixt *Rome* and *Germany*, finding *Maximilian* inflexible, he admitted his ambaſſador to a public conſiſtory; in which, though he ſtill adhered to his inſtructions, the cardinals nevertheleſs gave the uſual anſwer, that his holineſs received the obedience of the king, and confirmed his election [n]. Soon after he had given audience to this ambaſſador, he was informed of the diſſolution of the council, at which he expreſſed great joy, promoting nineteen of thoſe who had ſerved him at *Trent* to the dignity of cardinals; and though he received ſeveral petitions from the miniſters of his court, complaining that their offices were aboliſhed by the decrees of the council, and aſking an equivalent for the money with which they had purchaſed them, he nevertheleſs, without regarding theſe petitions, publiſhed a bull on the 24th of *January*, confirming all the decrees of the council, and ordering them to be obſerved by all the faithful. By ſeveral other bulls, he ordered the biſhops to reſide in their dioceſes, under pain of forfeiting their revenues to the apoſtolic chamber; he prohibited any from reading the books contained in the *Index Expurgatoria*; and enjoined all thoſe, who poſſeſſed any ec-

[n] ONUPHR. in vit. Pii. IV.

cleſiaſtical

a cleſiaſtical dignity or benefice, and thoſe who ſtudied any of the liberal arts, to ſwear to a form of the confeſſion of the catholic faith [o].

*Objections are made to the proceedings of the council of* Trent.

THO' the council of *Trent* was received without much difficulty at *Rome* and in *Italy*, yet many objections were raiſed againſt its decrees in *Germany*, *France*, *Spain*, and *Poland*. Several treatiſes were publiſhed againſt it by the proteſtants; and about the middle of *February* the emperor wrote to the pope, deſiring, in his own name, and in the name of his ſon-in-law the duke of *Bavaria*, that the communion might be granted to the catholics in their dominions under both kinds, and that the clergy might be allowed to marry [p] (B). *Philip* II. king of *Spain* publiſhed the decrees of the council in his dominions, without regarding the authority of the pope; but in *France* its decrees concerning reformation were generally con-
b demned, as derogatory to the liberties of the *Gallican* church; on which account the pope, being greatly apprehenſive leſt the young king *Charles* intended to renounce the communion of the *Roman* church, prevailed with the emperor, the king of the *Romans*, the king of *Spain*, and the duke of *Savoy*, to ſollicit him conjunctly to acknowlege the council, to revoke the privileges and pardon granted to the *Hugonots*, and to abſtain from any alienation of the eccleſiaſtical revenues. In the mean time he decided the diſpute betwixt the *French* and *Spaniards* concerning precedency in favour of the *French*; and being informed that the great numbers of *Greek* refugees in *Naples* and *Sicily*, who for many years had enjoyed the free exerciſe of their own religion, began to deviate from their ancient faith, and to infect thoſe of the *Latin* church with heretical opinions, he revoked all their privileges, and ſub-
c jected them to the ordinances of the *Roman* church [q]. About the ſame time he was alarmed with the diſcovery of a conſpiracy againſt himſelf; ſeveral enthuſiaſts, under pretence of a revelation from heaven, having formed a deſign to murder him, in order to facilitate a general reformation, which they ſaid would be accompliſhed by his ſucceſſor, who was to convert the whole world to Chriſtianity. The conſpirators, being apprehended, were all put A. D. 1565.
to death by torture [r]. Soon after the diſcovery of this plot, *Pius* received a letter from the emperor *Maximilian*, who in the month of *July* had ſucceeded his father *Ferdinand*, intreating him to allow the marriage of prieſts: though the emperor likewiſe ſent a memorial, juſtifying the neceſſity of his requeſt, he could nevertheleſs obtain nothing from the pope, who thought he condeſcended ſufficiently in permitting the laity to communicate under both
d kinds. While the cardinals were conſidering the memorial of the emperor, *Pius*, being informed that the *Turks* had invaded the iſland of *Malta* with a fleet and army conſiſting of 80,000 men, publiſhed a jubilee for imploring the mercy of God, ordered money, gunpowder, and troops, to be ſent to the aſſiſtance of the beſieged; who likewiſe receiving ſome ſuccours from *Sicily* and *Spain*, obliged the infidels to raiſe the ſiege, which had laſted four months. *Pius* did not long ſurvive the news of the defeat of the *Turks*; but on the 10th of *December*, died of a ſurfeit, in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age, and the ſixth of his pontificate, having adorned the city of *Rome* with ſeveral magnificent buildings, and repaired ſome ancient monuments and aqueducts; to ſupply the expences of which works he oppreſſed his ſubjects with ſevere taxes [s].

Pius *dies at* Rome.

Pius V. *is elected pope.* A. D. 1566.

e UPON the death of *Pius*, the cardinal of *Alexandria* was unanimouſly elected pope on the 8th of *January*, by the intereſt of the two leading cardinals *Farneſe* and *Boromeo*, which laſt adviſed him to aſſume the name of *Pius* V (C). As he had been a great favourite with *Paul* IV. and had acted with ſaverity as inquiſitor, his election was not very agreeable to the *Romans*; however, as his ſeverity was not mixed with pride, ambition, and worldly conſiderations, their apprehenſions of his tyranny ſoon abated. Upon his promotion he ordered his relations to retire from *Rome*; but, at the intreaties of his friends, he created *Michael Bonello*, one of his nephews, a cardinal. Being earneſt to promote a reformation, he publiſhed ſeveral regulations concerning the clergy and the officers of his court, he aboliſhed ſome public diverſions, and baniſhed the greateſt part of the whores from *Rome*, prohibiting the reſt from appearing
f abroad except in a certain corner of the city. In remembrance of the favours conferred on

*He publiſhes ſeveral decrees for promoting a reformation.*

[o] SPOND. Annal. [p] GOLDAST. Conſt. Imper. t. ii. l. xiv. THUAN. l. xxxvi. [q] SPOND Annal. [r] ONUPHR. ut ſup. NATAL. [s] ONUPH. ut ſup.

(B) The catholics in *Germany* and *Poland* at this time expreſſed ſo great a deſire of communicating under both kinds, that they publiſhed a great many ſatirical verſes againſt their prieſts, whom they called *the thieves of the cup*; and they wrote thoſe words of our Saviour, *Drink ye all of it*, in gold letters, upon their books, doors, and cups (2).

(C) *Pius* V. who, before his promotion, was called *Anthony*, or *Michael*, *Ghiſler*, was born of mean parents at *Boſchi*, a town near *Alexandria della Puglia*. He was received into the order of *Dominicans* or *Jacobins* at fourteen years of age; and having diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his regular life and eloquent preaching, he was recommended by cardinal *Caraffa* to *Julius* III who appointed him commiſſary of the inquiſition. Upon the promotion of *Caraffa* to the papal chair, he was created at firſt biſhop of *Nepi* and *Sutri*, and afterwards cardinal and ſupreme inquiſitor; which laſt office no other cardinal ever enjoyed, the popes reſerving it ever afterwards to themſelves (3).

(2) *Reſcius Polon. de Sect. Evangel. verb. Calixt.*

(3) *Papyr. Maſſon. in vit. Pii V. Spond Annal.*

him

him by *Paul* IV. he again examined the cauſe of his nephews, whom he reſtored to their honours and eſtates; he prohibited any phyſicians from attending the ſick after the third day, unleſs their patients ſhould confeſs their ſins to the prieſts; and he ordered ſearch to be made after all thoſe who were ſuſpected of hereſy in *Italy*, that they might be brought to *Rome* and puniſhed [t]. a

HEARING that the emperor had convoked a diet at *Augsburg*, he ordered cardinal *Commendon*, who was returning from his legation in *Poland*, to act as his legate at that aſſembly; and as *Maximilian* had appeared to favour the *Lutherans*, by being preſent at their ſermons, he charged *Commendon* to threaten him with depoſition if he allowed any point of religion to be treated of in the diet. The legate, however, having more prudence than the pope, concealed theſe inſtructions, which indeed he had no occaſion to produce; for the grand ſignor making great preparations to invade *Hungary*, and beſiege *Vienna*, the attention of the diet was chiefly engaged in providing for the defence of the empire againſt the infidels. *Commendon* was ſo ſucceſsful as to prevail with the catholics to accept of the decrees of the council of *Trent*, and at the concluſion of the diet preſented the emperor with 50,000 crowns as a ſubſidy from the pope againſt the *Turks* [u]. *Pius* about the ſame time hearing of the violent proceedings of the *Calviniſts* in *Scotland*, ſome of whom had murdered *David Rizio* in the queen's preſence, he wrote to the popiſh princes to ſend her aſſiſtance, ordered a nuncio to repair to *Scotland* to reſide in that kingdom, and beſides granted her a ſubſidy of 20,000 crowns [w]. He likewiſe granted his benediction to certain ſmall images, which were then begun to be worn by the catholics in the *Low Countries*, to diſtinguiſh them from the proteſtants, beſtowing indulgences upon thoſe who wore them and recited certain prayers [x] (D). b c

*He gives a ſubſidy to the queen of* Scotland.

A. D. 1568. As the king of *Spain* the following year ſent the duke of *Alva* into *Flanders* with an army of 10,000 men, who impriſoned ſeveral chiefs of the late tumults, and the year after put the counts of *Egmont* and *Horn*, with many other nobles, to death at *Bruſſels*, executed and baniſhed great numbers of the people, and obliged the prince of *Orange* to withdraw with his army into *Germany*, the pope ordered ſupplications to be performed at *Rome*, on account of his ſucceſs againſt the heretics, and ſoon after ſent him a conſecrated cap and ſword; which preſent was received by the duke with the greateſt ceremony and reſpect [y]. The pope likewiſe ſent an army of 4500 foot and 900 horſe into *France*, to aſſiſt king *Charles* againſt the *Hugonots*, giving him leave at the ſame time to alienate the church lands to the amount of 50,000, or, according to ſome, 150,000 crowns of yearly value. In the mean time, being informed that the emperor intended to grant the free exerciſe of the proteſtant religion to the nobles and people in *Auſtria*, *Pius* again ſent cardinal *Commendon* as his legate to him, to prevent any ſuch conceſſion, and to threaten the emperor with depoſition, if he ſhould do ſo great an injury to the catholic religion. Before the arrival of *Commendon*, the permiſſion had been granted by the emperor, who juſtified his conduct to the legate; but ſoon after, upon the remonſtrances of the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador, he promiſed to revoke his grant, being deſirous to live in good terms with *Spain*, the ſucceſſion of which kingdom he hoped would fall to him or his children, as his couſin *Philip* had no iſſue [z]. d e

*He ſends troops to* France *againſt the* Hogonots, *and*

ABOUT the ſame time the pope had ſome diſputes with the king of *Spain* and the republic of *Venice*, in conſequence of a bull which he had publiſhed at *Eaſter*, prohibiting all eccleſiaſtics to pay any taxes to temporal princes, threatening thoſe ſovereigns with excommunication who ſhould compel the clergy to pay any ſubſidies. The *Venetians* made great complaints againſt this bull, and *Philip* prohibited it from being publiſhed in his dominions. After ſeveral months diſputes, pretending to have received ſatisfaction from the pope, he gave general orders that the rights of the church ſhould be preſerved in his dominions; but his officers, however, neglecting to put his orders in execution, *Pius*, with great difficulty, was reſtrained from excommunicating them.

A. D. 1569. As he was then propoſing to form a league againſt the *Turks*, he was perſuaded not to exaſperate the king of *Spain*, whoſe aſſiſtance he likewiſe deſired againſt *Elizabeth* queen of *England*, who at this time had a rupture with *Philip*. *Pius* ſeized that opportunity of endeavouring to dethrone *Elizabeth*, and to reſtore the catholic religion in *England*. For that purpoſe he ſent over ſeveral emiſſaries to that kingdom, who formed a pious conſpiracy f

*excites a rebellion againſt queen* Elizabeth *of* England.

[t] ADRIAN. l. xix. [u] STRUV. Period. [w] SPOND. Annal. [x] GABUT. in vit. Pii. l. vi. c. 2. [y] SPOND. Annal. [z] Vit. Commend. l. iii. LONDORP. SLEIDAN. Contin. ad an 1568.

(D) The papiſts hung theſe little medals about their necks. They contained on one ſide the image of our Saviour, and on the other that of the virgin *Mary*, with her ſon in her lap, and were ſuppoſed to defend thoſe who wore them from danger and harm. This ſuperſtition was quickly embraced by the papiſts all over Chriſtendom, and grew to ſuch a height that *Clement* VIII. was obliged, by a bull, to revoke the indulgences granted to them by his predeceſſors (4).

(4) *Spond. Annal.*

a againſt the queen, according to *Gabutius* [a], and excited the papiſts to raiſe a rebellion; which, however, was quickly quelled. In the mean time the *French* ambaſſador informed him of a conſiderable victory gained over the *Hugonots*, and preſented him with twelve of their ſtandards which had been taken in the action, which the pope received with great ceremony, and placed over the gate of *St. Peter*'s [b]. He was no leſs ſevere againſt the *Jews* than the proteſtants, and ordered them to depart within three months from all the territories of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, exeepting *Rome* and *Ancona*. He likewiſe publiſhed a ſevere bull againſt thoſe who ſhould offend or injure the office of the inquiſition, or any perſons belonging to that court [c]. At the ſame time a difference happening betwixt him and the duke of *Ferrara* about the freedom of navigation upon the *Po*, and the duties on ſalt, he favoured his rival the duke of *Florence*, who at his deſire had ſent 1000 foot and 200 horſe into b *France*, and at his requeſt he created him and his ſucceſſors *Great Dukes of Tuſcany*, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the imperial and *Spaniſh* ambaſſadors, who proteſted that ſuch a title was derogatory to the rights of their maſters in that province [d]. The following year the pope, finding that his plots againſt the queen of *England* had been unſucceſsful, he reſolved to throw off the maſk, and in the end of *February* publiſhed a bull againſt her, in which he declared her excommunicated and depoſed from her throne, threatening likewiſe all thoſe who obeyed her laws and orders with excommunication. He had the mortification, however, to find his anathema deſpiſed; not only by *Elizabeth*, but even by the catholic princes, who ſtill acknowledged her as queen, and allowed their ſubjects to continue their commerce in her kingdom (E).

*He confers the title of grand duke of* Tuſcany *on* Coſmo de Medicis, A. D. 1570.

c As the *Turks* at this time had fitted out a formidable fleet to ſeize the iſland of *Cyprus*, then in poſſeſſion of the *Venetians*, this armament engaged his attention, and prevented him from purſuing his deſigns againſt *Elizabeth*. He promiſed the *Venetians* all the aſſiſtance in his power, and by his legates and nuncios not only preſſed the emperor, and the kings of *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Poland*, and *France*, but alſo the ſophi of *Perſia*, to engage in a league againſt the *Turks*. The kings of *France*, *Poland*, and *Portugal*, excuſed themſelves from engaging in the war, as did alſo the ſophi of *Perſia* and the emperor, which laſt pleaded in his excuſe, that he had lately concluded a truce with the grand ſignor. The king of *Spain* did not ſeem averſe to the league; and at the intreaty of the nuncio, ſent 50 gallies to join the *Venetian* fleet, while the treaty was negociating. *Pius*, at the d ſame time fitted out twelve gallies at *Ancona*; the command of which he gave to *Antonio Colonna*, who, about the month of *Auguſt*, joined *Zanius* and *Doria*, the *Venetian* and *Spaniſh* admirals, at *Crete*. The *Turks*, however, before the junction of the allied fleet, had landed their forces on *Cyprus*, and beſieged the capital city of the iſland, *Nicoſia*, which they took by ſtorm after a ſiege of forty-five days. Upon the news of the taking of *Nicoſia*, *Doria* returned to *Spain*, *Zanius* to *Corcyra*, and *Colonna*, bringing back only three gallies to *Ancona*, went from thence on foot to *Rome*, where he was received with great honours by the pope, who during this unſucceſsful expedition, had ſent a commander with ſome forces to *Avignon*, to defend that city againſt the *French Hugonots* [e].

*and propoſes a league againſt the* Turks.

*The* French Hugonots *threaten to ſeize* Avignon, A. D. 1571.

The ſucceſs of the *Turks* in *Cyprus* rendered the pope more urgent to conclude the e league; accordingly, at his preſſing intreaties, the king of *Spain* at length ſent deputies to *Rome*; where, on the 16th of *May*, an alliance was concluded betwixt *Philip*, the pope, and the *Venetians*, by which they engaged to fit out yearly againſt the *Turks* a fleet of 200 gallies and 100 hundred ſhips of burden, on board of which ſhould be an army of 50,000 foot and 4500 horſe, to aſſemble every year in *March* or *April* at *Otranto*: the pope ſhould bear one-ſixth of the whole expence, and ſhould furniſh twelve gallies, 3000 foot, and 270 horſe. The chief command was conferred on Don *John* of *Auſtria*, the king of *Spain*'s natural brother; and *Mark Antonio Colonna* was appointed his lieutenant; and an honourable place was reſerved in the treaty for the emperor, and the kings of *France* and *Portugal*, who were all three again ſollicited by the pope, but nevertheleſs ſtill declined en- f gaging in the alliance [f]. To enable the king of *Spain* and the *Venetians* to bear their part of the expences, *Pius* confirmed the grant of his predeceſſor to *Philip*, for raiſing ſuch a tax upon the eccleſiaſtical revenues as ſhould ſupport 100 gallies for the defence of the

[a] Gabut. l. iii. c. 9. [b] Idem, l. ii. c. 8: Caten. in Vit. Pii V. [c] Spond. Annal. [d] Idem ibid. [e] Nat. Comes. Thuan. Coutar. Comment. de bell. Cypr. Caten. & Gabut. in vit. Pii V. [f] Ext. integr. ap. Caten. & Gabut in vit Pii V. Nat. l. xxii. Mauroc. l. x.

(E) An enthuſiaſt in *England*, named *John Felton*, having got a copy of the bull, affixed it to the gate of the biſhop of *London*'s houſe, next *St. Paul*'s church, on the eve of the feaſt of *Corpus Chriſti*; and tho' he was urged by his friend to make his eſcape, he refuſed. Being ſoon after apprehended, he confeſſed the fact; and, refuſing to acknowlege the queen's ſupremacy, was executed as a traitor (5).

(5) *Sander. de viſib. Monarch. l.* vii. *ad fin.*

*Spaniſh* coaſt, againſt the infidels, and he allowed the *Venetians* to raiſe 100,000 crowns within five years from the eccleſiaſtics within their dominions. a

DURING theſe tranſactions, the *Venetian* republic had made private overtures of peace to the grand vizir at *Conſtantinople*, againſt whoſe advice the war had been commenced. However, their preliminaries were rejected, and the *Turks*, having prepared a new armament againſt *Cyprus*, in the month of *April* landed a great many troops and military ſtores at *Famagoſta*, the only city of any conſequence in the iſland, which had been inveſted the year before. After a moſt vigorous defence, the city was at length obliged to ſurrender, the allied fleet, upon account of the delay of the *Spaniards*, not being able to give it any aſſiſtance. Don *John* at laſt arriving with the *Spaniſh* fleet at *Meſſina* on the 21ſt of *Auguſt*, it was reſolved to engage the infidels; and the whole fleet having received plenary indulgences from the pope, and each ſhip being provided with prieſts, who animated the men to engage, they ſailed in queſt of the enemy with 209 gallies, twelve of which belonged to the pope, eighty-one to the king of *Spain*, one hundred and eight to the *Venetians*, two to the duke of *Savoy*, three to the *Gonoeſe*, and three to the knights of *Malta*. There were beſides ſix large galleaſſes, twenty-four ſhips of burthen, and about ſeventy ſmaller veſſels, which armament altogether was conſiderably ſuperior to that of the *Turks*. On the 5th of *October* the two fleets came to a general engagement in the gulph of *Lepanto*; when, after a fight of four hours, the *Turks* were totally defeated, 150 of their gallies being taken, and many others being burnt and ſunk; beſides 25,000, or, according to ſome, 30,000 of their men, with ſeveral of their generals, were killed, 3,500 were taken priſoners, and 15,000 Chriſtians, who were ſlaves on board the *Turkiſh* fleet, recovered their liberty, the allies having loſt only 7,600 men, the greateſt part of whom were *Venetians*. b c

*The* Turks *conquer* Cyprus.

*Their fleet is intirely defeated by that of the Chriſtians.*

UPON the news of this memorable victory, the pope immediately ordered public thankſgivings to be celebrated, and appointed the day of action to be commemorated annually by a divine ſervice in honour of the virgin *Mary*, and maſs to be ſaid on the octave of that feaſt for the ſouls of thoſe Chriſtians who were killed in the engagement [g]. *Antonio Colonna*, upon his return, entered *Rome* in triumph, where he was received with great pomp and ceremony by the pope, who again ſollicited the emperor, and the kings of *France* and *Portugal*, to enter into the alliance, and wrote to the kings of *Ethiopia* and *Perſia*, exhorting them to attack the *Turks*. His intreaties, however, had no effect on the Chriſtian princes, neither did the king of *Perſia* think it ſafe to venture a rupture with the *Turks*; alleging, that it was of no conſequence to have taken a few ſkiffs, while the woods were left, from whence the enemy might make others. The pope, not diſcouraged by the backwardneſs of others, made great preparations againſt the infidels, and, in the beginning of the following year, ſettled ſome diſputes with his allies, and made ſome alterations in the league; but in the month of *March*, being ſeized with a ſuppreſſion of urine, he languiſhed for ſome weeks, and died on the firſt of *May*, in the 68th year of his age. He was greatly lamented by the *Romans*; but his death gave great joy to the *Turks*, who, upon receiving the news, had public rejoicings for three days [h]. He founded ſeveral public ſchools and colleges, built ſome churches and religious houſes, was careful to promote only learned and virtuous men to dignities, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his bounty to the poor, and by the great ſtrictneſs and purity of his life; on which account he was afterwards canonized by *Urban* VIII [i]. d e

A. D. 1572.

Pius *dies at* Rome.

Gregory XIII. *is elected.*

*PIUS*, before his death having recommended to the cardinals to chuſe a ſucceſſor as ſoon as poſſible, they entered the conclave on the 11th of *May*, to the number of fifty-two, and next day unanimouſly choſe *Hugh Buoncompagno*, cardinal of *St. Sixtus*, who aſſumed the name of *Gregory* XIII. and was crowned a few days after on the feaſt of *Whitſuntide* (F). Being deſirous to proſecute the war againſt the *Turks*, *Gregory* immediately after his election, had ſeveral conferences with the *Spaniſh* and *Venetian* ambaſſadors about continuing the league, and ſent ſeveral nuncios to the different Chriſtian princes to exhort them to enter into a general alliance againſt the infidels. He likewiſe ſent a nuncio to *John* of *Auſtria* at *Meſſina*, urging him to proceed with the united fleet to the iſland of *Corcyra*; but the *Spaniſh* admiral, in conſequence of orders from *Philip*, refuſing to quit *Sicily*, the papal and *Venetian* admirals ſailed to *Corcyra* about the middle of *July* to oppoſe the *Turks*, who again appeared f

*He proſecutes the war againſt the* Turks.

[g] Idem ibid. [h] CATEN. & GABUT. in vit. Pii V. [i] SPOND. Annal.

(F) *Gregory* XIII. was born at *Bologna* in 1502, of reputable parents. Having ſpent ſeveral years in the ſtudy of the civil law, he received the degree of doctor at twenty-eight years of age, after which he taught that ſcience in his native city eight years; and then, repairing to *Rome*, he quickly obtained ſome preferments in that capital. On account of his ſkill in the law *Paul* III. ſent him to the council of *Trent*; *Paul* IV. created him biſhop of *Veſte*; and having, under *Pius* IV. aſſiſted at the general council of *Trent* a ſecond time, he was by that pope created a cardinal and legate in *Spain* (6).

(6) *Spond. Annal.*

at

a at ſea with a fleet of 200 ſail, great and ſmall veſſels included, and attacked ſeveral of the maritime places belonging to the Chriſtians. The king of *Spain* pretended to be apprehenſive of an invaſion from *France*; but his apprehenſions being ſoon after removed, he ſent orders to Don *John* to act in concert with the allies; but, before his arrival, much time was ſpent, and, after he joined their fleet, no plan of conduct was unanimouſly agreed to; ſo that the whole ſeaſon paſſed off without any remarkable action, and the fleets ſeparated in the beginning of *October*, having omitted to take the advantage of ſeveral favourable opportunities of diſtreſſing the enemy.

*He expreſſes his joy for the maſſacre of the proteſtants in* Paris.

During theſe tranſactions at ſea, the pope, having been informed of the maſſacre of the proteſtants at *Paris*, gave public thanks at *Rome* for the preſervation of the king from their
b conſpiracy, as *Charles* IX. in excuſe for his barbarity, alleged, that the admiral *Coligni*, with ſeveral other *Hugonots*, had formed a deſign of murdering him, and all the catholic princes of the royal family. Tho' the truth of this excuſe was univerſally queſtioned, yet the pope publiſhed a jubilee over all Chriſtendom, in conſideration of the great blow given to the heretics, and likewiſe on account of the ſucceſs of the duke of *Alva* in the *Netherlands*, and the ſignal victory gained the year before over the *Turks*; and he walked in proceſſion on foot to the church of *St. Lewis* at *Rome*, where divine ſervice was performed, with great pomp by the cardinal of *Lorrain*. He likewiſe made great preparations againſt the infidels for the enſuing ſeaſon; but, in the beginning of the following year, he was greatly alarmed with the news that the *Venetians*, by the mediation of the *French* ambaſſador at *Con-*
c *ſtantinople*, had concluded a ſeparate peace with the *Turks*. He refuſed audience to the *Venetian* envoy, who came to *Rome*, to excuſe the conduct of the republic; however, ſoon afterwards, being convinced by one of the ſenators who arrived at *Rome*, that the *Venetians* had been compelled by neceſſity to ſue for peace, he declared himſelf ſatisfied with their proceeding, which was approved of by the king of *Spain* without any difficulty.

A. D. 1573. *The* Venetians *conclude a ſeparate peace with the* Turks.

A. D. 1574.

In the mean time *Henry de Valois*, brother to the king of *France*, having been elected king of *Poland*, he ſent a nuncio to *Paris*, to congratulate him upon his election, and to preſent him with a golden roſe. He ſent alſo another nuncio to *Poland*; who, upon the king's arrival there the following year, prevented him from confirming to the proteſtants what had been promiſed to them in his name. The proteſtants in that kingdom, however,
d were ſoon after freed from their apprehenſions from *Henry*; who, ſucceeding to the crown of *France* by the death of his brother, left *Poland* in a few months. *Gregory* in the mean time publiſhed a bull on *Aſcenſion-day*, and another on the fourth *Sunday* of *Advent*, appointing a jubilee to be celebrated the following year at *Rome*; which feſtival accordingly commenced on *Chriſtmas-eve*, when the pope, with his golden mallet, opened the holy gate of the *Vatican* church, where there were ſaid to be no leſs than 300,000 pilgrims waiting for the ceremony [k]. During the whole holy year there were always upwards of 100,000 foreigners at *Rome*; which, by the care of the pope, abounded with all ſorts of proviſions. *Gregory*, as an indulgence to the *Engliſh* catholics, on the 30th of *March*, publiſhed a bull, allowing them all the benefits of the jubilee in their own kingdom; in the mean while he
e viſited the churches in *Rome* ſeveral times with great devotion, and, according to cuſtom, aſcended the holy ladder on his knees.

*A jubilee celebrated at* Rome. A. D. 1575.

During the celebration of this feſtival at *Rome*, the pope intereſted himſelf for the ſafety of *Genoa*, which ſtate was threatened with ruin, both from a foreign enemy and from its own inteſtine diviſions. As the ancient nobility in that republic had, for ſeveral years, oppoſed the election of the new nobles and the commons to the offices of the ſtate, theſe two laſt parties, after long diſputes, had recourſe to arms, to deliver themſelves from oppreſſion, and to aſſert their privileges; which contention encouraged Don *John* of *Auſtria* to form a deſign of invading the republic. *Gregory* ordered Don *John* to lay aſide his enterprize; and prevailing on the *Genoeſe* to accept of his mediation, together with that of the emperor, and
f the king of *Spain*, after ſeveral months negociations the differences were compoſed in an amicable manner, and all the three parties were declared to have an equal right to enjoy any office in the adminiſtration of the republic [l].

*He compoſes the diſſentions in* Genoa. A. D. 1576.

While the arbitrators were negociating this accommodation, which was concluded in the month of *March*, a great plague deſolated the northern parts of *Italy*; particularly the cities of *Trent*, *Verona*, *Venice*, and *Milan*; in which laſt city cardinal *Boromeo* diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his humanity and charity, as he continually ſpent his time in viſiting the infected, and diſpoſed of all the furniture of his palace, even to his own bed, to ſupport the wants of the poor [m]. His example was imitated by the biſhop of *Verona*; and, as an alleviation of the affliction, the pope ſent his indulgences to the infected cities, granting the
f ſame pardon to thoſe who died with a ſorrow of their ſins, as if they had confeſſed, and

[k] Idem ibid. ex Vict. de Jubileis.
[l] Natal. Com. l. xxv. xxvi, xxvii. Ubert. Foliet. Comment.
[m] Natal. l. xxvii. Mauroc. l. xii.

received

received the communion and extreme unction. Soon after, at the requeſt of the *French* king, and to defray the expences of the wars againſt the *Hugonots*, he granted a bull for the alienation of the church lands in *France*, to the amount of 50,000 crowns of yearly revenue; and as the emperor *Maximilian*, who had been elected king of *Poland* by a party in that kingdom, died in the month of *October*, he received the obedience, and confirmed the election of *Stephen Batori*, the other competitor for that crown. a

THE following year he erected a college at *Rome* for the education of the children of *Greeks* in the ſciences, and in divinity; and likewiſe founded another for the new converts from *Judaiſm*. He confirmed an archbiſhop and biſhop, ſent by the patriarch of the *Maronites* to *Rome*; and, upon their return, ſent with them two *Jeſuits* to *Mount Libanus*, to inſtruct the Chriſtians in thoſe parts in the doctrines of the *Roman* church. Not long after, b

*His mediation is deſired betwixt the king of* Spain *and the* Flemmings. A. D. 1578.

being intreated by the ſtates of *Flanders* to act as mediator betwixt them and the king of *Spain*, he immediately ſent a nuncio to be preſent at the congreſs, which was held the following year at *Cologn*. At the ſame time he likewiſe ordered his nuncio in *Portugal* to accompany king *Sebaſtian* in his expedition to *Africa*, where that unfortunate prince, with the nuncio, and a great part of his army were cut off by the *Moors*. The year following *Gregory* confirmed the new order of the knights of the Holy Ghoſt, eſtabliſhed by the king of *France*; but refuſed to allow any of the church lands to be alienated for their ſupport. He ordered a treatiſe of *Scholarius* againſt the errors of the *Greeks*, to be printed, and ſent into *Greece*; he reſtored the order of the monks of *St. Baſil*; ſent ſeveral *Franciſcan* miſſionaries to the *Eaſt Indies*; and granted aſſiſtance to the king of *Ceylon*, who had been expelled his c kingdom for having embraced the Chriſtian religion [n]. Mean while his nuncio, with the deputies from the emperor, the king of *Spain*, and the ſtates of *Flanders*, aſſembled at *Cologn*, to conſult of the means to quiet the diſturbances in the *Low Countries*. After long diſputes, the imperial deputies propoſed a plan of pacification; but it was almoſt univerſally rejected by the deputies of the ſtates, who began to think of imploring the protection of ſome neighbouring prince. *Gregory* at the ſame time, at the ſollicitation of the

*He founds an* Engliſh *college at* Rome;

*Engliſh* refugees, founded an *Engliſh* college at *Rome*; and, as he had formerly erected one at *Rheims* in *France* for the inſtruction of the exiles from *England*, who reſided in that kingdom, he publiſhed a writing, by which he exhorted all the faithful to aſſiſt the *Engliſh* refugees to the utmoſt of their power. He likewiſe prevailed upon *Philip*, king of *Spain*, to d ſend aſſiſtance to the popiſh rebels in *Ireland*, they having deceived him by giving him a falſe account of their forces, which they repreſented as very formidable; whereas they, with the *Spaniſh* auxiliaries, were eaſily defeated by the *Engliſh* troops.

A. D. 1580. *and intereſts himſelf in the ſucceſſion to the crown of* Portugal.

MEAN while cardinal *Henry*, who had ſucceeded his nephew *Sebaſtian* on the throne of *Portugal*, dying, and the royal line becoming extinct in that kingdom, many competitors appeared, who claimed the ſucceſſion, among whom was *Philip* king of *Spain*, who, in order to make good his pretenſions, fitted out a formidable fleet, and ſent the duke of *Alva* into *Portugal*, with an army of 30,000 men. Tho' *Philip*'s claim was acknowleged to be juſt, yet the greateſt part of the *Portugueſe* from their hatred of the *Caſtilians*, refuſed to ſubmit to him; and, having ſent to *Rome* to implore the protection of the pope, *Gre-* e *gory* immediately ſent cardinal *Riario*, as his nuncio, to *Portugal*, to act as mediator betwixt the two parties, and to perſuade *Philip* to lay down his arms. The king of *Spain*, however, rejected the mediation of the nuncio; and having defeated his rival Don *Antonio*, who had been crowned by the oppoſite faction, took poſſeſſion of *Liſbon*, where he was acknowledged as king of *Portugal*, and received the homage of the nobles. During theſe tranſactions in *Portugal*, the pope had a diſpute with the republic of *Venice*, which refuſed to admit thoſe who had been nominated by his holineſs to viſit the churches in their territories. After ſeveral months diſputes, the difference was at laſt accommodated, the pope conſenting to nominate only one *Venetian* prelate for the viſitation, and prohibiting him to examine the nunneries, and thoſe benefices which were under the protection of laymen [o]. f

*He mediates a peace betwixt* Muſcovy *and* Poland. A. D. 1581.

THE following year, having received an embaſſy from the great duke of *Muſcovy*, deſiring his mediation betwixt him and the king of *Poland*, he ſent *Antonio Poſſevini*, a *Jeſuit*, as his nuncio, to *Ruſſia*, who concluded a peace betwixt the two princes in the month of *December*; after which he ſollicited the *Ruſſian* duke to acknowlege the authority of the *Roman* ſee, and in three public diſputes impugned the rites and ceremonies of the *Greek* church. Though his arguments in behalf of the church of *Rome* had no influence on the *Ruſſians*, yet the duke, at his requeſt, ſent a ſecond ambaſſador to *Rome* to return thanks to the pope, who in the mean time had received a complaint and appeal from the grand maſter of *Malta*, who had been depoſed and impriſoned by the knights of that order. *Gregory* greatly reſented this inſolence of the knights, and immediately ſent a legate to *Malta*,

[n] SPOND. Annal. [o] MAUROC. l. xii.

a who took the grand maſter out of priſon, and ſent him, with thoſe who had been chiefly concerned in the outrage, to *Rome*; where he was received with great honours, while his accuſers were treated with ſcorn and contempt. Though he was again reſtored to his dignity, and his rival obliged to aſk his pardon, yet both he and his rival died a few weeks after; by which means an end was put at that time to the factions among the knights [p].

*and orders a reformation of the calendar;* A. D. 1582.

*GREGORY* about the ſame time having received a treatiſe from one *Antonio Lilly*, for the reformation of the calendar, which was then very erroneous, ſent copies of the book to be examined by the celebrated univerſities of *Europe*; and having received their approbation of the plan, he ſent for the moſt eminent mathematicians from all parts to *Rome*, by whoſe advice he compoſed a new cycle of epochs for the perpetual regulation of *Eaſter*. By this re-
b formation of the calendar, he threw out ten days from the common reckoning of time, and brought down the vernal equinox to the ſame day of the month on which it was at the time of the council of *Nice*, and appointed the uſual biſſextiles to be obſerved, excepting only in the firſt year of a century; of which years he ordered every fourth only to be accounted biſſextile. This regulation, which was confirmed in the month of *February* by a bull, was allowed almoſt univerſally to be very proper; however, it was not univerſally received in *Europe*. The *Greeks*, and the proteſtants in *Germany*, *Britain*, *Sweden*, and *Denmark*, rejected it, that they might not ſeem in any thing to acknowlege the authority of the pope; however, it was admitted without oppoſition in *Italy*, *Spain*, *France*, and *Poland*; but tho' ſome proteſtants in *Germany* wrote in its defence, yet the princes and deputies of that pro-
c feſſion, in the diet of *Augsburg*, oppoſed its reception, ſo that the emperor was obliged to defer the further conſideration of that affair, and to order the imperial chamber to obſerve the old calendar [q].

*which is rejected by the* Greeks *and proteſtants.*

THE pope was not ſurpriſed at the oppoſition of the proteſtants to the new regulation of the year; but he was greatly alarmed to hear that the electoral archbiſhop of *Cologn* had embraced the proteſtant religion, and married a wife. As the chapter had wrote to *Rome* againſt him, complaining that he had not only renounced the catholic religion, but propoſed likewiſe to retain his dignity as elector, and endeavoured to introduce the proteſtant religion into his dominions, the pope wrote to him, exhorting him to renounce his error before it was too late. But the archbiſhop paying no regard to this exhortation, and endea-
d vouring to retain the poſſeſſion of his electorate by arms, *Gregory*, on the 1ſt of *April*, publiſhed a ſentence of excommunication and depoſition againſt him; and ordering the chapter of *Cologn* to proceed to the election of a ſucceſſor, the canons accordingly, on the 23d of *May*, choſe *Erneſt*, duke of *Bavaria*, at that time biſhop of *Friſingen*, *Hidelſheim*, and *Liege*.

A. D. 1583.

DURING theſe tranſactions in *Germany*, one *Parr*, an *Engliſh* catholic, then in *France*, having informed the pope, that he intended to go over to *England* to do ſome ſignal ſervice to the *Roman* church, *Gregory* granted him his benediction, and wrote to him by the cardinal of *Como*, exhorting him to perſevere in his deſign. As *Parr* the following year was detected in a conſpiracy againſt the queen's life, by the papers that were then diſcovered, the pope was accuſed of having encouraged him in his deſign of aſſaſſination, though all the writings
e from *Rome* were only expreſſed in general terms [r]. *Italy* was at this time diſtreſſed with a ſevere famine, which, having continued a long time, prevailed to ſuch a degree at *Rome*, that, at laſt, a man could hardly ſupport himſelf with bread for a crown a day. The grievouſneſs of this calamity was owing chiefly to the avarice and rapacity of the pope's relations, who, inſtead of diſtributing the corn in the magazines to the people, ſold it in the country at an extravagant price. They likewiſe bought up all that was in private hands; and prohibiting any others to ſell corn beſides themſelves, they harraſſed the poor people by the moſt violent extortion.

*He is ſuſpected of having encouraged the aſſaſſination of queen* Elizabeth. A. D. 1584.

THIS general diſtreſs greatly increaſed the number of the banditti, who were before very numerous all over the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and ſome of them even had the confidence to enter
f *Rome*, preſuming upon the lenity, or rather the weakneſs of the pope. As they had rendered themſelves very formidable, *Gregory* at laſt reſolved to exert himſelf againſt them, and gave orders to the provoſt marſhal of *Rome*, to make diligent ſearch after thoſe who were lurking in the city. This officer being informed that one of the chiefs of the robbers had taken ſanctuary in the palace of *Orſini*, went with the archers, and brought him from thence; but, in his return, meeting with *Orſini*, *Savello*, and *Ruſticucci*, three nobles, who had been riding in the country, he was deſired by them, in an imperious manner, to diſmiſs his priſoner, and reproved for violating the ſanctuary of the palace. As he refuſed to comply with their demands, one of the nobles ſtruck him with his whip; which blow he reſented, by ordering the archers to fire at the nobles, one of whom was inſtantly killed, and the other two

[p] SPOND. Annal. [q] Idem ibid. THUAN. l. lxxix. MERC. Gallo Belg. t. iii. l. i. p. 201. LEHMAN. l. ii. c. 44. [r] CAMBD. in Eliza. THUAN. l. lxxix.

mortally wounded. This ſcuffle occaſioned a general tumult through the city, all the nobles eſpouſing the cauſe of *Orſini*; and many of the people, who were their dependents, aſſembling in a riotous manner, and murdering all the *Sbirri*, or archers, whom they could find. *Gregory*, not being able to ſuppreſs their violence, diſſembled his reſentment for ſome days; but, having apprehended ſome of the chiefs of the ſedition, he ordered them to be executed; and to calm and appeaſe the people, he cauſed the provoſt marſhal to be put to death [s]. a

To take off the attention of the city from the late diſorder, he ſoon after made a promotion of nineteen cardinals, the greateſt part of whom were diſtinguiſhed for their virtues and abilities. About the ſame time he founded a college at *Rome* for the *Maronites* of *Mount Libanus* (G); and, being deſirous to form a new alliance againſt the *Turks*, he ſent a legate to the king of *Perſia*, and another to the king of *Ethiopia*, to exhort them to declare war againſt the grand ſignor [t]. He likewiſe publiſhed a bull, ordaining a ſermon to be preached weekly to the *Jews*, in all places where they had a ſynagogue; and ordered at leaſt the third part of them, above twelve years of age, to attend, if no lawful impediment prevented them [u]. Soon after he was earneſtly ſollicited by the duke of *Guiſe*, and thoſe catholics in *France* who had formed the holy league, to excommunicate the king of *Navarre* and the prince of *Conde*; but he refuſed to grant their requeſt, being perſuaded, that the league was chiefly formed, not to defend the catholic religion, but to advance the duke of *Guiſe* to the ſucceſſion of the throne. b

*He endeavours to form an alliance againſt the* Turks.

A. D. 1585.

MEAN while he received an embaſſy from three kings in *Japan*, who ſome years before had been converted to the Chriſtian religion by *Francis Xavier* and other *Jeſuits*. The two ambaſſadors, with their retinue, and other two nobles that accompanied them, after a voyage of two years, arrived in *Spain*; where they were received with great reſpect by *Philip*, who conducted them to *Leghorn*, from whence they went to *Florence*, where they were entertained with great magnificence by the grand duke. Upon their arrival at *Rome*, *Gregory* deſired all the cardinals and foreign ambaſſadors to wait upon him in form, and granted them an audience, and received their obedience, in a public conſiſtory, when he could not refrain from expreſſing his joy by his tears [w]. After the audience he admitted them to the honour of lifting up the hem of his garment, appointed the *Jeſuits* convent for their reſidence, ordered them to be clothed after the *Italian* manner, and granted them a large allowance for their expences (H). A few days after, being ſeized with a quinzy, he died on the 10th of *April*, on the ſecond day of his illneſs, and the 84th year of his age. He had enjoyed a very ſtrong conſtitution, which he had improved by temperance and exerciſe; his countenance was chearful and pleaſing, and he was greatly beloved by the *Romans* on account of the lenity of his government, not conſidering that the weakneſs of his adminiſtration gave encouragement to all manner of vices and irregularities. The greateſt crimes were committed during his pontificate with impunity, and a general corruption of manners overſpread the whole eccleſiaſtical ſtate; however, upon his death, the diſorders increaſed during the vacancy of the ſee, at which time the *Romans* generally commit great tumults and riots, as the laws are then ſilent through all the papal territories, and the new pope always begins his government with a general pardon to all criminals. At this vacancy all manner of reſtraint was thrown off: the whole eccleſiaſtical ſtate was one ſcene of debauchery and barbarity; and, at *Rome*, aſſaſſinations, murders, and rapes, were committed by all degrees of people, clergy as well as laity. The palaces of five cardinals were robbed; and that of *Farneſe*, where there were above thirty ſervants and guards, was plundered, not ſecretly, or in a private manner, but publicly, and in the middle of the day. c

*He receives an embaſſy from* Japan.

*He dies at* Rome.

DURING the ten days that the funeral ceremonies of the deceaſed pope laſted, the cardinals, who had any pretenſions to the papacy, were carrying on their ſchemes and intrigues, running about to ſollicit the ſuffrages and intereſt of their friends. On the 21ſt of *April* they entered the conclave, to the number of forty-two, being divided into ſix particular factions, who more or leſs favoured different candidates. As the intereſt of ſome of the chiefs d e f

[s] THUAN. l. lxxxii. [t] Annal. Greg. apud VICTOR. [u] SPOND. Annal. [w] Apud VICTOR. in Addit. ad Ciacon.

(G) He is ſaid to have erected, during his pontificate, three and twenty at *Rome*, and in the different provinces of Chriſtendom (1).

(H) The names of theſe ambaſſadors were *Mancia*, *Iſus*, and *Michael Gingiva*, and they were ſaid to be nearly related to the kings of *Bungo*, *Arima*, and *Omura*, whom they repreſented. However, many people affirmed, that the embaſſy was an impoſition of the *Jeſuit*, to advance the credit of their order; and that the pretended ambaſſadors were only mean perſons, hired and inſtructed to perſonate that character, by thoſe fathers, who likewiſe forged their credentials; and, being their interpreters, made them ſpeak whatever beſt ſuited their purpoſes. Their honourable reception gave occaſion to ſome paſquinades, and ſeveral *Spaniſh* merchants then at *Rome*, who had lately been at *Japan*, affirmed, that, when they were in that kingdom, they had heard no mention of any embaſſy or the converſion of any king (2).

(1) *Cabrer. & Ugnel. in Addit. ad Ciacon. in Greg. XIII.* (2) *Greg. Alt. vit. di Sixt. V.*

was

a was very near equally balanced, they were a mutual check to each others promotion, and were, in their turns, rejected at ſeveral ſcrutinies. At length the cardinals *Abexandrino*, *Medicis*, and *D'Eſte*, reſolved to join their intereſt in favour of cardinal *Montalto*, an old decrepit mortified prelate; who declined that dignity with great appearance of humility, and told them, that they muſt not think of making him pope, unleſs they reſolved to take the burden of the adminiſtration on their own ſhoulders. They readily agreed to this exception; and having by their intereſt brought over ſeveral other cardinals, they produced a legal majority for *Montalto*, who was choſen on the 24th of *April*, and aſſumed the name of *Sixtus* V.

Sixtus V. *is elected pope.*

He was born of poor and mean parents, in the march of *Ancona*, at a village called *La Grotte*, in the lordſhip of *Montalto*. His father, *Francis Peretti*, who was a common plow-

*An account of his birth.*

b man, could not afford to give him any education, and, when he was nine years old, hired him out to one of his neighbours, to look after his ſheep and hogs. He did not long continue in this mean occupation; for being deſired by a *Franciſcan* friar, who had loſt his way, to ſhew him the road to *Aſcoli*, he deſerted his hogs, and ran before him to the town. The friar, after he had found his road again, deſired him ſeveral times to return; but the boy refuſing to leave him, he at length aſked him if he would take upon him the habit of his order, which he deſcribed as very auſtere; to which the boy replied, "That he would wil-
"lingly ſuffer the pains of purgatory, if he would make him a ſcholar." He was accordingly received, with the conſent of his parents, into the convent of *Franciſcans* at *Aſcoli*, where he quickly made a ſurpriſing progreſs in learning. In his thirteenth year he aſſumed the

c habit of that order, but he retained his own name *Felix* or *Felice*. He ſoon after diſtinguiſhed himſelf at ſeveral public diſputations, and acquired a conſiderable reputation as an elegant preacher; but at the ſame time he raiſed himſelf a great many enemies by his fiery impetuous diſpoſition, as he reſented the leaſt injury with great animoſity and vehemence, which he frequently provoked by his own inſolence and diſdainful behaviour. He early diſcovered a great ambition; and though he was envied and hated by his brother monks, yet, by his abilities, he acquired the favour and eſteem of cardinal *Carpi*, whoſe protection was of great ſervice to him againſt his numerous enemies. By the intereſt of this cardinal he obtained ſeveral ſmall promotions; and having likewiſe ingratiated himſelf with father *Ghiſlieri*, afterwards *Pius* V. and with the *Colonna* family at *Rome*, he obtained the office of in-

d quiſitor-general at *Venice*, where, by his inſolent and over-bearing behaviour, he ſo greatly offended the ſenate, that, upon the death of *Paul* IV. he was obliged to conſult his ſafety by flight. However, upon the election of *Pius* II. he returned to that city, and again ſacrificed his own repoſe to trouble and diſturb that of others: but at laſt, being apprehenſive of the reſentment of the ſenate, he provided a gondola, by which he made his eſcape in the middle of the night, after he had ordered an inſolent monitory to be hung upon the door of St *Mark*'s church. Upon his return to *Rome* he was made conſultor of the inquiſition, and ſoon after went with the legate *a latere*, *Buron Campagnon*, as his chaplain to *Spain*. While he was in that kingdom, his friend *Ghiſilieri* being choſen pope, he created him general of his order, afterwards biſhop of St. *Agatha*, and at laſt a cardinal; and, to enable him to ſup-

*He is created a cardinal, and*

e port his dignity, he aſſigned him a penſion, and beſides made him a preſent of a conſiderable ſum of money.

*artfully diſguiſes his natural diſpoſition.*

Upon his promotion to the ſacred college, which happened in the 49th year of his age, he quite altered his former manner of life; and to conceal his aſpiring views, he affected a total diſregard of all worldly purſuits, and became humble, meek, patient, and affable; which maſk of hypocriſy he wore with great perſeverance for fifteen years. He led a very retired and private life, exerciſed himſelf in works of piety, ſpent much of his time in the confeſſional chairs, ſeldom appeared at the conſiſtories, and, during the three laſt years of the pontificate of *Gregory*, affected to be very infirm and ſickly; ſo that he was often ſaluted in a manner that would not have been very agreeable to any body elſe, "God help you,

f "poor old man; you have almoſt run your race".

*His behaviour upon his election to the pontificate.*

The cardinals, out of contempt, uſed to call him *The Aſs of la Marca*; ſo that their aſtoniſhment was inexpreſſible when he threw off the diſguiſe. While they were crowding towards him in the conclave, to congratulate him, he ſat coughing and weeping, as if ſome great misfortune had befallen him; but he no ſooner perceived, upon the ſcrutiny, that there was a ſufficient number of votes to ſecure his election, than he threw his ſtaff, with which he uſed to ſupport himſelf, into the middle of the chapel, ſtretched himſelf up, and appeared taller, by almoſt a foot, than he had done for ſeveral years before. This behaviour alarming the cardinal *Dean*, he called out, "Stay a little, ſoftly, there is a miſtake in
"the ſcrutiny: but *Montalto*, with a ſtern look, boldly anſwered, "There is no miſtake;"

g and immediately begun himſelf the *Te Deum laudamus*, in ſuch a ſtrong and audible voice, that the whole conclave was at firſt ſtruck dumb; but at length accompanied him in a tame and ſpiritleſs manner. After the hymn, the maſter of the ceremonies aſked him, ac-



cording

cording to the form, "Whether he was pleaſed to accept of the papacy?" To which he a
replied, ſomewhat ſharply, "It is trifling and impertinent to aſk whether I will accept of
"what I have already accepted. However, to ſatisfy any ſcruple that may ariſe, I tell you
"that I accept it with great pleaſure, and would accept another, if I could get it; for I find
"myſelf ſtrong enough, by the divine aſſiſtance, to manage two papacies." While the car-
dinals were putting on his pontifical robes, he ſtretched out his arms with great vigour and
activity; upon which one of them ſaid to him, in a familiar way, "I perceive, holy father,
"the pontificate is a ſovereign medicine, ſince it can reſtore youth and health to old ſick
"cardinals:" to which he replied, in a grave and majeſtic manner, "So I find it." After
cardinal *Farneſe* had performed the ceremony of the adoration, he ſaid to him, "Your ho-
"lineſs ſeems a quite different ſort of a man from what you was a few hours ago." "Yes, b
"(ſaid he) I was then looking for the keys of paradiſe, which obliged me to ſtoop a little;
"but now I have found them, it is time to look upwards, as I am arrived at the ſummit of
"all human glory, and can climb no higher in this world." In his paſſage from the conclave
to St. *Peter*'s, the people, who at firſt would not believe that he was the ſame perſon with the
old decrepit cardinal *Montalto*, cried out, *Long live the pope*; and added, according to cuſtom,
*Plenty, holy father, plenty and juſtice!* To which he replied, "Pray to God for plenty, and I
"will give you juſtice."

*His rigid adminiſtration of juſtice.*

HAVING now attained to the height of his ambition, he laid aſide that appearance of humility he had ſo long worn, and behaved with great ſtate and reſerve. He received the foreign ambaſſadors in a complaiſant manner, and was particularly kind to thoſe from *Japan*, c
to whom he gave ſeveral rich preſents; and having created them knights of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, diſmiſſed them a few months afterwards with his benediction. Upon the news of his election, many criminals and banditti voluntarily ſurrendered themſelves, not making the leaſt doubt of a pardon from the general character of *Montalto*'s lenity. But never were any more fatally diſappointed; for having haughtily rejected the interceſſion of the ambaſſadors, cardinals, and nobles, in their behalf, he gave orders to the governor of *Rome* to confine them more ſtrictly, and to execute four of them on the day of his coronation. He likewiſe publiſhed regulations to be obſerved on that day: and having ordered the governor to provide twelve executioners of different nations, he commanded them ſome days before to parade through the ſtreets, with an ax in one hand and a halter in the other; which appearance d
ſtruck ſuch a terror into the *Romans*, that during the proceſſion of the coronation there was not the leaſt diſturbance or riot; whereas formerly, during that ceremony, rapes, murders, and a thouſand enormities, were uſually committed.

*He promotes his relations;*

SOON after the coronation he ſent for his only ſiſter *Camilla*, with her daughter and two grandſons, and a niece, the daughter of his deceaſed brother, who, upon their approach to *Rome*, were met by three cardinals, who dreſſed them in magnificent habits, and conducted them to the *Vatican*. But *Sixtus* diſdaining, in ſuch a trifling manner, to be obliged to the cardinals, pretended not to know his ſiſter, till ſhe had reſumed her former dreſs; then he received her kindly, and declared, that nobody ſhould make a princeſs of her but himſelf. He aſſigned her a conſiderable revenue, and gave her one of his palaces for her reſidence; at e
the ſame time adviſing her to content herſelf with that ſober modeſty which became the meanneſs of her birth, and the gravity of thoſe who were related to the papal chair: he likewiſe conferred the dignity of a cardinal on the eldeſt of her grandſons, *Alexander Peretti*, who was then about eighteen years of age, and afterwards diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his learning and abilities. The king of *Spain* and the grand duke of *Tuſcany* offered to confer titles of honour on his ſiſter, which he refuſed; however, he expreſſed his ſatisfaction with the behaviour of the *Venetians*, who ordered public rejoicings upon his exaltation, and admitted the family of *Peretti* to the honour of nobility in their ſtate, being afraid of his reſentment for their treatment of him when he was inquiſitor at *Venice*.

*compels the poor to work, and*

BEING ſhocked with the great numbers of poor at *Rome*, who were periſhing for want, he f
gave an authority to four perſons, of great prudence and experience, to ſummon before them all thoſe who had no viſible way of getting a livelihood, and to compel them to work, or to baniſh them from the city. He likewiſe prohibited foreigners from ſettling at *Rome*, unleſs they brought a certificate that they were able, by ſome trade or profeſſion, to maintain a family; and none were allowed to marry without a previous examination of their circumſtances.

*and the nobles to pay their debts.*

He gave great encouragement to trade and manufactures; and, to check the inſolence of the nobility, he commanded all the merchants and tradeſmen to bring him in a liſt of their debts, with the names of the people that owed them, which he paid off, and became general creditor himſelf. This order occaſioned ſuch a general alarm, that many paid their debts the ſame day it was publiſhed, and begged of their merchants to give them ſuch g
receipts as though they had been paid long before. At the ſame time he deprived the cardinals and nobles of thoſe privileges and immunities, by which they ſheltered debtors and criminals from the law, and continually urged the governor of *Rome* to make examples of

juſtice,

a juſtice, chiding him for his remiſſneſs, and declaring, that he would rather have the gibbets and gallies full than priſons.

*He extirpates the banditti, and*

In order intirely to extirpate the banditti, who ſtill continued in great bodies in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, their numbers having been increaſed by many, who, from the rigorous proceedings of *Sixtus*, deſpaired of pardon, and fled from juſtice, he publiſhed an edict againſt them, offering all thoſe a free pardon who ſhould ſurrender within three months, and excluding them from mercy after that term, promiſing a pardon, and a reward of 500 crowns, to any of them who ſhould betray his fellow; and prohibiting all perſons whatever, not excepting nobles and eccleſiaſtics, from correſponding with them, or concealing them, under the penalty of death upon the wheel or gallows. Having appointed three ſevere judges,
b with a body of 500 ſoldiers to put this order in execution, in leſs than ſix months all the banditti were either taken or diſappeared.

*obliges the confeſſors to inform him of the crimes of their penitents.*

He likewiſe ordered the ſyndics, or mayors, of every town and lordſhip, as well thoſe that were actually in office, as thoſe who had enjoyed that dignity for the laſt ten years, to ſend him a liſt of all the vagrants, common debauchees, looſe and diſorderly people, in their diſtricts, threatening them with the ſtrapado if they omitted or concealed any one; which puniſhment the ſyndic of *Albano* actually underwent, for omitting the name of his nephew. And in order to ſuppreſs all manner of vice, he not only puniſhed ſeveral people, upon the information which he had received from themſelves at their confeſſions, when he was cardinal, but likewiſe obliged other confeſſors to acquaint him with any thing extraordinary that was com-
c municated to them; and, to inſpect the conduct of the magiſtrates, he diſperſed a great many ſpies through the city and the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, to whom he allowed conſiderable penſions, which were punctually paid.

He employed alſo a great many others at all foreign courts, by which means he had intelligence of the ſecret deſigns of other ſtates, particularly of the king of *Spain* having formed a deſign to ſeize *Naples*, one of the dependencies of that crown, which was ſuſpected by his behaviour to the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador, a few weeks after his promotion; for when the horſe, with 7000 crowns, was preſented to him on the feaſt of St. *Peter*, as a tribute for *Naples*, he ridiculed his predeceſſors, who had exchanged a kingdom for a beaſt, and added, that he would ſoon put an end to that ſimple cuſtom; which words being tranſmitted to
d *Philip*, he gave orders to the duke of *Oſſuna*, viceroy of *Naples*, to ſtrengthen the garriſons upon the frontiers, and to do his utmoſt to penetrate into the deſigns of the pope. About the ſame time *Sixtus* had a rupture with the king of *France*, who had ſent orders to the new nuncio, who was then on his journey to *France*, to ſtop at *Lyons*, as he had wrote to *Rome*, deſiring that the old nuncio might not be recalled. This proceeding of the king greatly inflamed the pope, who immediately ordered the *French* ambaſſador to leave *Rome* within three days. However, ſoon after, by the interceſſion of ſeveral cardinals, the difference was compromiſed, the king agreeing to accept of the new nuncio, and his ambaſſador returning to his reſidence at the court of *Rome*.

*He excommunicates the king of* Navarre,

Whether this rupture had alienated him from the king of *France*, is uncertain; but
e about two months after, he declared his approbation of the catholic league made by the *Guiſe* faction, who, under pretence of defending the old religion, had formed an aſſociation againſt the king and *Henry* of *Navarre*, the preſumptive heir of the crown. He wrote with his own hand to the duke of *Guiſe*, and, comparing him to *Judas Maccabeus*, promiſed him all the aſſiſtance in his power: and, in the end of *September*, he publiſhed a bull of excommunication againſt *Henry* king of *Navarre*, and the prince of *Conde*, and all their adherents, pronouncing them heretics, and, as ſuch, declaring their eſtates and poſſeſſions forfeited, and both them and their dependents incapable of ſucceeding to any ſovereignty, eſpecially to the crown of *France*. The pope, upon the publication of this bull, wrote to the emperor *Adolphus*, deſiring him to prevent any aſſiſtance going from *Germany* to the *French Hugonots*, and
f to prohibit all foreign levies, under the pain of the ban of the empire.

*who appeals to a general council.*

The king of *Navarre* in the mean time, being rouſed by the pope's proceedings from a life of pleaſure, anſwered the manifeſto of the league, and by means of his friends at *Rome* ſtuck up his proteſt, with that of the prince of *Conde*, in every ſtreet, upon all the cardinals doors, and even upon the gates of the *Vatican*, accuſing *Sixtus* of being a falſe and malicious liar, and appealing from him to a free council, where they would prove that he himſelf was a heretic; and that, if he did not appear, they would account him antichriſt, and declare perpetual war againſt him. *Sixtus* was greatly enraged at this appeal, and at ſeveral paſquinades that were then publiſhed; but could not, by all his ſpies, diſcover thoſe who had fixed them up. After his fury was ſomewhat ſubſided, he ſpoke of the king of *Na-*
g *varre* in terms of reſpect, and admired his courage and greatneſs of mind, who, at that diſtance, had taken ſo proper and bold a method to ſhew his reſentment. From that time he refuſed to contribute any money to the war that was carrying on againſt him; and he was

afterwards frequently heard to ſay, that there were but two princes in the world, meaning *Henry* of *Navarre* and *Elizabeth* of *England*, whoſe friendſhip and correſpondence he would court and deſire, if they were not both infected with the guilt of hereſy [x]. According to *Gregorio Leti*, he about this time, gave ſome ſecret encouragement to queen *Elizabeth* to take the ſtates of *Holland* under her protection, from his deſire of repreſſing the overgrown power of the *Spaniards*. a

Sixtus *grateful to his former benefactors.*

HAVING now rendered himſelf reſpected abroad, and terrible to his own ſubjects, who trembled at the mention of his name, he began to open his bowels, and yield to the dictates of gratitude and generoſity. Before his promotion to the pontificate, he had noted down in a diary the moſt remarkable tranſactions of his life, and the names of his benefactors and and enemies; and as he now had an opportunity of ſhewing his gratitude to thoſe who formerly obliged him, he with great humour and kindneſs rewarded his former benefactors, many of whom had entirely forgot the ſervices they had done him (I). Towards the end of the year likewiſe, he made a promotion of eight cardinals, all men of extraordinary merit, and moſt of them perſons of high birth: but though the *Jeſuits* uſed great art to inſinuate themſelves into his favour, he always refuſed patronizing them as his predeceſſor had done, but uſed them upon many occaſions as his ſpies. b

*He adorns* Rome *with many new ſtructures.* A. D. 1586.

*ROME*, and the whole eccleſiaſtical ſtate, being now rendered ſecure and peaceable by the extirpation of the banditti, and ſtrict adminiſtration of juſtice, *Sixtus* applied his mind to the embelliſhing of the city with magnificent buildings, by which means he gave employment to great numbers of the poor. By the aſſiſtance of the celebrated architect *Dominic Fontana*, born at *Como*, he erected a famous obeliſk, that had been brought from *Thebais* in *Egypt* to *Rome*, and dedicated to the emperor *Auguſtus*, and *Tiberius* his adopted ſon. This obeliſk was overturned by *Totila*, king of the *Goths*, and had long lain neglected behind the veſtry of *St. Peter*'s church. It conſiſts of one piece of marble of ſeventy-two feet in length, and the difficulty of removing it had been hitherto accounted ſo great, that ſeveral popes, who had deſigned to have erected it, deſiſted, after ſome weak efforts, from that undertaking: but *Sixtus* reſolved to ſurmount every obſtacle; and at length accompliſhed the arduous enterprize by the ingenuity of *Fontana*, who invented an amazing machine for that purpoſe, and employed a great number of people more than twelve months. Beſides the elevating of this obeliſk, which was dedicated to the holy croſs, *Sixtus*, during his whole pontificate, employed ſeveral thouſands of people in great and magnificent works. He erected ſeveral other obelisks; built a chapel, which he dedicated to the holy manger, and adorned with the fineſt marble; brought water to his palace on *Monte Cavallo*, by an aqueduct twenty-two miles in length; founded a large hoſpital, capable of containing 2000 people; repaired, or rather rebuilt, the bridge of *Sixtus* IV. over the *Tyber*, and erected a fine palace, for the uſe of the popes, near the *Lateran* church. He alſo built ſeveral new ſtreets, one of which was two miles long, and called after his own name, *Strada Felice*: he enlarged the *Vatican* palace; from whence he made a grand ſtair-caſe to St. *Peter*'s church, the dome or cupola of which he completed: he founded a college in the convent of the holy apoſtles, and another at *Bologna*: he likewiſe intended to have built a city at the village of *le Grotte*, c d e

[x] THUAN. l. lxxxii. & xci. SPOND. Annal. GREG. LET. vit. di Sixt. V.

(I) Of the many ſtories that are related of this pope, with regard to the behaviour to his former benefactor, we ſhall add the following. When in his youth he reſided at *Macerata*, he went one day to a ſhoemaker's ſhop to buy a pair of ſhoes. After ſome diſpute about the price, the ſhoemaker told him, he would take no leſs than ſeven julios, or three ſhillings and ſix-pence. *Montalto* offered him ſix julios, which was all the money he had, and ſaid, "Perhaps I ſhall be able to give you the ſeventh "ſome time or other." "Some time or other (replied "the ſhoemaker); but when will that be? when you "come to be pope?" "Yes, (ſaid *Montalto*), that I will "with all my heart, and pay you intereſt for your mo-"ney too." "Well then (anſwered the ſhoemaker) ſince "I ſee you are not without hopes of being pope, you "ſhall even have them upon thoſe terms." *Montalto* having asked him his name, and noted the tranſaction in his diary, after his promotion ſent to *Macerata*, to know if the ſhoemaker was ſtill alive; and being informed that he was, ordered the governor of that place to ſend him up directly to *Rome*, guarded by one of his officers. The poor ſhoemaker was ſurpriſed and affrighted with the news that the pope deſired to ſee him; and having entirely forgot the tranſaction with the young friar, which had happened forty years before, he recalled to his mind all the ſins that he had committed in his life, conſidering for which of them he could be cited to appear before his holineſs. Upon his arrival at *Rome*, *Sixtus* asked him, if he had ever ſeen him at *Macerata*. The ſhoemaker trembling, told him, No. *Sixtus* again asked him, if he ever remembered to have ſold a pair of ſhoes to a young friar, and to have given him credit for a julio; but he proteſting that he knew nothing at all of the matter, *Sixtus* related to him the agreement they had formerly made, and ordered his ſteward to pay him the julio, with the intereſt for forty years, which amounted to two julios more. The ſhoemaker went away very much diſſatisfied, loudly complaining to every one he met, that the pope had put him to the expence of forty crowns, to come from *Macerata* to *Rome* to receive three julios. *Sixtus* being informed of his behaviour by his ſpies, ordered him to return, and demanded of him if he had a ſon. The ſhoemaker anſwering yes, and that he was an honeſt good prieſt of the order of *Servi*, the pope ſent for him to *Rome*, and before the departure of his father, conferred upon him a biſhopric in the kingdom of *Naples* (1).

(1) *Greg. Let. ut ſupra.*

where

a where he was born; but the ſituation of the place being incommodious, he was not able to accompliſh this deſign; however, he granted ſeveral privileges to the *Borgo di Montalto* in the neighbourhood of *le Grotte*, and afterwards erected that new city into a biſhop's ſee. Beſides, he regulated his militia, enrolling all his ſubjects that were able to bear arms, and appointing officers in every city to diſcipline and exerciſe them. In order to favour his deſigns againſt the kingdom of *Naples*, he fortified ſeveral towns on his frontier towards that kingdom, and laid a tax upon all the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, to defray the expence of building a fleet.

*He reſtores the authority of the apoſtolic ſee in* Switzerland.

DURING theſe tranſactions, *Sixtus*, at the requeſt of the popiſh cantons of *Switzerland*, ſent a nuncio into that country, who reſtored the authority of the holy ſee, which was al-
b moſt extinguiſhed among them. He likewiſe publiſhed a bull, condemning the practice of judicial aſtrology; and ſome months afterwards, by another, he aſcertained the qualifications neceſſary for thoſe that ſhould be received into the ſacred college, and limited the number of cardinals to ſeventy. However, the regulations of this bull were too ſtrict to be obſerved, and were almoſt all annulled by his ſucceſſors. At the repeated ſollicitations of the *French* king, he granted him a bull for the alienation of the church revenues in *France*, to the amount of 50,000 crowns a year [y]. As he was very intent upon aggrandizing the holy ſee, and thought it below the dignity of apoſtolic nuncios to live in hired houſes, he intended about this time to purchaſe a palace for their reſidence, ſuitable to their rank, at each different court of *Europe*. The ſenate of *Venice*, upon hearing of his intention, imme-
c diately made a preſent of a palace to his nuncio in their city; which act of generoſity was ſo agreeable to the pope, that he returned thanks in perſon to their ambaſſador at *Rome*, and preſented the ſenate with a noble palace in the city, for the perpetual reſidence of their ambaſſador. However, he refuſed the ſame offer from other ſtates, as he foreſaw that it would be attended with very great inconveniences: and being informed of the death of the king of *Poland*, he ſent a nuncio into that kingdom, to take care that no prejudice ſhould be done to the catholic religion at the future election.

*The* Romans *erect a ſtatue to him.* A. D. 1587.

MEAN while the *Romans*, out of gratitude to the pope, who had reſtored tranquility and plenty to the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, ordered a ſtatue to be erected to him in the capitol. How-
d ever, his patriot ſchemes did not prevent ſeveral paſquins and ſatires from appearing againſt him, the authors of which he ſometimes puniſhed in a ſevere manner, and at other times deſpiſed. This year he ordered a general chapter of the *Franciſcan* order to be held at *Rome*, the whole expence of which he defrayed himſelf. He condeſcended to honour one of their meetings with his preſence, and after the chapter broke up, he deſired them all to attend at the *Vatican*, as he intended to grant every one of them ſome favour. This declaration occaſioned great diſcontent and murmurings among the other orders; but, in the end, turned out to the mortification and confuſion of the *Franciſcans*. After *Sixtus* had heard all their requeſts, ſome of which were ridiculous and extravagant, he diſmiſſed them all with an abſolute refuſal, alleging, that their deſires had all been ſelfiſh, and inconſiſtent with their vows. However, he granted the petition of a poor lay-brother, which was of a public na-
e ture; and, at his requeſt, ordered an elegant fountain to be erected in the convent of the holy apoſtles, which was in great want of water.

*He erects ſeveral congregations of cardinals:*

FOR facilitating the adminiſtration of affairs, *Sixtus*, about this time, eſtabliſhed fifteen congregations of cardinals, ſome of which had been inſtituted by other popes, but were now altered and new modelled by him (K). In the mean time, being informed that *Erneſt*, the new elector of *Cologn*, on account of the oppoſition of the proteſtants, was thinking of reſigning his archbiſhopric, and retiring to *Bavaria*, he ſent the biſhop of *Verceil* to diſſuade him from that deſign, and wrote to thoſe princes, who had formerly engaged as his auxiliaries, ſtill to continue their aſſiſtance. He likewiſe wrote to the duke of *Parma* to aſſiſt the elector, and ſent the abbot *Grimani*, his chamberlain, with

[y] SPOND. Annal.

(K) The firſt of theſe is the congregation of the holy office eſtabliſhed by *Pius* IV. and reformed by *Pius* V. It conſiſts of at leaſt twelve cardinals, with ſeveral other prelates and divines of different orders, who were called conſultors of the holy office. The 2d, for expediting grants of reſervation. The 3d, for erecting of new churches. The 4th, for providing the eccleſiaſtical ſtate with corn. The 5th, for ſacred rites and ceremonies. The 6th, for the defence of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and the ſupport of the fleet. The 7th, the congregation *delle indice*, to cenſure what books they think cenſurable. The 8th, for expounding the canons of the council of *Trent*. The 9th, the congregation *delli ſgravi*, or *de bono regimine*, for redreſſing all grievances, oppreſſions, and vexations, of the ſubject. The 10th, for ſupporting univerſities. The 11th, for the conſultations of the regulars of every order. The 12th, for the conſultations of biſhops, and the viſitation of churches. The 13th, for the roads, bridges, and waters in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. The 14th, for the printing-office in the *Vatican*. And the 15th, the congregation of ſtate for the well-government of the pope's dominions (1).

(1) *Spond. Annal. ex t.* ii. *Bullar. Sixt. V.*

the preſent of a conſecrated hat and ſword for the duke, who received them in the midſt of his camp with great ceremony, after he had taken the cities of *Grave*, *Venlo*, and *Nuits* [z] (L). About the ſame time alſo he ſent a conſecrated ſword to the duke of *Guiſe*, the head of the league in *France*; and as the grand duke of *Tuſcany* died at *Florence* without heirs, he allowed cardinal *de Medicis*, who ſucceeded him, to reſign his hat, obliging him for that indulgence, to make rich preſents to the church of St. *John de Lateran* [a]. His nuncio in *Poland* informing him, that the archduke *Maximilian* had been elected king by a party in that kingdom, he immediately ſent him 22,000 ducats, to aſſiſt him againſt his competitor the prince of *Sweden*, who was choſen by another faction. At the earneſt ſollicitation of the *Spaniards*, he excommunicated queen *Elizabeth* of *England*, who, in the begnning of the year, had put to death the queen of *Scotland*; which inhuman proceeding was looked upon with horror and deteſtation, both by proteſtants and papiſts. The queen in return excommunicated the pope, and all his adherents, and made great preparations to oppoſe the intended invaſion of the *Spaniards* [b].

*He excommunicates* Elizabeth *queen of* England, *and* A. D. 1588.

As *Sixtus* was very earneſt to ſee the formidable power of the *Spaniards* weakened by a war with *England*, he wrote to *Philip* with his own hands, exciting him to that enterprize, promiſing to bear part of the expence, and to advance a million of crowns as ſoon as he ſhould be certainly informed that his forces had landed in *England*. At the recommendation of *Philip*, to whom he gave the inveſtiture of *England*, he made *William Allen* a cardinal; and to encourage the *Spaniards*, he ſent, for the uſe of the *Armada*, ſeveral large cheſts full of *agnis Dei*, medals, crucifixes, relics, pardons, and indulgences, with which the men, eſpecially the officers, were ſo loaded and incumbered, that they looked more like pilgrims than ſoldiers. The *Spaniards* preſſed him earneſtly to grant 500,000 crowns before the ſailing of the fleet, but he abſolutely refuſed their requeſt; and, upon being informed of the loſs of the *Armada*, to prevent the king from making any demands upon him, he wrote a conſolatory letter to him, in which he found great fault with the conduct of all his officers, attributing the unſucceſsful iſſue of the expedition entirely to them. *Philip*, upon receiving his letter, diſcovered no emotion, and two days after returned an anſwer to the nuncio, declaring, that the misfortune of his fleet ought to be eſteemed a loſs common to them both, and that for the future he would leave him to fight the battles of the church himſelf.

*gives the inveſtiture of the kingdom to* Philip *of* Spain.

During theſe tranſactions *Sixtus* had iſſued a bull for the abolition of *quarters* or the privileges claimed by ambaſſadors, cardinals, nobles, or prelates, of protecting banditti and malefactors in their houſes, declaring thoſe who ſhould any way obſtruct the courſe of juſtice, *ipſo facto*, excommunicated, and not to be abſolved by any but the pope himſelf, except in the article of death. He likewiſe received an ambaſſador from the king of *Perſia* with great pomp and magnificence; and to give him a high idea of the grandeur of the *Roman* court, he ordered all the cardinals and prelates at *Rome* to be preſent at his firſt audience. The ambaſſador came to deſire the aſſiſtance of the Chriſtian princes againſt the *Turks*; but as *Philip* of *Spain* was then exhauſting the ſtrength and riches of his own kingdom in his war with *England* and the ſtates of *Holland*, and in ſupporting the catholic league in *France*, and *Sixtus* was chiefly intent upon accumulating treaſure for his deſign againſt *Naples*, the Chriſtian powers diſcovered no inclination to embark in a cruſade, and the ambaſſador was diſmiſſed with many compliments and a few preſents, after he had continued about a month at *Rome*.

*He receives an embaſſy from* Perſia:

The ambaſſador of the duke of *Savoy*, who came to demand the pope's aſſiſtance againſt the city of *Geneva*, was equally unſucceſsful; for *Sixtus* conſidering that the undertaking would be attended with many difficulties, as the *Swiſs* were intereſted in the preſervation of that city, refuſed any aſſiſtance to the duke, and declared that the treaſure of the church ought only to be employed in defending itſelf, or enlarging its own territories. At the earneſt ſollicitation of the king of *Spain*, the pope, about this time, conſented to canonize *Diego*, or *Didacus*, of *Alcala*, to obliterate, in ſome meaſure, by the ſplendor of that ceremony, the diſgrace of his unſucceſsful expedition againſt *England*. He likewiſe inſtituted the feſtivals of the preſentation of the Virgin, and that of *St. Francis*, the founder of the *Franciſcan* order, and canonized St. *Anthony* of *Padua*, and St. *Januarius* of *Naples* [c]. Being attentive alſo to every opportunity of extending the influence and power of the holy ſee, he ſent cardinal *Aldobrandino*, as his legate *à latere*, to *Poland*, upon hearing of the impriſonment of the archduke *Maximilian*, who had been defeated by his competitor *Sigiſmond*, prince of *Sweden*. *Aldobrandino* arrived in *Poland* about the end of *June*; and after a long and difficult negociation, at length, in the beginning of the following year, concluded a peace betwixt the *Poles* and the

*He refuſes to aſſiſt the duke of* Savoy *againſt* Geneva.

[z] Strada de bell. Belg. Dec. ii. t. ii. [a] Thuan. l. xcii. [b] Idem, l. xciv. [c] Thuan. l. c.

(L) The hilt and ſcabbard of the ſword were ſet with jewels of great value. There were many alſo upon the hat, which was made of black velvet, fringed with gold (2).

(2) *Greg. Let. vit. di Sixt. V.*

houſe

a houſe of *Auſtria*, by which *Maximilian* renounced all right to that crown, and acknowleged *Sigiſmond* as king [d].

During his abſence *Sixtus* completed the famous *Vatican* library, and filled it with a great number of manuſcripts in the *Hebrew*, *Arabic*, *Greek*, *Latin*, and moſt other languages, which he had collected, with immenſe labour and expence, from all parts of the world. He likewiſe wrote to the duke of *Guiſe*, commending his zeal for the catholic religion, and informing him, that he intended to ſend the biſhop of *Breſcia*, whom he had created a cardinal, as his legate *à latere* to *France*, to aſſiſt him with his authority and advice. Although the pope, from the beginning of his pontificate, had given great countenance to the catholic league in *France*, and had given the duke of *Guiſe* ſeveral marks of his favour and eſteem, he ex-

b preſſed, however, very little concern upon the news of his murder, which was brought to *Rome* on the 5th of *January*, by an expreſs from *Moroſini*, his legate at the *French* court. He A. D. 1589.
rather ſeemed to approve of it; and in a converſation with cardinal *Joyeuſe*, a *Frenchman*, after ſome reflections upon the duke's unbounded ambition, and inſolent behaviour, towards the king, he ſaid, "We ſhould have done the ſame, if we had been in *Henry*'s place."

*He expreſſes great reſentment at the murder of cardinal* Guiſe;

But a few days after, being informed that the cardinal of *Guiſe*, the duke's brother, had likewiſe been put to death without a trial, and that the cardinal of *Bourbon*, and the archbiſhop of *Lyons* were impriſoned, he ſent for the *French* ambaſſador, and one *Girolamo Gondi*, whom the king had ſent to *Rome* to excuſe his proceeding; and, after beſtowing many harſh names upon them, he upbraided the king of *France* in the ſevereſt terms. Next day he called

c a conſiſtory, in which he exclaimed with great violence againſt the king, his rage or his grief obliging him to make ſeveral pauſes in his ſpeech [e]. He likewiſe reprimanded ſeveral cardinals who had ventured to excuſe the murder, and appointed a congregation of ſeveral members of the ſacred college to deliberate upon the ſtate of *France*. Tho' he expreſſed great reſentment againſt the king, he nevertheleſs gave but a very cold reception to the deputies of the *Pariſians*, who a few weeks after arrived at *Rome*, requeſted an abſolution from their oath of allegiance, and that he would grant a plenary indulgence to all thoſe who ſhould take arms againſt their prince, as ſeventy of the reverend members of the *Sorbonne* had declared that he had forfeited the throne. Each party, for ſeveral months, uſed their utmoſt endeavours to procure the friendſhip of the pope; but *Henry* abſolutely refuſing to ſet the

d cardinal of *Bourbon* and the archbiſhop of *Lyons* at liberty, *Sixtus* on the 24th of *May* publiſhed a monitory againſt him, threatening him with excommunication if he did not ſet the cardinal and archbiſhop at liberty before the 3d of *June*, and give information thereof within thirty days after to the apoſtolic ſee: beſides, he cited the king, and all thoſe concerned in the murder of the two *Guiſes*, to appear perſonally, or by proxy, within ſixty days at *Rome*. Upon the publication of this decree or monitory, the cardinal *Joyeuſe* retired to *Venice*, and the *French* ambaſſadors left *Rome*, and embarked at *Leghorn* for *Marſeilles*. As interceſſions had no effect upon the pope, the republic of *Venice* and the dukes of *Tuſcany* and *Mantua* preſſed the king of *France* to ſeize the county of *Avignon*, and to threaten to march an army to *Rome*; but he was prevented from following their advice by death, being aſſaſſinated on

e the 1ſt of *Auguſt*, by one *Clement*, a *Dominican* friar.

*but praiſes the murder of the king.*

*SIXTUS*, upon being informed of the murder, made a premeditated ſpeech in the conſiſtory in praiſe of the aſſaſſin, whom he extolled above *Eleazer* and *Judith*; and as he affirmed that the king had died in mortal ſin, by refuſing obedience to his monitory, he ordered that no prayers ſhould be made for his ſoul. However, he paid but little regard to the deputies of the league; and, notwithſtanding their ſollicitations, he refuſed to publiſh a cruſade againſt the king of *Navarre*, who had been declared king of *France* by the other party. At firſt indeed, being deceived by their repreſentations, he ordered cardinal *Cajetan*, whom he had appointed as his legate in *France*, to favour the election of cardinal *Bourbon*; but before his departure, having received a letter from the duke of *Luxemburgh*, acquaint-

f ing him that the king of *Navarre* had been declared king of *France* by the greateſt part of the nobility, and that he had appointed him as his ambaſſador at *Rome*, he wrote to thoſe nobles who were in the king of *Navarre*'s camp, exhorting them to continue ſteadily in the catholic faith, and declaring that he was indifferent who was their king, provided he was but a catholic. He likewiſe wrote to the duke of *Luxemburgh*, deſiring him to come to *Rome*; and gave new inſtructions to cardinal *Cajetan*, ordering him to favour the election of a catholic king, without ſpecifying any perſon; which proceeding greatly facilitated the eſtabliſhment of the king of *Navarre*, or *Henry* IV. upon the throne of *France*.

*He publiſhes an edition of the Bible in the vulgar tongue, which gives offence to the* Roman *catholics.*

Tho' the king of *Spain* was greatly diſobliged by this behaviour of the pope, yet another

g affair happened about this time, at which he expreſſed much more diſſatisfaction. *Sixtus*, during theſe tranſactions with *France*, had publiſhed an *Italian* verſion of the Bible from the vulgar *Latin*, which gave a general offence to all the *Roman* catholics. The moſt

[d] Idem, ad fin. l. lxxxviii. [e] Idem, l. xciv.

zealous of the cardinals wrote to *Philip*, intreating him to prevail with the pope to ſuppreſs the edition; and ſeveral of them, with the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador, ventured to expoſtulate with *Sixtus* againſt the book; but he treated them with contempt, and only ſaid, "We do it for "the benefit of you that don't underſtand *Latin*." (M). The king of *Spain*, who was a great bigot, not being able to prevail with the pope to ſuppreſs the edition, and beſides being offended with him for neglecting to ſupport the catholic intereſt in *England*, and countenancing the king of *Navarre* and his party, reſolved to call a general council in his dominions, and to cite the pope to appear before it, if he ſhould oppoſe his deſign. He accordingly ordered *Olivarez*, his ambaſſador at *Rome*, to notify his reſolution to the pope in a public manner; but *Sixtus* being informed by his ſpies, that *Olivarez* intended to preſent a paper to him for that purpoſe, at a ſolemn cavalcade that he had appointed upon his going to reſide at his new palace at St. *John de Lateran*, he ordered the governor of *Rome* immediately to precede his perſon at the proceſſion with the hangman and two hundred guards, and to ſeize any one that ſhould offer to preſent a paper to him, and to put him to death upon the ſpot. *Olivarez* hearing of this general order, was afraid to appear at the proceſſion; which difficulty, in the beginning of the oppoſition, influenced the king to drop his deſign of aſſembling a council, and to think of more moderate meaſures.

*He confers honour and wealth on his relations.*

*SIXTUS*, in the mean time, was not forgetful to aggrandize his own family by riches, honours, and noble alliances. He gave his nephew, cardinal *Montalto*, the value of 250,000 crowns in houſes, rich furniture, plate and jewels, beſides an income of 100,000 crowns a year in eſtate and eccleſiaſtical benefices. He gave the eldeſt of his nieces, *Donna Orſina*, then ſeventeen years of age, to *Mark Antony Colonna*, prince of *Sonnino*, with a fortune of 126,000 crowns; and to enable him to pay his debts, he lent him 400,000 crowns out of the apoſtolic chamber for ten years, without intereſt. And the youngeſt of his nieces, *Donna Flavia*, he gave with the ſame fortune to *Virginius Urſino*, who had a yearly eſtate of 100,000 crowns, and whoſe family was ſuperior to any in *Italy*, except that of *Colonna*. Theſe marriages were celebrated with great pomp and magnificence, and the two young brides were both of a diſpoſition that would have done honour to the moſt exalted birth. For his other nephew, *Michael Peretti*, he purchaſed the principality of *Venetro*, the marquiſate of *Lamentado*, and the county and earldom of *Celano*. He gave him beſides an eſtate of 60,000 crowns a year, and two ſuperb palaces, one in the country, and another at *Rome*, and contracted an alliance betwixt him and a princeſs of the *Colonna* family.

A. D. 1590.

*He refuſes to declare for the league in* France.

In reſentment for the behaviour of *Philip* of *Spain*, he gave a very favourable reception to the duke of *Luxemburgh*, the ambaſſador of *Henry* IV. of *France*, who arrived at *Rome* in the beginning of *January*. At the ſame time he ſent his maſter of the ceremonies to count *Olivarez*, acquainting him that he did not intend to acknowlege him for the future as ambaſſador, and that he had ſent an expreſs to the king his maſter, to inform him of his intention. *Philip*, who was at this time greatly embarraſſed with the affairs of *France* and the *Low Countries*, diſſembled this affront, and recalling *Olivarez*, ſent the duke of *Seſſa* in his room; however, he ordered the *Spaniſh* clergy to preach up the great neceſſity of aſſiſting the league againſt king *Henry*, and even encouraged them to cenſure the pope's lukewarmneſs in that cauſe. *Olivarez*, till the arrival of *Seſſa*, was allowed to act as ambaſſador, and, in his maſter's name, was very urgent with the pope to diſmiſs the duke of *Luxemburgh*, and to denounce a ſentence of excommunication againſt *Henry* IV. and all his followers. He likewiſe attended *Seſſa* when he required the pope, in his maſter's name, to declare himſelf protector of the league, and to enter into an alliance with *Philip*, for placing a catholic king upon the throne of *France*. *Sixtus* was greatly offended with the king of *Spain*, for offering to direct him whom to abſolve and whom to condemn; and that he might ſhun the propoſed alliance, he declared, that he intended to write to the nobles and cities in *France* to elect a catholic king, otherwiſe he himſelf would chuſe one [f]. Hearing about the ſame time that his legate *Cajetan*, contrary to his inſtructions, openly declared for the league, had taken up his reſidence at *Paris*, which they had made their head quar-

[f] Idem, l. xcvii. Spond. Annal.

(M) Some authors have affirmed, that *Sixtus* never publiſhed an edition of the Bible in *Italian*; but *Gregorio Leti* aſſures us, that there were in his time ſeveral copies of ſuch an edition to be ſeen in the library of the grand duke of *Tuſcany*, in that of St. *Lawrence*, and the *Ambroſian* at *Milan*, beſides two copies in the public library at *Geneva*, and ſeveral others; and that he himſelf had read in a manuſcript hiſtory of thoſe times, that the cardinal of *Toledo*, when he found that the pope abſolutely refuſed to ſuppreſs the edition, ſaid, "How has "God abandoned his church! may he be pleaſed ſoon "to deliver us from this wicked pope!" He cites likewiſe *Philip Brietius*, who in the 347th page of his annals, printed at *Paris* in 1663, ſays, *Inter hæc mortuus eſt Romæ Sixtus V. editis Bibliis ſacris in lingua Italica, quæ tantum negotii nobis exhibuerunt* (1).

(1) *Greg. Let.* v. *ut ſupra.*

a ters, had encouraged his chaplains to preach againſt the king, and refuſed to conſult with thoſe cardinals who adhered to the king's party, he revoked the letters of exchange, which he had given him for 300,000 crowns upon the bankers of *Lyons*, and recalled the moſt turbulent of his chaplains to *Rome*.

ALTHOUGH his attention at this time was greatly engaged with the affairs of *France*, he was no leſs vigilant in the government of his own dominions; and as all *Italy*, and particularly the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, was afflicted this year with a ſevere famine, he excuſed the people their taxes, and lent them money, which however he did very ſparingly (N). By the advice of cardinal *Aldobrandino* he publiſhed a ſumptuary law, for repreſſing the great luxury and extravagance that prevailed at *Rome*, which law was immediately conformed to, and
b was ſo ſtrictly obſerved during the few remaining months of his pontificate, that no one incurred the penalty for diſobedience. He limited the number of cardinals to ſeventy, and confirmed the decrees of *Julius* II. prohibiting to give the hat to two brothers, which prohibition he even extended to a more remote degree of conſanguinity. As he had undertaken to drain the fens and marſhes about *Terracina*, he went about this time to that city, under pretence of ſeeing the progreſs of the works, but with the intention, as it was ſuſpected, of invading the kingdom of *Naples*, as he had ordered a conſiderable body of troops to march to that frontier, to prevent, as he ſaid, the incurſions of the banditti. The *Spaniards*, alarmed at the motions of the pope, ſent 4000 troops towards the frontiers, under pretence of driving the banditti out of their dominions, but in reality to oppoſe the papal
c forces; by which diſpoſition the pope was deterred from commencing hoſtilities, and returned ſuddenly to *Rome*, where he died on the 27th of *Auguſt*, in the 69th year of his age, and the 6th of his pontificate. As he was troubled ſome months before he died with an intenſe pain in the head, his death was attributed by many people to poiſon, which was ſuppoſed to have been given him by the *Spaniards*.

*He threatens to invade* Naples.

*He dies at* Rome.

HE advanced the power and grandeur of the holy ſee, during the few years that he reigned, more than all his predeceſſors put together, for almoſt 100 years before: and notwithſtanding the great works that he carried on and finiſhed, at his death he left 5,000,000 of crowns in his treaſury, which by a bull he prohibited from being uſed, except upon the moſt preſſing neceſſity. It is ſuppoſed, however, that he intended this treaſure as a fund
d for his expedition againſt *Naples*, which he delayed only in expectation of the death of *Philip* II. vainly hoping that he himſelf would have lived ten years longer. The money that he had amaſſed was chiefly raiſed upon his own ſubjects, who, during his pontificate, were heavily taxed; but as he had introduced a ſpirit of induſtry among them, they were not ſo oppreſſed with the taxes, as they had been by their former poverty and indigence. Beſides, he increaſed his fund by retrenching yearly penſions, to the amount of 600,000 crowns by ſelling the chief places and offices of his court, by the commutations for the puniſhment of crimes, and by the ſtricteſt perſonal frugality and œconomy. He was indefatigable in buſineſs, and took the management of the minuteſt affairs wholly into his own hands: he ſlept little, and had no ſtated time of going to bed. Tho' he was remarkably abſtemious while
e he was cardinal, yet, after his promotion, he made hearty meals, his ſpirits being exhauſted by his inceſſant labour, which he would not even intermit in his laſt illneſs, but followed ſtrictly the maxim of *Veſpaſian*, which he often repeated, *That a prince ought to die ſtanding*, that is, labouring to the very laſt moment of his life for the good of his country.

EIGHTEEN days after the death of *Sixtus*, cardinal *Caſtagna* was unanimouſly elected pope, and aſſumed the name of *Urban* VII. He enjoyed the pontificate only thirteen days, and died before his coronation, on the 27th of *September*. He had then entered the 70th year of his age, and was born at *Rome*, his father being a noble *Genoeſe*, and his mother a *Roman*, of the family of the *Ricci*. His piety and learning had rendered him illuſtrious; and as he had great experience, and had gone through all the degrees of the court, the pon-
f tificate was aſſigned to him by the univerſal voice, even before the death of *Sixtus* [g].

Urban VII. *is elected pope. His death.*

[g] CIACON. SPOND. Annal.

(N) The famine was ſo ſevere, that the fleſh of aſſes, dogs, cats, and mice, was reckoned a delicacy, and a pound of coarſe bread was ſold for thirteen julios, or ſix ſhillings and ſix-pence. However, the rigour of the pope had ſo great an effect, that there was not the leaſt theft or robbery committed in the city, tho' to make a trial of their honeſty, he had cauſed a waggon load of bread to be brought to *Rome* from ſome diſtance. So great a reformation had he wrought in the manners of the *Romans*, that the governor of the city told him one day, that the place of judge was now become a perfect ſine-cure; to which he anſwered, "If he thought the "people would relapſe into their former licentiouſneſs "after he was dead, he would hang them all whilſt he "was alive." (1)

(1) *Greg. Let. ut ſupra.*

UPON

UPON the death of *Urban* VII. the *Roman* ſee was vacant two months and nine days, occaſioned by the great factions in the conclave, where there were no leſs than fifty-four cardinals, ſixteen of whom were candidates for the pontificate. After ſeveral ſcrutinies, cardinal *Montalto* was prevailed upon to go over with his party to the *Spaniſh* faction, and by that means a legal majority was procured for *Nicolas Sfondrati*, cardinal of *Cremona*, who was elected on the 5th of *December*, and took the name of *Gregory* XIV. His father, after the death of his wife, had been created a cardinal, and he himſelf, after he had been for ſome time ſenator at *Milan*, embraced an eccleſiaſtic life, and was created biſhop of *Cremona* by *Pius* IV. under which title he remained three years at the council of *Trent*. *Gregory* XIII. created him a cardinal, in gratitude to whom he aſſumed the ſame name upon his promotion to the pontificate. He was crowned with the uſual ſolemnities, and began his pontificate with reſtoring thoſe *Romans* to their places and offices whom *Sixtus* V. had deprived. He likewiſe made a preſent of 1000 crowns to each of the cardinals, provided againſt the ſcarcity and dearneſs of corn and other proviſions, and in the firſt conſiſtory, which he held on the 19th of *December*, created one of his nephews a cardinal.

*Gregory XIV. is choſen.* a b

IN the beginning of the following year he publiſhed a jubilee, granting indulgences to all thoſe who ſhould offer up their prayers to God in his behalf; and, at the inſtigation of the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador, he declared for the catholic league in *France*, writing on the 20th of *January* to the biſhop of *Placenza*, whom cardinal *Cajetan* had left at *Paris*, and promiſing to furniſh the catholics with 15000 crowns a month out of the apoſtolic treaſury, as long as he ſhould ſee it neceſſary for their defence. The biſhop of *Placenza* cauſed this letter to be printed and diſperſed in *France*, with another from himſelf in praiſe of the pope's generoſity. The *Spaniſh* faction, however, were not yet ſatisfied; but being ſeconded by the cardinal of *Lorrain* and the duke of *Maine*'s ſecretary, they preſſed the pope to ſend an army into *France*, and to grant a power to the duke of *Maine* to alienate the eccleſiaſtical benefices in that kingdom. *Gregory* by no means would conſent to this laſt requeſt; but being unexperienced in the management of great affairs, he agreed to their firſt demand, and ſent an army over the *Alps*, under the command of his nephew *Hercules Sfondrati*, whom he had created duke of *Mont Marcian*.

*He declares for the league*, A. D. 1591. c

IN the mean time he again wrote two letters to *France*, by which he declared *Henry* IV. excommunicated, and deprived of all his poſſeſſions, and threatened the nobles with eccleſiaſtical cenſures, if they did not deſert his cauſe, and alſo all the clergy with excommunication and depoſition, if they did not, within thirty days, declare againſt him. Theſe letters were approved by the parliament of *Paris*; but the other parliaments of the kingdom, particularly that of *Chalons*, which was a part of that of *Paris*, appealed from them to a future council, declared them derogatory to the rights of the kingdom, and to the liberties of the *Gallican* church, and ordered them to be burnt in the market-place by the common hangman. King *Henry* likewiſe publiſhed an edict, or declaration, againſt them; and the prelates of his party aſſembling at *Chartres*, publiſhed a letter, addreſſed to all the catholics, declaring them of no obligation, and that they intended ſoon to ſend an embaſſy to the pope, to inform him fully of the juſtice of their cauſe. They were prevented, however, from ſending this embaſſy by the death of the pope, who, having been afflicted during his whole pontificate with the ſtone, died on the 15th of *October*, in the 57th year of his age. During his tranſactions with the chiefs of the league, he had created ſeven cardinals, had indulged the cardinal friars with the privilege of wearing red hats, and had given the inveſtiture of the duchy of *Ferrara* to duke *Alphonſus*, who, as he had no iſſue, came to *Rome* to ſollicit the renewal of his fief in favour of ſome of his relations, but without any effect [h].

*and excommunicates* Henry IV. d

*He dies at* Rome. e

Innocent IX. *is elected.*

ON the 28th of *October*, thirteen days after the death of *Gregory*, *John Anthony Faſchinetti*, cardinal of *Santi Quatro*, was elected pope, with the unanimous conſent of the whole conclave, and aſſumed the name of *Innocent* IX. His parents were natives of *Gravegni*, a city of *Navarre*, but he was born at *Bologna*, where he was alſo educated. Coming afterwards to *Rome*, he paſſed through ſeveral degrees of preferment, and was at length created cardinal by *Gregory* XIII. at the ſame time with his two predeceſſors. Immediately after his election he renewed the antient cuſtom, and wrote to all patriarchs, archbiſhops, and primates, informing them of his promotion. He then applied himſelf to relieve the neceſſities of his ſubjects, by publiſhing a regulation of the prices of proviſions, and ordering the barons of *Rome* to bring their corn into the city. In the mean time he was ſeized with a diſtemper, of which he died on the 29th of *December*, in the 73d year of his age, having enjoyed the pontificate only two months. f

*His death.*

THERE never were greater diſputes at the election of a pope than at this preſent vacancy.

A. D. 1592. On the 11th of *January* fifty-three cardinals entered the conclave, where the *Spaniſh* faction immediately propoſed five candidates, none of whom could procure a legal majority. After g

[h] SPOND. Annal.

long

a long diſputes and intrigues, which are particularly related by *Thuanus* [i], *Montalto* at length propoſed cardinal *Aldobrandino*, who he knew was not diſagreeable to the king of *Spain*. A majority immediately declared for him; and, on the 28th of *January*, he was elected pope, and aſſumed the name of *Clement* VIII. (O). Upon the news of his promotion, he appeared filled with great fear and confuſion, and let fall abundance of tears. He continued ſilent when the maſter of the ceremonies aſked him if he would accept of the pontifical dignity; and before he would ſit upon the throne, he fell down upon his knees, and prayed at the altar. Immediately after his coronation he publiſhed a bull, declaring his intention of viſiting all the churches, monaſteries, convents, and religious houſes, in *Rome*, exhorting all to an external and internal reformation before the viſitation, which was to commence on the 14th of

b *June*. As the banditti were again beginning to commit outrages in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, he ordered ſome troops to march againſt them; and ſoon after he publiſhed a bull againſt duelling, denouncing an anathema againſt all thoſe who ſhould give, receive, or carry, a challenge, and a ſentence of inderdiction againſt the places where duels ſhould be fought [k].

Clement VIII. *elected pope.*

In the mean time, at the inſtigation of the *Spaniſh* faction, he eſpouſed the intereſts of the league in *France*, and on the 15th of *April* wrote to *Sega*, his legate at *Paris*, who had been created a cardinal by his predeceſſor, charging him to procure the election of a catholic king. His letter was publiſhed in the month of *October* at *Paris*, and regiſtered by the parliament of that city: however, the parliament at *Chalons* publiſhed an edict againſt it, and exhorted all the prelates, princes, peers, and others, to perſevere in their allegiance to

c the king. The biſhops likewiſe of the king's party entered into ſeveral deliberations, derogatory to the authority of the pope, and ſent the cardinal *de Gondy* and the marquis of *Piſani*, as their deputies to *Clement*, to give him true information of the affairs of *France*. *Piſani* ſtopt at the lake *de la Garde*, in the *Venetian* territories, and the cardinal proceeded on his journey; but, in his paſſage through *Tuſcany*, he received a charge from the pope, forbidding him to enter the eccleſiaſtical territories, as he had not acted like a good Chriſtian, by openly favouring the king of *Navarre*, who was a relapſed heretic. *Gondy*, however, having excuſed his proceedings, was ſoon after permitted to continue his journey, on condition that he ſhould not, openly or ſecretly, favour heretics [l].

*He eſpouſes the intereſt of the league.*

During his reſidence at *Rome*, the catholics of the league, in conſequence of a proclama- A. D. 1593.

d tion from the duke of *Mayenne*, aſſembled at *Paris* to elect a king. The cardinal legate likewiſe wrote to the catholics of the king's party, inviting them to be preſent at the aſſembly. They, however, paid no regard to his letter; but publiſhed a declaration at *Chartres*, propoſing a conference with the chiefs of the league; which was accordingly agreed to, and held in the beginning of *May*, at a village within two leagues of *Paris*. *Henry* IV. to defeat the deſigns of his enemies, about this time was perſuaded to embrace the *Roman* catholic religion; and having ſolemnly renounced *Calviniſm*, and made a public profeſſion of the faith of the holy ſee, received abſolution and a benediction from the archbiſhop of *Berry*. By this converſion of the king, *Philip* of *Spain*, and the chiefs of the league, were greatly confounded; however, they ſtill hoped to prevent the ſucceſſion of *Henry*. A ſubject of *Spain*

e publiſhed a ſhort treatiſe at *Rome*, wherein he endeavoured to prove, that the apoſtolic ſee had no authority to diſpenſe with a relapſed heretic, with regard to the ſucceſſion of a kingdom; which treatiſe was anſwered by *Arnold*, afterwards cardinal *Oſſat*, who was then in *Italy*. The pope likewiſe ſent *Anthony Poſſevini*, a *Jeſuit*, who had formerly been legate in *Ruſſia*, to the *Alps*, to meet the duke of *Nevers*, the king's ambaſſador, and to inform him that he would not receive him in that character, as he had not yet acknowleged the king. Notwithſtanding this declaration, the duke ſtill continued his journey; however, he received a ſecond meſſage from the pope, ordering him to enter *Rome* as a private perſon, with a ſmall retinue, and limiting the time of his reſidence to ten days. *Clement* granted him two audiences in the end of *November*; but abſolutely refuſed to abſolve the king, or to grant him his bene-

f diction, declaring, that he would not believe his converſation real, unleſs he was aſſured of it by an angel from heaven. But that he might ſtill keep both parties in ſuſpence, by the advice of his legate in *France*, and the duke of *Mayenne*, he did not urge the departure of *Nevers*, though he ſwore in the conſiſtory, that he would never grant abſolution to *Henry* [m]. During theſe tranſactions he publiſhed a bull, baniſhing all the *Jews* from the eccleſiaſtical

Henry IV. *embraces the popiſh religion.*

*The pope refuſes him abſolution.*

[i] Thuan. l. ciii. [k] Spond. Annal. [l] Thuan. ut ſup. [m] Idem. l. cvii. & cviii.

(O) *Hippolito Aldobrandino* was born at *Fano*, a city of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, on the coaſt of the *Adriatic*. He was deſcended of a very antient family, originally called *Aldebrando*, or *Hildebrando*, which had reſided at *Florence* near 1000 years, and had enjoyed the office of Gonfalonier of that city twenty-three different times. He received the firſt rudiments of his education at *Rome*, and ſtudied afterwards at *Ferrara* and *Bologna*, where he received his doctor's degree. He was diſtinguiſhed by his natural eloquence and the probity of his diſpoſition; and his brother *John* having been created a cardinal by *Pius* V. he ſucceeded him as auditor of the Rota. *Sixtus* V. created him a cardinal, and ſent him as his legate *a latere* to *Poland*, where, by his ſucceſsful negociation, he acquired a great reputation.

territories, except the cities of *Rome*, *Ancona*, and *Avignon*; and by another he prohibited any one from poſſeſſing or reading the *Talmud*, and ſeveral other *Jewiſh* books [n]. a

A. D. 1594. *and diſmiſſed his ambaſſador.*

In the beginning of the following year he admitted the duke of *Nevers* to another conference; but though he again demanded abſolution for the king, and whether it was lawful for catholics to be preſent with him at the celebration of maſs, or how they were to proceed in *France* with regard to the nomination to vacant biſhoprics, he could receive no ſatisfactory anſwer from him; on which account he ſoon after left *Rome*, and returned to *France*, cauſing a journal of his embaſſy to be printed at *Venice*; to which he added a ſpirited remonſtrance, complaining of the partiality of the pope, and the injuſtice of his legate; and proving, by many arguments and authorities, that the king had been legally abſolved.

Although *Clement* behaved with great rigour towards the *French* ambaſſador, he about the ſame time received two monks, who came as ambaſſadors from the patriarch of *Alexandria*, with great kindneſs and civility. In the beginning of his pontificate he had ſent a nuncio into *Egypt*, by whoſe perſuaſion the patriarch was prevailed upon to write to the pope, and to acknowlege him as the ſupreme head of all Chriſtians. The two monks who brought this letter, were treated with great magnificence, and, during their reſidence at *Rome*, were maintained at the pope's expence. In the beginning of the following year they made a public profeſſion of the faith of the church of *Rome*, rejecting the *Neſtorian*, *Eutychian*, and *Dioſcoran* hereſies, and ſent a copy of their confeſſion to *Egypt*; where it was confirmed and publiſhed by the patriarch. b

A. D. 1595. *Many cities that held for the league are reconciled to* Henry IV.

In the mean time, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the cardinal legate, *Henry* IV. was acknowleged as king by ſome of the chiefs of the league; and, being admitted into *Paris*, received the ſubmiſſion of ſeveral cities, formerly attached to the *Guiſian* faction: namely, *Lyons*, *Orleans*, *Berry*, *Rouen*, *Rheims*, and others. However, as there was an attempt made upon his life, towards the end of *December*, by a diſciple of the *Jeſuits*, who had been taught by them, that it was a meritorious action to kill the king; and as many other religious orders ſtill looked upon him as a perſon excommunicated, and therefore refuſed to pray for him, the king, at the requeſt of the clergy and divines, ſent *Davy du Perron*, biſhop of *Evreux*, as his ambaſſador to the pope, again to ſollicit apoſtolical abſolution [o]. The pope, now perſuaded of the juſtice of the king's cauſe by the proſperity of his affairs, gave him aſſurances of a reconciliation; and *Perron* arriving at *Rome* about the middle of *July*, he immediately ordered ſupplications to be made through all the churches, and the prayer of forty hours to be recited for imploring divine aſſiſtance in ſuch a weighty affair. He himſelf likewiſe, two ſucceſſive mornings, went bare-footed from his palace to the church of St. *Mary Major*, where he celebrated maſs; weeping, upon his return, at each ſtation, without looking up, or giving any benediction as uſual to the people [p]. During theſe ſupplications and proceſſions, every fifth day he conſulted one of the cardinals about the conditions of the abſolution. Thoſe of the *Spaniſh* faction, in hopes of rendering the embaſſy unſucceſsful, propoſed extremely hard conditions, which were rejected by *Perron* and *Oſſat*; who, after long diſputes, at length agreed with the pope upon ſixteen conditions; the chief of which were, that the king ſhould promiſe obedience to the apoſtolic ſee; ſhould reſtore the catholic religion in the principality of *Bearn*; ſhould build a monaſtery or nunnery in each province of his kingdom, and ſhould cauſe the decrees of the council of *Trent* to be publiſhed and obſerved throughout all his dominions. The ambaſſadors ſwearing to the performance of the articles agreed to, *Clement*, with great ſolemnity, granted abſolution to the king on the 17th of *September* [q]. c d e

*The pope grants him abſolution.*

*He receives an embaſſy from the* Ruſſians.

A few weeks after, he received an embaſſy from the metropolitan of *Kiovia* and all *Ruſſia*, and from other biſhops in *Lithuania* and *Poland*, who followed the rites of the *Greek* church, profeſſing their deſire of an union with the church of *Rome*. The archbiſhop of *Livonia* likewiſe, about the ſame time, arrived at the city with his nephew, and abjured the doctrines of *Luther*; but the joy on account of theſe new converts was ſoon greatly abated; for accounts arrived in *Europe*, that the *Alexandrian* embaſſy had been a forgery, and it was publicly reported, that the *Ruſſians* had diſclaimed the ſubmiſſion of their metropolitan, and refuſed to acknowlege any ſubjection to the *Roman* ſee [r]. During theſe tranſactions, *Clement*, at the earneſt ſollicitation of the emperor, had ſent his relation *Francis Aldobrandino*, with 2000 horſe and 8000 foot, into *Hungary*; who, having joined the imperial army, commanded by the count of *Mansfield* and the archduke *Matthias*, defeated the *Turks* before *Gran* or *Strigonia*, and obliged the city to ſurrender on the 2d of *September*. He likewiſe ſent a nuncio to the emperor, to negociate an alliance betwixt him and the *Poles* againſt the *Turks*, and ordered him to promiſe, in his name, 40,000 crowns a month to *Bathori*, prince of *Tranſilvania*, who had come to *Prague*, to have a conference with *Rodol-* f g

*Sends an army to* Hungary *to the aſſiſtance of the emperor*; A. D. 1596.

[n] Spond. Annal. [o] Thuan. l. cx. cxi. cxiii. [p] Ossat. epiſt. iii. [q] Idem ibid. [r] Thuan. l. cxiv. Spond. Annal.

*phus*,

a *phus*, and to ſollicit ſuccours againſt the infidels. *Clement* at the ſame time prohibited *Bathori* from attacking the *Poles*, who had ſeized upon *Moldavia*, and offered himſelf as a mediator betwixt them, requiring them both to ſubmit to his arbitration. He could not, however, prevail with the king of *Poland* to accept of him as mediator in the diſpute with *Bathori*, nor could cardinal *Cajetan*, who a few months after was ſent as his legate to *Poland*, perſuade the diet to agree to an alliance againſt the *Turks*[s].

*and cardinal de* Medicis *as his legate to* France.

In the mean time the pope ſent *Alexander de Medicis*, cardinal of *Florence*, as his legate to *France*, to receive the ratification of the articles agreed to by the *French* ambaſſadors at *Rome*, and to certify the apoſtolical abſolution granted to the king. He was received with great reſpect, upon the confines of the kingdom, and conducted by the governors of the provinces
b through which he paſſed, to *Chaſtres*, within eight leagues of *Paris*; where the king, attended by ſeveral nobles, paid him a congratulatory viſit. A few days after he was received into *Paris* with great magnificence; and, in conſequence of the king's edict, his inſtructions, or his faculties, as they are uſually called, ware regiſtred by the parliament, without any particular limitation. On the 12th of *Auguſt* he was admitted to a public audience, when the king confirmed the conditions of his abſolution agreed to by his ambaſſadors at the court of *Rome*. A few months after *Henry* appointed *Francis Luxembourg*, duke of *Piney*, as his ambaſſador to the pope; who did not arrive at *Rome* till the following year in the middle of *April*. His reception was very different from what he received in his firſt embaſſy; for A. D. 1597.
c the pope now ſtrove, by his kindneſs, to obliterate the remembrance of his former moroſe behaviour. A triumphal arch was erected at the gate through which the ambaſſador paſſed, and the next day after his entrance into the city, he was admitted to an audience in the *Vatican*. After he had ſolemnly yielded obedience, in the king's name, to his holineſs, he was invited by him to an entertainment; at which both the pope and he dined in the ſame room, but at different tables[t]. Mean while, by means of his legate in *France*, and nuncio in *Spain*, he earneſtly ſollicited both *Philip* and *Henry* to agree to a peace. As *Henry* was now firmly eſtabliſhed on the throne of *France*, and *Philip* began to feel the infirmities of old age, and to be ſenſible of the diſmal effects of his extravagant ambition, the mediation of his holineſs thereby became acceptable to both; and by means of a *Franciſcan*, employed by cardinal *de Medicis*, *Henry*'s ſecretary, agreed to a conference with a deputy from the
d governor of *Flanders*, when they appointed the negotiation for a peace to be held at *Vervins*.

*The pope claims the duchy of* Ferrara, *upon the death of duke* Alphonſo II. *and*

While theſe preliminaries were ſettling in *France*, *Italy* was threatened with new commotions by the death of *Alphonſo* duke of *Ferrara*. As the duke had no iſſue, he left all his eſtates, by his will, to a baſtard-relation named *Cæſar d'Eſte*; who, upon his death, immediately took poſſeſſion of his dominions, and wrote to the Chriſtian princes, informing them of his ſucceſſion. He likewiſe ſent an ambaſſador to *Rome*, with a letter to the pope; who alleged, that as *Alphonſo* had died without iſſue, his fief had devolved to the holy ſee. He therefore, upon reading the titles aſſumed by *Cæſar*, threw away the letter, diſmiſſed his ambaſſador, and immediately aſſembled a conſiderable body of forces, which he ſent, under
e the command of his nephew cardinal *Aldobrandino*, into the territory of *Bologna*; publiſhed a monitory againſt *Cæſar*, denouncing an anathema againſt him, if he did not immediately renounce his claim to *Ferrara*; and cited him to appear at *Rome* within fifteen days, under pain of being declared a rebel. *Cæſar*, at firſt, paid no regard to the pope's menaces, but, raiſing an army, gained a ſmall advantage over the papal troops; however, as the Chriſtian princes refuſed to engage in this quarrel, and *Henry* IV. of *France* openly declared for the A. D. 1598. Cæſar d'Eſte *renounces his pretenſions to it.*
pope, he thought proper to agree to an accommodation; which was concluded on the 11th of *January* on theſe conditions: that *Cæſar*, and all thoſe who had eſpouſed his cauſe, ſhould be abſolved from excommunication; that he ſhould renounce all right to *Ferrara*, and all territories belonging to the church; that he ſhould have leave to carry off one half of the
f artillery, and to keep the allodial poſſeſſions of the family; that he ſhould enjoy the ſame rank at *Rome* as the late duke *Alphonſo*, and ſhould retain the titles of duke of *Modena* and *Reggio*; which cities, with that of *Carpi*, being under the imperial juriſdiction, the emperors *Maximilian* and *Rodolphus* had permitted *Alphonſo* to leave them, by his will, to *Cæſar*. The news of this accommodation was received at *Rome* with great joy, eſpecially by *Clement*, who *It is united to the eccleſiaſtical ſtate.*
confirmed the conditions agreed to, and, on the 11th of *February*, publiſhed a bull, uniting the city and duchy of *Ferrara* to the apoſtolic ſee, and dedicated them for ever to the virgin *Mary* and the apoſtles *Peter* and *Paul*. In order to ſettle the affairs of that new acquiſition, he ſoon after left *Rome*; and, proceeding through the eccleſiaſtical ſtate with great pomp and ceremony, arrived at *Ferrara* on the 8th of *May*, attended by twenty-ſeven cardinals;
g where he continued till the end of *November*[u].

[s] Thuan. l. cxv. [t] Idem. l. cxix. [u] Thuan. l. cxix. Spond. Annal.

A few

*A peace concluded by his mediation betwixt* France *and* Spain.

A FEW days before he arrived at this city, a peace was concluded between *France* and *Spain* at *Vervins*, by the mediation of his legate in *France*, and his nuncio, *Francis Gonzaga*, biſhop of *Modena*, after a negociation of four months; ſome diſputes, however, between king *Henry* and the duke of *Savoy* being ſtill left undecided, and referred to the arbitration of the pope. About the ſame time, a match having been concluded between *Iſabella*, ſiſter of the king of *Spain*, and her couſin, cardinal *Albert*, the emperor's brother, and governor of *Flanders*, he ſolemnly reſigned his hat and ſacerdotal habit in the church of St. *Mary* of *Halle* near *Bruſſels*; and, proceeding to *Germany*, went from thence with *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, daughter of the archduke *Charles*, deceaſed, to *Ferrara*. An alliance had likewiſe been concluded between *Margaret* of *Auſtria* and her couſin *Philip* III. of *Spain*, who had ſucceeded to that crown by the death of his father, while ſhe was on her journey to *Ferrara*. The pope received *Albert* and *Margaret* with great honour and reſpect; and, having granted both parties a diſpenſation, with regard to the degrees of conſanguinity, he himſelf celebrated both marriages on the 15th of *November*, in the cathedral church, the archduke ſtanding ſponſor for the king of *Spain*, and the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador for the infanta *Iſabella* [w]. A few days after, the pope, having conferred a great many privileges on the city of *Ferrara*, left that place, and proceeded to *Rome*; where he arrived on the 20th of *December*. The joy expreſſed by the *Romans* for his return was quickly allayed by a dreadful inundation of the *Tyber*, occaſioned by the frequent rains, and a ſtrong ſouth wind, which ſtopt the current of the river. The waters ſwelled three palms higher than they were ever remembered to have done before; ſo that, on *Chriſtmas-day*, the whole city was covered, excepting only the ſeven mountains, and a few other riſing grounds. Upwards of 1000 people periſhed, and the city received more damage than if it had been plundered by an enemy [x]. The charity of the pope, and of ſeveral cardinals, were very conſpicuous during this public calamity, by alleviating the diſtreſſes of the poor, and furniſhing them with proviſions. After the inundation had ceaſed, he, to the utmoſt of his power, ſupplied the loſſes which particular perſons had ſuffered; and, attributing the calamity more to the ſins of the people than to natural cauſes, he publiſhed a bull, exhorting all to repentance, and to works of charity, appointing likewiſe ſupplications, and granting general indulgences.

*A great inundation of the* Tyber *at* Rome. A. D. 1599.

SOON after he was greatly afflicted with the news of the publication of the edict of *Nantz*, by which liberty of conſcience was granted to the *Hugonots* of *France*; however, by the repreſentations of cardinal *Oſſat*, he was in ſome meaſure reconciled to the king's proceeding; and a few months after, at his requeſt, he appointed delegates to examine into the validity of his marriage with *Margaret* of *Valois*. He likewiſe conſented to act as arbitrator in the differences betwixt him and the duke of *Savoy*, concerning the marquiſate of *Saluces*; but the duke refuſing to depoſit the diſputed territories in the pope's hands, and alleging, that he had engaged, by private agreement, to decide in favour of the king, *Clement* with indignation rejected the arbitration, as his integrity and juſtice had been called in queſtion by ſuch a ſuſpicion. In the mean time, the corpſe of St. *Cæcilia* being lately found, he, with great ſolemnity, transferred it to the church of that name [y]; and, as the following year was the commencement of a new century, according to the common computation, he publiſhed a bull for the celebration of a jubilee at *Rome*; where he ordered great preparations to be made for the reception and entertainment of the pilgrims. He wrote alſo to all Chriſtian princes, exhorting them to give no interruption to thoſe who ſhould undertake a journey to *Rome*, to receive the benefit of the indulgences, which he ſuſpended for one year in all other places; and on the laſt day of *December*, in the evening, he, with the uſual ceremony, opened the holy gate of St. *Peter*'s, while three of the cardinals at the ſame time opened the gates of St. *Paul*'s, in the road to *Oſtia*, St. *John*'s in the *Lateran*, and St. *Mary Major*'s.

*A jubilee celebrated at* Rome. A. D. 1600.

THE number of thoſe, who, during the holy year, reſorted to *Rome* on account of religion or curioſity, was immenſely great. Beſides, many nobles and princes came to *Rome*, among whom was the duke of *Bavaria*, and *Andrew* cardinal of *Auſtria*, both incognito, in the habit of pilgrims; likewiſe the dukes of *Bar* and *Parma*, the *French* king's ambaſſador, and the viceroy of *Naples*; who yielded obedience to the pope, in the name of the new king of *Spain*. Among the ſtrangers were alſo ſaid to be many proteſtants and *Turks*, ſeveral of whom embraced the faith of the church of *Rome* [z]. The duke of *Bar* came to *Rome* to endeavour to obtain a diſpenſation for his marriage with the king of *France*'s ſiſter, *Catharine*, whom he had married the year before, though ſhe was his own couſin, and a *Hugonot*. The pope abſolutely refuſed his requeſt, unleſs *Catharine* would abjure the hereſy of *Calvin*, and profeſs the *Roman* faith; which conditions ſhe rejected with great conſtancy. As the duke, however, promiſed to diſmiſs her publicly, he was abſolved from all his paſt ſins, admitted to the ſacred communion, and allowed the benefit of the indulgences of the jubilee [a] (P).

[w] THUAN. l. cxxi. SPOND. Annal. [x] Idem ibid. [y] SPOND. Annal. [z] Idem. [a] OSSAT, epiſt. ccxviii. ccxxi.

(P) The diſpenſation was granted three years afterwaeds, the dutcheſs having pretended a deſire of converſion; but ſhe died before it took effect in *February*, 1624. *Thuanus*, in the 124th book of his hiſtory, gives

a *CLEMENT* ſhewed himſelf more complaiſant to the king of *France*, with regard to his marriage; and, at the requeſt of his ambaſſador, he readily confirmed the ſentence of the delegates, who had declared his marriage null, becauſe his queen *Margaret* was within the third degree of conſanguinity; and although he had obtained a diſpenſation from *Gregory* XIII. yet that had no effect, as it had been granted without the deſire and knowlege of *Margaret*, and the king had not then truly abjured his hereſy. For theſe and ſome other frivolous reaſons, the delegates had declared the marriage null from the beginning. The pope, remembring the fatal conſequences of the behaviour of his predeceſſor *Clement* VII. to *Henry* VIII. of *England*, confirmed their ſentence without any difficulty; and, as the king had declared his intention of marrying *Mary de Medicis*, daughter of the late grand b duke of *Tuſcany*, he preſented the bride with 100,000 crowns, beſides many rich jewels, and ſent his nephew, cardinal *Aldobrandino*, as his legate to *Florence*; who, on the 5th of *October*, ſolemnized the nuptials with great pomp, *Henry* IV. having ſent *Bellegarde*, his maſter of the horſe, to be his proxy [b]. From *Florence* the legate proceeded to *Savoy*; and, having had many difficulties, he at length prevailed upon both parties to agree to a peace; the marquiſate of *Saluces* being exchanged for *La Breſſe*, *Henry* quitting all claim to the former, and the latter being declared to belong to the kingdom of *France*.

*The pope annuls the marriage of the king of* France.

*CLEMENT* in the mean time founded a monaſtery for thoſe poor girls, who, without any home, wandered in the ſtreets of *Rome*, having four years before founded one for the poor boys; who were afterwards called *Literati*, from one *Literatus*, who was the firſt pro- c moter of that charity [c]. Having been patron and protector of the *Scotch* nation at the court of *Rome* before his promotion to the pontificate, he now founded and endowed a college for the inſtruction of the young men from that kingdom; and, at the requeſt of the *Portugueſe*, he publiſhed a bull, allowing the generals of all the mendicant orders to ſend what number of monks they pleaſed from *Portugal* into the *Eaſt Indies*, prohibiting, at the ſame time, any monks to paſs from the *Philippine* iſlands, or the *Weſt Indies*, to any of the *Portugueſe* ſettlements in *Aſia*, as the nations of *Spain* and *Portugal*, tho' then under the ſame king, ſtill purſued ſeparate intereſts, and were mutually jealous of their national privileges. He was likewiſe very earneſt with the king of *France* to publiſh the decrees of the council of *Trent* in his kingdom, according to one of the conditions of his abſolution; but tho' d *Henry* declared his willingneſs to comply with the pope's deſire, and even ſigned and ſealed the edict for the promulgation of the council, the oppoſition of the parliament of *Paris* prevented the edict from being publiſhed. *Clement* at the ſame time ſollicited, without any effect, the re-admiſſion of the *Jeſuits*, who had been baniſhed from *France* ſeveral years before; and, having concluded the jubilee at *Rome*, he allowed a feſtival of the ſame kind to be celebrated for a certain time, in the following year, in ſome kingdoms and provinces (Q).

*He founds a* Scotch *college at* Rome.

A FEW months after, two ambaſſadors arrived at *Rome* from the king of *Perſia*, to ſollicit the aſſiſtance of the Chriſtian powers againſt the *Turks*, and to inform the pope, that he had lately recovered a large province from them, and had drawn the governors of *Georgia*, e *Mingrelia*, and *Circaſſia*, into his intereſts. The two ambaſſadors, one of whom was an *Engliſhman*, had a fierce diſpute about precedence, upon their public entry into *Rome*; after ſome blows, the *Engliſhman* obtained poſſeſſion of the honourable place, and was admitted to a ſeparate audience from his collegue; but their embaſſy was without any effect; and each of them, having received ſeveral thouſand crowns from the pope, left *Rome*, the *Perſian* ſailing to *Spain*, and the *Engliſhman*, having deceived his creditors, pretending to return directly to *Perſia* [d]. Soon after their departure from *Rome*, *Clement* publiſhed a bull, to quiet the great diſſenſions among the catholics in *England*. The *Jeſuits* for ſeveral years had been

A. D. 1601. *He receives an ambaſſy from the king of* Perſia.

[b] THUAN. l. CXXIV. SPOND. Annal. [c] SPOND. ut ſupra. [d] SPOND. Prol. ad Sæcul. XVII.

gives a different account, and ſays, that the duke immediately obtained a diſpenſation from the pope, without any difficulty. We have preferred the authority of cardinal *Oſſat* then at *Rome* (1).

(Q) *Spondanus*, the abridger and continuator of the eccleſiaſtical annals of *Baronius*, informs us, that he was preſent at this ceremony, having accompanied the cardinal *de Sourdis* to *Rome*; where a few years after he was ordained prieſt. Five years before he had abjured *Calviniſm*, in which he had been educated; and, having diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his great abilities and zealous attachment to the popiſh cauſe, in the year 1626 he was nominated by *Lewis* XIII. of *France* to the biſhopric of *Pamiers*; which dignity, however, he refuſed to accept of, till he received a mandate from pope *Urban* VIII. His annals are wrote in a clear animated ſtile, and he ſeems to have been extremely well qualified for an hiſtorian, if he had been diveſted of his flagrant partiality for the church of *Rome*, and unjuſt prejudices againſt all thoſe of a different communion, whom he rails at without any temper or decency. He concluded his annals at this period, but added a ſhort continuation to the year 1640, under the title of *Proluſio ad Sæculum* XVII.

(1) *Oſſat Epiſt.*

endeavouring, by the moſt unjuſtifiable means, to ſubject all the popiſh prieſts in that king- a
dom to their authority, and by fraud and violence had prevented the deputies of the clergy
*He compoſes the diſſenſions among the papiſts in* England. from preſenting their appeals to the pope. The poor prieſts, who complained that they were more oppreſſed by the *Jeſuits* than by queen *Elizabeth*, at length got an opportunity of laying their grievances before his holineſs; who, finding that the intrigues of the *Jeſuits* were prejudicial to the popiſh cauſe, retrenched their authority by his bull, and by that means put an end to the diſſenſions [e]. About the ſame time he ſent 12,000 men to the aſſiſtance of the emperor againſt the *Turks*. Theſe troops were commanded by his nephew, *Francis Aldobrandino*; and, having embarked at *Ancona*, croſſed the *Adriatic*, and arrived about the middle of *September* before *Caniſa*, which they inveſted, in conjunction with the other imperial troops; but the garriſon, which was very numerous, having de- b
fended the place with great vigour, they were obliged to abandon the ſiege towards the end of *November*, and to leave behind them the greateſt part of their artillery [f].

*A diſputation betwixt the* Jeſuits *and* Dominicans *at* Rome. A. D. 1603. THE following year *Clement* allowed the *Dominicans* and the *Jeſuits* to diſpute in his preſence concerning grace and free-will, and publiſhed a declaration, prohibiting ſacramental confeſſions to be made by letters or proxies to abſent confeſſors [g]. The year after he ſollicited the king of *France* for the re-eſtabliſhment of the *Jeſuits* in that kingdom; altho', according to *Mezeray*, he diſcovered no great earneſtneſs in that affair, having received great complaints againſt that order, not only from *England*, but alſo from *Venice*, and the *Swiſs* cantons. He likewiſe ordered his nuncio to complain to the king againſt the *Hugonots*, who, in a ſynod which they held in the month of *October*, at *Gap* in *Dauphiny*, had, among their c
other canons, decreed, that the pope was the real antichriſt. *Henry* himſelf was offended at the decree, as it accuſed him of worſhipping the *Beaſt*; and all the catholic clergy remonſtrating againſt the new heretical article, he uſed his utmoſt endeavours with the chiefs of the *Hugonots* to have it aboliſhed, but without any effect [h].

*The* Jeſuits *deny the infallibility of the pope.* A. D. 1604. AT the ſame time the authority of the pope received an attack from the *Jeſuits*; who, being offended that, in the late diſpute with the *Dominicans*, he had not patronized their order, began to aſſert, that the pope was not infallible, and that it was not an article of the catholic faith to believe that *Clement* VIII. was the lawful ſucceſſor of St. *Peter*. They likewiſe defended the lawfulneſs of confeſſing by proxy, and aſſerted the orthodoxy of the opinion of the *Jeſuit Molina* concerning grace. Theſe queſtions greatly alarmed the aſſertors d
of the papal ſupremacy. The *Jeſuit*, who impugned the infallibility, was impriſoned, and the whole order would have ſuffered, if the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador had not interceded earneſtly in their behalf. The queſtion about confeſſion was alſo ſuppreſſed; but the pope allowed the diſpute, concerning the influence of grace and the freedom of the will, to be canvaſſed more fully (R). As he was not a little offended with the behaviour of the *Jeſuits*, he abſolutely refuſed to canonize their founder *Loyola*, notwithſtanding the great intereſt they at this time made in the papal court, and tho' they were now ſupported by *Henry* IV. who, in the beginning of this year, allowed their order to return to *France*, and choſe his confeſſor from their ſociety. Tho' *Clement* had repulſed the *Jeſuits*, yet at the requeſt of the clergy of *Milan*, he canonized cardinal *Charles Borromeo*. e

*A commotion in* Rome. MEAN time the peace of the city was, in ſome meaſure, diſturbed by a conteſt about the privilege of an aſylum. A priſoner having been purſued by the *Sbirri*, or conſtables, took refuge in the palace of cardinal *Odoard Farneſe*, where he was protected by force againſt the prefect of *Rome*. The cardinal, with ſeveral *Roman* nobles, and the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador,

[e] THUAN. l. cxxvi. [f] Idem ibid. [g] SPOND. ut ſup. [h] MEZER. Abreg. Chron. t. xiv.

(R) The *Jeſuits* in a general aſſembly, held in the year 1558, altered one of the original ſtatutes of their founder, who had died about two years before; and allowed the books of *Peter Lombard*, and other divines, to be taught in their ſchools; whereas, before that time, they had only admitted the works of St. *Thomas Acquinas*. Many of their members had about that time abandoned the doctrine of St. *Thomas*, fifty of whoſe theological opinions they rejected in their fourth general congregation, held at *Rome* in the year 1584. As they began to teach their new opinions publicly, and to aſſert them by theſes, they were cenſured by the univerſities of *Louvain* and *Douay*. But to free themſelves from the ſuſpicion of hereſy, after ſeveral years controverſy, they themſelves delivered *Molina*'s book to the judges of the inquiſition in the year 1594. The affair, four years afterwards, was carried to *Rome*; where *Molina*'s book was ſuppreſſed by the congregation *de Auxiliis Gratiæ*, which had been then appointed by the pope. The *Jeſuits*, before the cenſure of the congregation was publiſhed, obtained leave to hold a conference with their impugners, the *Dominicans*; which continued without any effect for a whole year. *Clement* likewiſe ordered the congregation to re-examine *Molina*; and, in the year 1601, added ſome new conſultors to the others. *Molina* was again condemned by their ſecond ſentence, which declared, that he agreed with the *Pelagians* and *Semipelagians*, both in his doctrine, his proofs, and his objections. The diſpute, nevertheleſs, was not ended; for the *Jeſuits* ſtill undertook to prove the orthodoxy of the cenſured propoſitions, and, by their importunities, prevailed on *Clement* to grant a new examination, which commenced on the 20th of *March* 1602, and was not concluded at his death. As the pope did not interpoſe his authority to procure a ſentence in their behalf, probably on that account he drew upon himſelf the reſentment of thoſe fathers (2).

(2) *Abreg. de Chriſt. de la Congreg. de Auxil. Edit.* 1686.

after

a after continuing in arms all night, with ſeveral of their dependents, next morning marched out of the town with the criminal, to a caſtle at thirty-ſix miles diſtance; which behaviour irritating the pope, he ſent to him, and ordered him to reſign his government of *St. Peter's Patrimony*, which his anceſtors had enjoyed ever ſince the pontificate of *Paul* III. Upon his refuſal, *Clement* immediately ordered new levies to be made, and prepared to reduce him to his obedience by force; which the cardinal being informed of, he thought proper to ſubmit, and effected his reconciliation by means of his brother the duke of *Parma*, who had married one of the pope's nieces [i]. The pope ſurvived this diſturbance only a few months, and died on the 2d of *March*, in the 70th year of his age, and the 14th year of his pontificate; during which he had created, at different promotions, upwards of fifty car- *The death of Clement VIII. A. D. 1605.*
b dinals, among whom were *Baronius*, *Bellarmine*, *Du Perron*, *De Sourdi*, *D'Oſſat*, and *Olivier*. This pope was greatly extolled for his piety and moderation. He was a great patron of learned men, and is ſaid to have promiſed liberty of conſcience to the celebrated *Scipio Gentilis*, to induce him to accept of a profeſſor's chair in the univerſity of *Bologna* [k]. He is repreſented, however, in another light by *Heydegger*; who ſays, that he formed a ſcheme of a holy league for oppreſſing the proteſtants, which was approved by the emperor, and by which it was propoſed to begin with ſurpriſing *Geneva* and *Straſburg* [l].

Cardinal *Aldobrandino*, the nephew of the late pope, who, a few months before his death, had ſucceeded to the archbiſhopric of *Ravenna*, and had great authority in the ſacred
c college, upon entering into the conclave endeavoured to procure the election of the famous cardinal *Baronius*. He was ſeconded by the cardinals of the *French* faction; but the *Spaniſh* party, which for a long time had been ſuperior in the *Roman* court, oppoſed him with great violence and malice, in reſentment of what he had written, in the eleventh volume of his Eccleſiaſtical Annals, againſt the right claimed by the king of *Spain* to the kingdom of *Sicily*, independent of the holy ſee. They produced a letter of complaint againſt him, as if written from the viceroy of *Naples* to the late pope; which, to their great confuſion, was proved to be a forgery. After two or three ſcrutinies, his intereſt was found to be pretty ſtrong; but, as there were no leſs than ſixty cardinals in the conclave, he could not procure a legal majority, the *Spaniards* being ſufficiently ſtrong to put a negative upon the election
d of any one whom they diſapproved. *Bellarmine* and ſome others were alſo rejected. At length cardinal *De Joyeuſe*, chief of the *French* faction, propoſed cardinal *Alexander de Medicis*, who was not unacceptable to either party, and was accordingly elected, by a ſcrutiny with open billets on the firſt of *April*, when he aſſumed the name of *Leo* XI. He was the ſon of *Octaviano*, couſin of *Coſmo* great duke of *Tuſcany*; and, having been created cardinal by *Gregory* XIII. he had long diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the court of *Rome* by his magnificence and kindneſs to learned men. His predeceſſor ſent him as legate to *France*; where, by his wiſe and moderate conduct, he gained a great reputation. His promotion, which gave great joy to the *Romans*, made no alteration in his behaviour; but he gave audience with his uſual affability, and continued thoſe in office who had been appointed by his predeceſſors.
e He promiſed to eaſe his ſubjects of their taxes, and to adorn the city of *Rome*; but he was prevented from executing his deſigns by death, which happened to him on the 27th day of his pontificate, and the 70th year of his age [m]. *Leo XI. is chosen pope.* *His death.*

Upon the death of *Leo* XI. the conclave was divided into four principal factions; namely, the *Spaniſh* and *French*, and that of *Aldobrandino* and *Montalto*. Cardinals *Sauli*, *Mariano*, and *Bellarmine*, were propoſed, and rejected. *Toſco de Reggio* was alſo nominated by the *Spaniſh* and *Aldobrandine* factions; but by the clamours of *Baronius*, who exclaimed loudly againſt him, forty-four cardinals deſerted him, and propoſed to adore the other, whom they conducted to the *Pauline* chapel. The election of *Baronius*, however, met with an interruption, and *Toſco*, when he returned to his cell, found it pillaged, his palace in the city
f being alſo plundered, according to cuſtom, as his election was looked upon as certain. *Aldobrandino* then propoſed *Camillo Borgheſe*; who, being acceptable to *Montalto* and *De Joyeuſe*, was conducted to the *Pauline* chapel, where he was elected by an open ſcrutiny, on the 16th of *May*, and took the name of *Paul* V [n]. He was then only in the 53d year of his age, and was born at *Rome*; where his father, who had come from *Siena*, had been conſiſtorial advocate. He had a great reputation for his knowlege in the civil law, and was created a cardinal by *Clement* VIII. who ſent him as his nuncio to *Spain*. Soon after his promotion he gave his own cardinal's hat to *Scipio Caffarelli*, his ſiſter's ſon, and elevated his two ſurviving brothers, *Francis* and *John Baptiſt*, to the chief dignities in *Rome*, the firſt
g being appointed governor of the *Vatican*, and the other governor of *St. Angelo*. *Paul V. elected.*

[i] Thuan. l. cxxxi. [k] Piccart. in Orat. Funeb. Scipion. Gent. [l] Heydeg. Hiſt. Papat. Ætat. vii. [m] Hiſt. de Concl. Thuan. l. cxxxiv. [n] Idem ibid.

The

*He endeavours to advance the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction.*

THE chief concern of the new pope was to advance the eccleſiaſtical authority and juriſdiction. He earneſtly preſſed the king of *France* to publiſh the decrees of the council of *Trent*, and ſollicited the king of *Spain* to grant the *Jeſuits* an exemption from the payment of their tythe, and to ſend the regent of *Ponte* to *Rome*, becauſe, in conſequence of the king's edict, he had ſent two bookſellers of *Naples* to the gallies for ſelling the eleventh volume of the Annals of *Baronius*, contrary to the royal prohibition. He was offended with the republic of *Lucca*, becauſe it had publiſhed an edict, prohibiting all commerce and correſpondence with thoſe *Luccheſe* who had left their country, and embraced the proteſtant religion. He inſiſted that the edict ſhould be repealed, that there might be an opportunity to act by the cenſures of the church. He likewiſe threatened the *Genoeſe* for having ſuppreſſed a ſeditious congregation, which aſſembled at a chapel of the *Jeſuits* in their city; but his chief diſpute about eccleſiaſtical immunity was with the republic of *Venice*. a b

*On which account he quarrels with the* Venetians. A. D. 1606.

THE *Venetians*, a few years before, had publiſhed ſeveral laws for reſtraining the power and licentiouſneſs of the clergy; particularly, they had prohibited the building of new churches, convents, and monaſteries, in their dominions, without the expreſs permiſſion of the ſigniory, and had declared eccleſiaſtics incapable of making any new acquiſition of immoveable goods, without the leave of the ſenate. They had likewiſe, by their own authority, impriſoned an abbot and a canon, who had been guilty of enormous crimes; on which account the pope ſent two briefs to his nuncio at *Venice*, the one for annulling the new-made laws, and the other ordering the two priſoners to be remitted to the eccleſiaſtical courts. The republic defended their proceeding with great ſpirit, while ſome of the cardinals endeavoured to mediate an accommodation. Others, with more ſucceſs, inflamed the difference, in hopes that the pope, by being engaged in ſuch an intricate affair, would be ſeized with grief, which might ſhorten his days °. *Paul* accordingly, not being able to obtain his imperious demands from the *Venetians*, on the 17th of *April* thundered out a bull of excommunication and interdict againſt the republic, unleſs they would give him ſatisfaction within twenty-four days. A great number of treatiſes appeared on both ſides of the controverſy; but the *Venetians* reſolved to defend their cauſe, not by writings, but by arms. They prohibited the eccleſiaſtics within their dominions from paying any regard to the pope's bull (S). They began to equip a fleet, hired 8,000 *Griſons*, and aſſembled ſeveral other forces on the borders of the *Milaneſe*. The pope likewiſe, at firſt, with great ardour, aſſembled an army in the duchy of *Spoleto*, and ſolicited ſuccours from the kings of *France* and *Spain*; who both promiſed to aſſiſt him with a formidable army. In the mean time he put an end to the controverſy concerning grace, betwixt the *Jeſuits* and *Dominicans*, ordaining that each party might modeſtly defend their own opinion in the ſchools, without condemning that of the other, till a determination of the apoſtolic ſee ſhould be publiſhed P. He likewiſe erected a congregation of war; which proceeding ſurprized all *Italy*, as the court of *Rome*, till that time, had always covered their temporal deſigns with ſpiritual names. However, as he found the *Venetians* not terrified by his threats, and that they had the promiſe of aſſiſtance not only from the king of *Great Britain* and the ſtates of *Holland*, but even from the grand ſignor, he expreſſed his deſire of an accommodation to the *French* ambaſſador at *Rome*; finding that the king of *Spain* only deſigned to amuſe him, having demanded, as the condition of engaging in the war, a releaſe of the yearly tribute for the kingdom of *Naples*, and a ſurrender of *Ferrara* and *Ancona*. *Henry* IV. of *France* was more ſincere in his endeavours to ſerve both parties, and, by his ambaſſador at *Venice*, had preſſed the republic to make ſome offers of a ſubmiſſion. They, as well as the pope, accepting of his mediation, he ſent the cardinal *de Joyeuſe* into *Italy*, who conducted his negociation with ſuch prudence, that he at laſt concluded a peace on theſe conditions: that the republic ſhould deliver the two priſoners into the hands of the *French* ambaſſador, to be delivered to the pope; and ſhould revoke the proteſt againſt the apoſtolical cenſures, and reſtore all eccleſiaſtics to their eſtates; on which account the pope ſhould give them abſolution (T). Having thus ſettled the articles, he left *Rome*; and, arriving c d e f

*He puts an end to the diſpute betwixt the* Jeſuits *and* Dominicans.

A. D. 1607. *The difference with the* Venetians *accommodated.*

° Idem, l. cxxxvii.

P SPOND. ut ſupra.

(S) Some few of the clergy thought proper to obey the pope; but the monks continued quiet in their monaſteries, only the orders of *Capuchins* and *Jeſuits* aſked leave to depart. The *Capuchins* had liberty to return when thy pleaſed; but the *Jeſuits* were baniſhed for ever by an edict, and all were prohibited from holding any correſpondence with them, under pain of the gallies and the loſs of goods. At their departure from the city, the mob conducted them to the ſhore, ſhouting, and calling after them, that they might go to the devil if they pleaſed. They, in reſentment for this treatment, endeavoured, by private intrigues, to raiſe factions among the nobility, and cauſed two gentlemen of the *Venetian* ambaſſador's retinue in *Poland* to be affronted at maſs, and to be expelled the church (3).

(T) The treaty was retarded ſeveral months on account of the *Jeſuits*, whom the pope, at firſt, uſed his utmoſt endeavours to have reſtored. But the republic abſolutely refuſing to repeal their edict againſt them, he at laſt conſented to wave that point (4).

(3) *Thuan. l.* 137. *Peref. Hiſt. de Hen. IV. Heydeg. Rycaut.* (4) *Thuan. ut ſupra, & alii.*

a at *Venice*, with great ſolemnity revoked the ſentence of excommunication on the 21ſt of *April* [q].

About the commencement of this difference with the *Venetians*, the pope, being informed that the king of *Great Britain* had publiſhed the form of an oath, by which all his ſubjects in *England* were required to ſwear, that king *James* was ſupreme lord of all the dominions which he poſſeſſed, and that the pope had no authority of depoſing a king, he immediately diſpatched a brief into *England*, prohibiting all the papiſts from taking that oath, and exhorting them patiently to endure all manner of perſecution rather than comply. As many of them, nevertheleſs, took the oath, pretending that the brief was a forgery, he again wrote to them this year, aſſuring them of the genuineneſs of his former brief, and that the b oath could not be taken with a ſafe conſcience [r].

The following year *Paul* received an embaſſy from the king of *Congo* in *Africa*, where the monks, after a long interval, had again inſinuated themſelves. He received the ambaſſador with great reſpect, and promiſed to ſend ſeveral learned and pious preachers with him into his own country; but as he died ſoon after his arrival at *Rome*, the deſign of ſending miſſionaries to *Congo* was at that time laid aſide. About the ſame time the archbiſhop of *Goa* procured letters to the pope from the king of *Perſia*, and next year the *Perſian* ambaſſador arrived at *Rome*, to yield obedience, as it was pretended, to *Paul*, and to inform him, that he allowed Chriſtians to build churches and ſchools in his dominions [s]. *The pope receives an embaſſy from the king of* Congo, A. D. 1609. *and from the king of* Perſia.

An embaſſy arrived likewiſe this ſame year from *Elias*, the *Neſtorian* patriarch at *Babylon*; c who, having received a confeſſion of the *Roman* faith from *Paul*, in the beginning of his pontificate, now ſent one *Adam*, an archdeacon, to *Rome*, with a new confeſſion, drawn up in different terms from the *Roman*, but without any material alteration as to the ſenſe; intending to ſhew the pope, that the faith of the orientals differed only in words from that of *Rome*. The pope's ſecretary, in his examination of this writing, explained every article in an unfavourable ſenſe, and obliged the legate of the patriarch to ſubmit, not only to the doctrines, but to the words of the *Roman* church. The legate ſigned every thing that the pope propoſed to him, and not only abjured the errors of his nation, but alſo addreſſed ſome treatiſes to his countrymen, exhorting them to an entire conformity with the church of *Rome*. At his departure, which happened two years afterwards, he was accompanied by d two *Jeſuits*, and carried with him a brief from the pope to the patriarch, requiring him to renounce all expreſſions which might ſeem to countenance error [t]. *The* Neſtorians *are reunited to the church of* Rome.

During his reſidence at *Rome*, the pope was earneſtly preſſed by the king of *France* to enter into a defenſive alliance with him and the princes of *Italy*; and, to prevail upon him to accede to the treaty, a match was propoſed betwixt his nephew and the king's natural daughter. But *Paul* abſolutely refuſed to engage in the alliance, as he was apprehenſive, from the great preparations made by the king, that he intended a rupture with *Spain*, and to invade the *Milaneſe*; in which caſe he propoſed to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality, tho' he was deſirous to prevent, if poſſible, any hoſtilities in *Italy*. This negociation was interrupted by the aſſaſſination of *Henry* IV. at which the pope expreſſed great ſorrow; and, as e a teſtimony of his regard, he aſſiſted perſonally at his obſequies; which were celebrated at *Rome* with great ſolemnity. Hearing that ſome young *Frenchmen* in the city rejoiced at the king's death, and ſtiled the aſſaſſin the deliverer of their country, he ordered them to be ſeized; and, upon proceſs made againſt them, condemned them to the gallies [u]. About the ſame time the congregation *delle Indice* publiſhed their cenſure of the hiſtory of *Thuanus*, while *Paul*, in imitation of *Clement* V. and other popes, publiſhed a bull, ordering all the religious orders to maintain profeſſors in the *Hebrew*, *Arabic*, *Greek*, and *Latin* languages [w]. As the report ſtill continued, that the marſhal *de Leſdiguieres* was on the point of entering *Italy* with an army to join the duke of *Savoy*, *Paul* declared to the *French* ambaſſador at *Rome*, that if the marſhal ſhould offer to paſs the *Alps*, he would endeavour to oppoſe him f by force. The pope had no occaſion to repeat his threats; for the death of *Henry* IV. and the minority of his ſon *Lewis* XIII. put a ſtop to the intended expedition of the *French* into *Italy*. A. D. 1610. Paul *expreſſes great ſorrow for the murder of the king of* France.

Not long after, *Paul* received a meſſage from the duke of *Bavaria*, to inform him of his diſpute with the archbiſhop of *Saltzburg*, whom he detained a priſoner. The duke had formed pretenſions to the ſalt-pits in the territory of *Halle the Rich*, then in the poſſeſſion of the archbiſhop; and, upon his refuſal to acknowlege his right, had entered his territories with an armed force, ſeized ſome of his towns, and impriſoned himſelf. However, as A. D. 1611. *The archbiſhop of* Saltzburg *is compelled to reſign his biſhopric.*

[q] Thuan. ut ſup. Rycaut. Mezer. Abreg. Chron. t. vi. Perefix. Hiſt. d'Hen. IV. Fra-Paolo Droit de Souverains. Etat du Siege de Rome, t. i. [r] Spond. ut ſup. Etat du Siege de Rome, p. 34. [s] Spond. ut ſup. [t] Stroz. de Dogmat. Chald. R. Simon. Hiſt. Crit. de Dogmat. des Orient. Nic. Godig. l. i. de Reb. Abaſſyn. ap. Aub. Miræum de Stat. Rel. Chriſt. [u] Nic. Rigalt. de reb. Gal. Rycaut. [w] Spond. ut ſup. Rigalt. ut ſup.

the prelate was prevented from ſending a deputy to *Rome*, the elector found means to juſtify his conduct at that court; and the four cardinals, who were appointed by the pope to examine the affair, decreed, that the archbiſhop, having endeavoured to fly from his territories upon the invaſion of the duke, had rendered himſelf unworthy of his dignity, which he ſhould therefore reſign, and content himſelf with an annual penſion of 20,000 florins. The pope, that he might not ſeem to favour the duke to the prejudice of the epiſcopal dignity, omitted ſigning the decree [x]. a

*Paul is remiſs in the adminiſtration of public affairs.*

MEAN while, being diſguſted with buſineſs, on account of the great trouble and vexation in which he had been involved by his rupture with the *Venetians*, he now indulged himſelf in ſloth and indolence. He neglected almoſt intirely the adminiſtration of affairs, and was chiefly intent upon enriching his nephew cardinal *Borgheſe*, on whom he beſtowed a revenue of upwards of 250,000 crowns, by conferring upon him very many rich benefices, and drawing penſions from a great many others both in *Spain* and *Italy* [y]. He took great delight in adorning the city with magnificent buildings, and about this time finiſhed the large palace of *Monte Cavallo*, which had been begun by *Sixtus* V. Beſides, he greatly enlarged the church of St. *Peter*, and the *Vatican* palace and library; he built two magnificent palaces for his relations, one in the city, and the other, with ſpacious gardens, without the walls; and in both he collected the moſt valuable works in ſculpture and painting, and the fineſt monuments of antiquity which he could purchaſe. He brought water to ſeveral parts of the city by aqueducts, and embelliſhed the ſtreets with a great number of fountains; on which account he was ſtiled by *Paſquin*, *Pontifex Maximus*. [z]. b c

*The Spaniards threaten to invade the duke of* Mantua. A. D. 1613.

AS the duke of *Mantua*, about the end of the following year, died without male iſſue, *Paul* allowed his brother, cardinal *Ferdinand*, to whom the ſucceſſion fell, to reſign his hat; however, notwithſtanding the earneſt intreaties of the *French* and *Venetian* ambaſſadors, he refuſed to concern himſelf in the leaſt with the diſputes betwixt the new duke and the *Spaniards*, who had formed pretenſions to ſome part of his territories, and in the following ſpring threatened to diſturb the peace of *Italy* with their warlike preparations. Though a war actually commenced, *Paul* ſtill continued unconcerned, and could not be moved in behalf of the houſe of *Mantua* by the moſt preſſing ſollicitations of the *French* ambaſſador, who wrote to the queen regent, that the pope was like a beaſt fattening in a ſtall, and thought only of enjoying the pleaſures and conveniencies of the pontificate [a]. *Paul* pretended to be afraid of the reſentment of the court of *Madrid*, or perhaps was convinced, from the weakneſs of the *Spaniſh* monarchy, and the peaceable diſpoſition of *Philip* III. that the hazard of a war with *France* would make the *Spaniards* readily accommodate their differences in *Italy*. d

MEAN while he publiſhed a bull for founding a ſeminary of cardinals at *Rome*; and, at the requeſt of the queen regent of *France*, he confirmed the congregation of pious prieſts, which had been inſtituted by her at *Paris*, under the title of *the congregation of the fathers of the oratory*, in honour of the prayers put up by Chriſt in the days of his fleſh [b]. He likewiſe, by a treaty with *Lewis* XIII. regulated the limits of the county of *Venaiſſin*, ſituated between *Dauphiny* and *Provence*, and belonging to the holy ſee [c]. During this negociation, being informed that the queen regent was treating with the king of *Great Britain* about a marriage betwixt the prince of *Wales* and her ſecond daughter *Chriſtina*, he ordered his nuncio *Ubaldini* to remonſtrate againſt the propoſed alliance, as prejudicial to the church, that is, in the ſtile of the *Roman* court, contrary to the intereſts of the pope. The nuncio, finding that he made no impreſſion upon the queen, endeavoured to alarm the devotees at *Paris*; but his intrigues were unneceſſary; for the queen was not ſincere in the negociation with the *Britiſh* court, and only intended to quiet the diſcontents of the *French*, who murmured greatly at the double alliance which ſhe had contracted the year before with *Spain* [d]. This alliance with *Spain* chiefly gave offence to the prince of *Conde* and the *Huguenots*, who remembered the late fatal effects of the *Spaniſh* councils in their kingdom. Together with the prince, the duke of *Mayenne* and ſeveral other nobles entered into an aſſociation; and, after publiſhing ſeveral remonſtrances againſt the queen's mal-adminiſtration, had recourſe to arms. An accommodation, however, was ſoon effected, by means of the parliament of *Paris*, the queen having made great conceſſions to the prince of *Conde*, with which the pope's nuncio was greatly offended, as he imagined the prince intended to renounce the popiſh religion, and to claim the ſucceſſion to the crown [e]. e f

*The pope oppoſes an alliance betwixt the prince of* Wales *and a daughter of* France. A. D. 1614.

*He accuſes the parliament of* Paris *of encroaching upon the juriſdiction of the church.*

THE proceedings of the parliament of *Paris* gave great jealouſy to the pope, who about that time accuſed them of incroaching upon the rights of the church, as they had condemned a book of *Suarez*, a *Spaniſh Jeſuit*, to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, as containing pernicious and damnable doctrines. He made great complaints againſt them to the *French* ambaſſador at *Rome*, and ordered him to deſire the queen regent to annul the de-

[x] ADLZREIT. part iii. p. 26, &c. [y] NIC. de MARB. Requeſt. a l'Emper. Edit. de Leyd, 1613. [z] Etat du Siege de Rome. l. i. p. 33. [a] NAN. Hiſt. Venet. an. 1613. SIRI Memoire Recond. t. iii. [b] SPOND. ut ſup. [c] Hiſt. des Traitez de Paix. [d] SIRI ut ſup. VASSOR. Hiſt. de Lewis XIII. [e] SIRI ut ſup.

cree,

a cree, promiſing, that if any propoſition of *Suarez* was derogatory to the ſovereignty of the king, it ſhould be cenſured at *Rome*. The ambaſſador repreſenting the impracticability of annulling the decree, and obſerving that, if the doctrine of aſſaſſinating princes, who are accuſed of tyranny, ſhould become general, the popes themſelves were not ſafe, but might happen to be murdered by ſome fanatical heretic, *Paul*, after ſome reflection, agreed to write to his nuncio in *France*, and ſent briefs to the cardinals *Joyeuſe*, *Perron*, and *Rochefoucault*, enjoining them to confer with the nuncio about the means of procuring ſatisfaction to the holy ſee. He had at firſt been inflamed by the *Jeſuits* at *Rome*, who, preferring the honour of their ſociety to all other conſiderations, had uſed their utmoſt endeavours to occaſion a rupture betwixt him and *France*, and to prevail with him to cauſe the parliament's decree
b to be burnt, as heretical, by the hangman. *Lewis* XIII. being declared major about the beginning of *October*, immediately after, to ſatisfy the pope, publiſhed a declaration, affirming, that the execution of the decree of parliament ſhould not infringe the lawful authority of the pope, or the privileges acknowleged by his anceſtors to belong to the holy ſee. *Paul* was far from being ſatisfied with this declaration, as by the word *lawful*, the authority of the holy ſee ſeemed in ſome meaſure limited; he therefore ſtill inſiſted that the decree ſhould be judicially annulled; but all the ſatisfaction he could obtain, was only the ſuſpenſion of its execution [f].

He was likewiſe diſappointed in his endeavours to prevail with the ſtates of *France*, who were then ſitting at *Paris*, to order the publication of the decrees of the council of *Trent*. *He endeavours to cauſe the council of* Trent *to be received in* France. A. D. 1615.
c Though the clergy, who were zealous in the intereſt of the court of *France*, had gained the nobility, yet they were both oppoſed by the third eſtate, whoſe delegates made a motion for treating of the extent of the pope's authority over kings. But as that diſpute would have only kept alive the factions in the kingdom, they were oppoſed by the two other eſtates; who, on that account, received congratulatory briefs from the pope [g]. *Paul* in the mean time received a letter from the biſhop of *Paphlagonia*, acknowleging his ſupremacy; and a few months after two ambaſſadors arrived at *Rome* from *Japan*, one of whom was a noble *Japaneſe*, and the other a *Spaniſh* friar of the order of St. *Francis*, who had converted one of the kings in that diſtant country. Thoſe ambaſſadors requeſted of the pope, that he would ſend a greater number of miſſionaries into that kingdom to convert the infidels,
d and mentioned ſeveral other particulars, which are fully related by the continuator of *Thuanus* [h]. An ambaſſador extraordinary alſo about the ſame time arrived at *Rome* from *France*, who ſolemnly yielded obedience to the pope, in the king's name.

The following year the pope endeavoured to mediate a peace betwixt the king of *Spain* *Great diſputes about the immaculate conception of the virgin* Mary.
and the duke of *Savoy*, who, though a few months before they had agreed to an accommodation, now renewed hoſtilities with greater animoſity. His attention, however, was much more engaged with a controverſy betwixt the *Dominicans* and *Franciſcans*, about the immaculate conception of the Bleſſed Virgin. Ever ſince the beginning of the former century, there had been great diſputes among the papiſts about this very important point; but they had never been carried to ſo great a height as at preſent. The *Dominicans* maintained the
e affirmative, and the *Franciſcans* ſupported the negative; but both parties were tranſported with ſuch animoſity and furious zeal, that *Spain* was almoſt engaged in a religious civil war on their account. The catholic king, to prevent the fatal effects of this blind conteſt, preſſed the pope, by repeated embaſſies, to give an authoritative deciſion of the queſtion in diſpute; but all that he could obtain of *Paul* was a renovation of the conſtitutions of *Sixtus* IV. and *Pius* V. on that ſubject, with more ſevere ſanctions than formerly; to which the next year, in the month of *Auguſt*, he added a decree, prohibiting abſolutely any one A. D. 1617.
from teaching, or aſſerting publicly, that the Holy Virgin was conceived in original ſin, although, at the ſame time, he allowed every one to believe any ſide of the diſpute they pleaſed [i].

f By this means he, in ſome meaſure, put a ſtop to the animoſities in *Spain*; but quickly after he was engaged in another diſpute with the court of *France*, on account of the poſſeſſions of marſhal *D'Ancre* at *Rome*. As that *Florentine*, by the abuſe of his power, had acquired immenſe wealth, which he laid out in purchaſes at *Florence* and *Rome*, the parliament of *Paris*, after his murder, which happened in the end of *April*, declared him a traitor, and confiſcated for the uſe of the king, all the eſtates that he had acquired, whether within or without the kingdom. In conſequence of this parliamentary decree, the archbiſhop of *Lyons* demanded, for the uſe of the *French* king, all the eſtates which the late marſhal poſſeſſed at *Rome*. This arrogant demand was at firſt treated with contempt by the pope; but at length, after many propoſitions, he agreed to a partition of the eſtate with *Lewis* XIII. in ſuch a
g manner, that of the whole, which amounted to 425,000 livres, the king ſhould have 250,000,

[f] Le Vassor. & Siri. ut ſup. [g] Contin, de Mezer. Hiſt. de Lewis XIII. Spond ut ſup. [h] Thuan: Contin. l. viii. [i] Heydeg. Hiſt. Papat. Spond. ut ſup.

*A partition of the marshal* D'Ancre's *estates at* Rome *betwixt the pope and the king of* France. A. D. 1618.

and the remaining 175,000 should be left to the pope, to be appropriated by him to the building of St. *Peter's* church [k]. This treaty of the partition of the succession of *D'Ancre* was concluded about a year after his death, which had occasioned great revolutions at the court of *France*. The queen regent was obliged to retire to *Blois*, and *Richelieu*, bishop of *Luçon*, one of the late marshal's creatures, was ordered to quit the kingdom. He retired to *Avignon*, where he was at first countenanced by the pope, who interceded for him as a persecuted bishop; but the *French* ambassador at *Rome*, by order of the king, representing that some of the bishop's intrigues had been discovered prejudicial to the state, *Paul* ceased to interest himself in his behalf, though he allowed him still to reside in his territories. a

*An universal jubilee published at* Rome. A. D. 1619.

In the mean time he employed himself in confirming several monkish orders; and, in the beginning of the following year, he published an universal jubilee, for imploring the assistance of God for the defence of the church, which was endangered by a general insurrection of the protestants in *Bohemia* and the other countries under the *Austrian* dominion. They had been provoked to take arms, on account of the oppression which they suffered from the emperor *Matthias*, by the instigation of his cousin *Ferdinand*, arch-duke of *Gratz*, who a few years before had been declared heir of the crown of *Bohemia* by the States. *Ferdinand*, a few weeks after the publication of the jubilee, succeeding to all his cousin's hereditary dominions, and not long after being elected emperor, endeavoured to prevail with the rebels in *Bohemia* to hearken to an accommodation, by offering them a full confirmation of all their privileges; but they, distrusting his sincerity, rejected his offers, chose the elector palatine for their king, and entered into an alliance with the protestants in *Hungary*, *Austria*, *Moravia*, *Silesia*, and *Lusace*, who were also in arms. The pope, alarmed at this powerful confederacy, gave assistance in money to the emperor; who, the following year, gained a decisive victory over his competitor in the neighbourhood of *Prague*, which secured to him the possession of *Bohemia*, and obliged the other rebels to submit [l]. b c

*The death of* Paul. A. D. 1621.

*PAUL* survived the news of this victory only a few months, and died at *Rome* on the 28th of *January*, in the 69th year of his age, and the 16th of his pontificate. He is greatly commended by father *Hyacynthe de Graveson*, who was a dependent of his nephew *Mark Anthony Borghese* [m]. But he is represented in a very different light by *Nicholas de Marbais*, doctor in divinity, who complains he had bought lands for his nephew to the value of 2,000,000 of crowns, which sum he had raised by distressing the clergy, as he conferred no benefices without reserving a part of it as a pension to some person whom he had not the confidence to name; that he did not regulate his conduct according to the laws and canons of the *Roman* church, the rights and jurisdiction of which he entirely neglected; that the ecclesiastical immunities were not only trampled upon in *France* and *Spain*, but also at *Florence* and *Naples*, and in the *Milanese*; that in *Spain* and *Naples*, if any criminal took sanctuary in the churches and monasteries, he was dragged from thence to the magistrates by force and violence, who contemned the pope's bull prohibiting such proceedings under pain of excommunication. The false pope *Paul*, he says, left the administration of affairs entirely to his nephew *Borghese*, who opened the letters of the legates and nuncios, and answered them in the pope's name. He countenanced licentiousness and debauchery among the cardinals, bishops, and other prelates, that they might not reproach him with his own crimes; and all of them lived, not like Christians, but like the corrupt heathens of antient *Rome*. To procure the pontificate to his nephew *Borghese*, he created a great many young and worthless cardinals, of mean birth and no education, whom he kept needy and dependent, hoping to survive all the antient cardinals, and to renew the whole sacred college before his death [n]. d e

After the celebration of the funeral obsequies of *Paul* V. which, according to custom, continued nine days, on the 8th of *February* fifty-two cardinals entered the conclave in procession, where the different factions immediately began to cabal. The most antient party was that of *Montalto*, the second of *Aldobrandino*, the third was the *Spanish*, and the fourth the *French* faction. Some cardinals, such as *Bonti*, *Sforza*, *Farnese*, *Medici*, and *Este*, formed small parties of their own: but the most powerful of all was that of *Borghese*, who was confident of carrying the election in favour of cardinal *Campora*. That candidate, however, being disagreeable to the other parties, they united together; so that *Borghese* could not obtain a legal majority of votes, and *Campora*, who before the shutting of the conclave began to assume the state and dignity of a pope, suffered a most mortifying disappointment. *Borghese* finding his intrigues in favour of *Campora* ineffectual, proposed cardinal *Ludovisio*, who, being approved of immediately by almost the whole conclave, was conducted to the *Pauline* chapel, where he was unanimously elected and adorned that same evening, and af- f

Gregory XV. *is elected pope.*

[k] Le Grain Decade de Louis Le Just. Relat. Exact. de la Mort du Marechal D'Ancre, a la Fin de l'Hist. des Favoris, Leyd. Edit. 1661. [l] Spond. ut sup. See the History of the German Empire. [m] Amat. de Graveson Hist, Eccles. t. viii. [n] Nic de Marbais requeste a l'Empereur, Leyden, 1613.

a ſumed the name of *Gregory* XV. [o] (U). A few days after he was crowned with the uſual pomp in St. *Peter*'s church, and made a grand proceſſion to that of St. *John di Lateran*, to take poſſeſſion of the ſovereign power of the church; after which ceremonies he publiſhed an univerſal jubilee, to implore the divine bleſſing upon his government [p], and perhaps to bring in ſome money into his coffers, which was alſo probably his motive for creating ſeveral new ſaints, having in his ſhort pontificate canonized *Ignatius Loyola*, *Francis Xavier*, *Lewis Gonzaga*, *Staniſlaus Kolka*, *Iſodore Agricola* a *Spaniard*, *Ambroſe Sonſedan* of *Siena*, *James de Salomiome* a *Venetian*, *Philip de Neri*, founder of the fathers of the oratory, and *Thereſa*, the reformer of the order of the *Carmelites* [q].

As the *Hugonots* in *France*, on account of the violation of the edict of *Nantz*, about this
b time again had recourſe to arms, *Gregory* wrote to the young king, exhorting him to root them out and deſtroy them; which letter was accompanied with a bull, animating the papiſts to riſe up againſt them. For that purpoſe he likewiſe ſent into *France* a *Spaniſh Carmelite* friar, one *Dominicus de Jeſu Maria*, a moſt cunning hypocrite, who had acquired a great reputation for ſanctity among the ignorant people [r] (W). While this impoſtor was fomenting the civil diſſenſions in *France*, *Gregory* publiſhed a bull, preſcribing a new form of election of a pope, altering the manner of giving the votes publicly, and allowing the cardinals to give their ſuffrages ſecretly, by way of ſcrutiny, which would prevent the chiefs of parties from having ſo great an influence.

*He excites the king of* France *againſt the* Hugonots.

In the ſecond year of his pontificate he publiſhed a bull, amplifying that of his predeceſſor,
c concerning the diſpute about the immaculate conception of the Virgin *Mary*, and prohibiting expreſly any public or private writings or diſcourſes on that ſubject, except among the *Dominicans* themſelves. About the ſame time likewiſe he eſtabliſhed the congregation *de propaganda fide*; and, at the deſire of *Lewis* XIII. he erected the ſee of *Paris* into an archbiſhopric, ſubjecting to its juriſdiction the biſhoprics of *Chartres*, *Orleans*, and *Meaux*. As the war ſtill continued in *Germany* betwixt the emperor and ſeveral princes, who eſpouſed the cauſe of the elector palatine, the pope ſent a reinforcement of troops to the former, who conquering the *Palatinate* that campaign, ſent the famous library of manuſcripts at *Heydelberg* to *Rome*, where the greateſt part of the books never arrived, the beſt of them being privately picked out, and many of the reſt loſt at ſea [s]. *Gregory* not only aſſiſted the emperor, and ex-
d cited the king of *France* againſt the proteſtants, but deſigned likewiſe to extirpate hereſy from *Geneva*, and ſollicited *Lewis* XIII. to allow the duke of *Savoy* to ſeize that city. He quarrelled alſo with the *Venetians*, for granting a church, and the free exerciſe of the *Greek* religion, to ſome *Greek* ſoldiers whom they had taken into their ſervice [t].

A. D. 1622.

*He endeavours to ſuppreſs the proteſtants.*

As *James* I. of *England* diſcovered great earneſtneſs to conclude an alliance betwixt his
ſon the prince of *Wales* and an infanta of *Spain*, *Gregory* laid hold of that opportunity to advance the intereſt of the catholic religion in *England*. He refuſed to grant a diſpenſation for the marriage, unleſs it ſhould be celebrated in *Spain*, according to the rites of the *Romiſh* church; and that the eccleſiaſtics of the infanta ſhould all be *Spaniards*, and ſubject to a biſhop; and that, beſides the queen's chapel, the papiſts ſhould be allowed to build a church
e in *London*. King *James* agreeing to theſe conditions, the abhorrence of the *Spaniards* to the match was greatly leſſened. *Gregory*, after conſulting the cardinals, granted the diſpenſation, and wrote to the prince of *Wales*, exhorting him to enter into the boſom of the church. As he was informed of his arrival in *Spain* before the diſpenſation was expedited, he added new articles to the brief, and inſiſted that the children of the marriage ſhould be educated by the

A. D. 1623.

*He grants a diſpenſation to the infanta of* Spain *to marry the prince of* Wales;

[o] Hiſt. de Conclaves, art. xxviii. [p] Graveson, ut ſupra. [q] Heydeg. Hiſt. papat. Letters of Janſenius. Rycaut. Spond. ut ſupra. [r] Granv. Hiſt. Gall. [s] Spond. ut ſupra. Spanheim. Memoires de l'Electrice Palatine. [t] Heydegger, ut ſupra.

(U) *Gregory* XV. whoſe former name was *Alexander Ludoviſio*, was born at *Bologna*, of an illuſtrious family, which had been aſſociated among the *Neapolitan* nobility by *Jane*, queen of *Naples*. He was in his youth educated in the Jeſuits college at *Rome*; and returning afterwards to *Bologna*, he there ſtudied the civil law, in which he arrived at the degree of doctor. Settling afterwards at *Rome*, he acquired the friendſhip of the three popes, *Gregory* XIV. *Clement* VIII. and *Paul* V. the laſt of whom conferred upon him the biſhopric of *Bologna*, created him cardinal, and appointed him his nuncio to adjuſt the differences betwixt the *Spaniards* and the duke of *Savoy* (1).

(W) He had attended the emperor's army in *Bohemia*, and the victory of *Prague* was, in a great meaſure, owing to him, as he run up and down among the imperial troops, during the engagement, with a crucifix in his hand, animating them to the combat. He was ſent to *Rome* by the emperor with ſome booty and ſtandards taken from the enemy, and the pope now thought him a fit agent to inflame the *French* papiſts againſt the *Hugonots*. As he impudently pretended to the gift of miracles, and undertook to cure all manner of diſeaſes in *France*, he was continually attended with great numbers of people, who cut off pieces of his cloak, and publiſhed every where that it was not diminiſhed. At laſt his impoſtures were detected and expoſed by *Richer*, a ſyndic and doctor of the faculty of divinity at *Paris*, who a few years before had acquired a great reputation, and had incurred the reſentment of the eccleſiaſtics by a book that he had publiſhed, *De eccleſiaſtica & politica poteſtate* (2).

(1) *Graveſon, Hiſt. Eccleſ. Spond. ut ſupra.* (2) *Hiſt. de la Mere & du Fils. Continuat. de Mezerai.*

queen, till they were ten years of age, and that the king of *Great Britain* ſhould immediately give ſecurity to the papiſts in his dominions, for the quiet poſſeſſion of their eſtates, and for liberty of conſcience. Theſe new articles occaſioned ſome difficulties, which the king with great zeal was endeavouring to remove; but, in the midſt of the negotiation, the affair was again ſuſpended by the death of the pope [u]. a

*receives the depoſite of the* Valteline, *and dies at* Rome.

DURING this negotiation the pope was ſollicited by the *Spaniards* to accept of the depoſite of the *Valteline*. About two years before they had aſſiſted the papiſts in that valley to maſſacre the proteſtants; but as it was a convenient paſs from *Germany* and *France*, they thought proper to raiſe forces, and to keep poſſeſſion of the country. This uſurpation alarming the *French*, *Venetians*, and duke of *Savoy*, they concluded a league, to compel the *Spaniards* to leave the inhabitants of that valley free, which induced the uſurpers, who were apprehenſive of the power of the league, to reſign their conqueſt into the hands of the pope, till their pretenſions to that territory ſhould be fully diſcuſſed. As the *French* and *Venetians*, after ſome oppoſition, agreed to that propoſal, *Gregory* ſent his nephew, the duke of *Fano*, with a ſmall body of troops, who took poſſeſſion of the forts in the valley [w]. The pope ſurvived this tranſaction only a few weeks, and died on the 8th of *July*, in the 70th year of his age. He is commended for his charity to the ſick and to the poor, and, according to the *Spaniſh* writers, was eminent for his piety and learning. During his ſhort pontificate he created eleven cardinals, among whom was *Richelieu*, biſhop of *Luçon* in *France*. b

ON the 19th of *July* fifty-four cardinals entered the conclave for the election of the new pope. As there were a great many cardinals, who for their age, virtues, and abilities, might expect the pontificate, and as the new bull of *Gregory* was to be obſerved, it was generally ſuppoſed that the election would be very tedious, and that the conteſts among the competitors would be very warm. The chiefs of the moſt powerful factions were *Borgheſe*, and *Ludoviſio*, nephew of the late pope, and they both, after ſome canvaſſing and intrigues, which it would be needleſs to particularize, agreed to join their intereſt in favour of cardinal *Barberini*. His great merit was univerſally allowed; but as he had always acted with a free independent ſpirit, and ſpoke his ſentiments with great freedom, he had, unwarily, offended ſome of the old cardinals, who beſides objected to him on account of his youth, as he was then only in the 55th year of his age. However, no other cardinal could raiſe an intereſt of any conſequence; and though he himſelf diſcovered no marks of precipitancy and eagerneſs, but on the contrary acted with great modeſty and reſerve, he was elected on the 6th of *Auguſt*, by the ſuffrages of fifty cardinals, when he aſſumed the name of *Urban* VIII [x] (X). As he was attacked with a violent fever a few days after his election, his coronation was deferred till the 29th of *September*, the feaſt of *St. Michael*, whom the popes generally take for their guardian, and to whom *Urban* particularly erected an image in bronze, upon the altar of *Sancta Petronella* in St. *Peter*'s church, with his own image kneeling before it, and the inſcription, *Te mane, te veſpere*. He began his pontificate with ordering the prayers of forty hours to be put up to God, for imploring his bleſſing upon his government, and endeavoured to reſtore and ſettle the peace of the city, which had been diſturbed by a violent ſedition during the conclave [y]. He likewiſe publiſhed the bull for the canonization of the ſaints nominated by his predeceſſor (Y) and increaſed their number with eight new ones of his own nomination [z]. c d

Urban VIII. *elected.*

HE

[u] AMELOT DE HOUSSAYE Mem. Hiſt. & Polit. t. i. SPANHEIM, ut ſupra. [w] Hiſt. des Traitez des Paix, t. ii. [x] Hiſt. des Conclaves, t. ii. [y] HEYDEGGER, Hiſt. papat. [z] AMAT. DE GRAVESON, ut ſupra, t. viii.

(X) *Maffeo Barberini*, or *Urban* VIII. was born of an antient noble family at *Florence*, which had flouriſhed in that city and its neighbourhood for ſeveral centuries. He was educated in his youth with great care, and early diſcovered a ſtrong inclination to learning and virtue. When he was only twenty-one years of age he was admired and eſteemed by *Sixtus* V. who made him referendary. He went afterwards through many degrees of preferment with great reputation and applauſe. He was twice nuncio in *France*. *Paul* V. created him a cardinal, conferred upon him the archbiſhopric of *Spoleto*, and appointed him his legate at *Bologna*, where he reſided three years. Before his promotion to the pontificate, he had acquired a great reputation for learning and taſte, and was reckoned one of the beſt *Latin* and *Italian* poets of his time. His moſt conſiderable pieces are paraphraſes upon ſome pſalms, and other places of the Old and New Teſtament, hymns and odes upon the feaſts of our Saviour, the Virgin *Mary*, and other ſaints, and epigrams on ſeveral illuſtrious men. His odes are particularly commended for their purity, and were ſo agreeable to the Jeſuits, that they taught them in their ſchools, even during the life of the pope, as if they had been the work of a claſſic author. He corrected the barbarous hymns of the *Romiſh* church; and in an elegy prefixed to his works, he adviſed his cotemporaries to compoſe poems on pious ſubjects. Though he did not, as ſovereign pontiff, prohibit publiſhing poems on profane ſubjects, yet he is ſaid ſo ſeverely to have reprehended an author who preſented him with an indecent poem, that he died of confuſion (1). During his whole pontificate he was a great protector of men of learning and genius, though he treated falſe pretenders with contempt and ridicule. To one *Ruſticus*, archbiſhop of *Rouen*, who dedicated a huge inſignificant volume to him, he replied by a line from *Diſpanter*'s grammar,---*Sutrimit Urbanus que Ruſticus edit inepte* (2).

(Y) He appointed the feaſt of *Ignatius Loyola* on the 31ſt of *July*, which day had been previouſly occupied by St. *Germain*, whoſe name the Jeſuits blotted out of the

(1) *Le Pere Menetrier de repreſentations en Muſique, &c.* (2) *Bayle let.* xliii. *edit.* 1731. *Contin de Mezeray. Baillet, Jugemens des Savans, t.* iv. *Janus Nicius Erythæus in Pinacothec, p.* ii. *Amat de Graveſon ut ſupra.*

calendar,

a He did not neglect to dignify and enrich his relations. He conferred his own cardinal's hat upon one of his brothers, *Anthony*, a capuchin, who, after his promotion, ſtill obſerved the ſtrict rules of his order, and ſpent the greateſt part of his time with his brother monks in a convent, which he built in the city. *Urban* alſo conferred the dignity of cardinal upon two of the ſons of his other ſurviving brother *Charles*, whom he loaded with benefices and penſions: for a third nephew he revived the office of prefect of *Rome*, which he conferred upon him, with great power and authority; and near the quirinal he built a vaſt and magnificent palace, with fine gardens, for the family of *Barberini*, purchaſing alſo for them large eſtates [a], among which is that of *Paleſtrina*, which they enjoy at this day, under the title of a principality.

*He confers honours and wealth on his relations.*

b As the prince of *Wales* was ſtill in *Spain*, *Urban*, before he would grant the diſpenſation for his marriage, wrote to him, and to his father king *James*, exhorting them to embrace the faith of their anceſtors. As they had both advanced ſo far inconſiderately, he was in hopes of their compliance; but he was diſappointed by the ſudden departure of the prince from *Spain*, who having conceived a diſlike to the match, broke off the negociation. King *James* immediately after publiſhed an order, commanding all the popiſh clergy to quit *Britain* and *Ireland*, and all the papiſts in his dominions to deliver up their arms. However, with great inconſtancy, he again thought of a popiſh alliance for his ſon; and for that purpoſe ſent an embaſſy to *France*, to negociate a treaty of marriage betwixt the prince of *Wales* and the princeſs *Henrietta Maria*. *Urban*, afraid of the conſequences of an union betwixt *Great Bri-*
c *tain* and *France*, oppoſed this match with great earneſtneſs, and declared that he would never grant the diſpenſation. The articles of marriage were, nevertheleſs, agreed upon; and *Lewis* XIII. aſſuring the pope that he would not, on that account, grant any protection to the heretics, *Urban* at length conſented to ſend the diſpenſation [b].

*He exhorts the king of* England *and his ſon to embrace the popiſh religion.* A. D. 1624.

In the mean time he endeavoured to put an end to the diſpute betwixt the *French* and *Spaniards*, with regard to the poſſeſſion of the *Valteline*; and for that purpoſe propoſed ſome articles of accommodatian to both parties, which were rejected by *Lewis* XIII. as being too favourable to the *Spaniards*. During this troubleſome negociation, *Urban* renewed the bull of *Pius* V. againſt the alienation of church-lands, and appointed a ſelect number of grave and religious men to viſit the monaſteries, colleges, hoſpitals, and other public places, to inſpect
d their abuſes and irregularities, and to give a weekly account to him of their proceedings [c]. He likewiſe publiſhed a bull for the celebration of an univerſal jubilee the following year at *Rome*; but before the commencement of this feſtival, he was alarmed with the news that the marquis *de Cœuvres*, the *French* ambaſſador in *Switzerland*, had invaded the *Valteline*. Without any regard to the pope's flag, the marquis entered the valley in the end of *November*, and in leſs than two months reduced all the forts. The pope made loud complaints againſt this proceeding by his nuncio at the court of *France*, and ſent another nuncio to *Paris* to demand ſatisfaction. A ſuſpenſion of arms, with regard to the *Valteline*, was granted for two months; but as the duke of *Savoy* had begun a war againſt the *Genoeſe*, in which he was aſſiſted by the *French*, the pope was ſtill very uneaſy; and being deſirous to put a ſtop to the diſturbances
e in *Italy*, he recalled the nuncio who had lately gone to *France*, and in his room he ſent his nephew cardinal *Francis Barberini*, in the character of legate *a latere*, to accommodate the differences which had occaſioned a war in *Italy*. The legate was received at *Paris* with great honour; but after ſeveral conferences, finding that he could expect no ſucceſs from his negotiation, he returned in the month of *September* to *Rome* [d].

*The* French *invade the* Valteline. A. D. 1625.

*Cardinal* Barberini *ſent legate to* France. A. D. 1626.

A few months after, *Urban* ſent his nephew legate *a latere* to *Spain*, to endeavour to negociate a peace in that kingdom, and to ſtand as godfather to the king's daughter. In the mean time he raiſed 6000 troops, which he ſent towards the *Valteline*, to aſſiſt the *Spaniards* and *Germans* againſt the *French*. However, theſe proceedings were unneceſſary; for cardinal *Richelieu* being afraid of the conſpiracy, which ſoon after broke out, willingly agreed to a
f peace with *Spain*, leſt that court ſhould ſupport the malcontents in *France*. The peace was accordingly concluded betwixt the two nations at *Monçon*, a town in *Arragon*, without conſulting the legate, whom they deceived by dating the concluſion of the treaty two months before his arrival [e]. *Urban* expreſſed no reſentment for this neglect of his legate and nephew, but, on the contrary, declared to the *French* ambaſſador at *Rome*, that he rejoiced greatly at

*He proceeds to* Spain.

[a] Etat du Siege de Rome, t. i. [b] Hiſt. du Miniſt. de Richelieu. Contin. de Mezerai. [c] Rycaut. Hiſt. Urb. VIII. [d] Contin. de Mez. Hiſt. de Miniſt. de Richelieu. Hiſt. des Traitez de Paix. [e] Iidem ibid.

calendar, to make room for that of their founder. The *French*, offended at the injury done to their ſaint, complained to the pope, who ordained, that the feaſt of both ſaints ſhould be celebrated on the ſame day, and that, if the two ſaints could not agree cordially together, *Ignatius*, as the younger, ſhould wait for the year of biſſextile, or leap year, when he ſhould have the intercalary year (3).

(3) *Hiſt. des Papes, a la Haye, an.* 1731.

the peace between the two crowns of *France* and *Spain*, especially as the profession of no other religion but that of the church of *Rome* was to be allowed in the *Valteline*. a

*The pope acquires the possession of the duchy of* Urbino.

MEAN while *Urban* made a promotion of twelve cardinals, and sent cardinal *Gipsius* to take possession of the duchy of *Urbino*, at the desire of the duke *Francis Maria Rovere*, who having no male heirs, and being near eighty years of age, agreed to deliver up his fief to the apostolic see before his death, in consideration of 100,000 crowns for military stores and artillery [f]. The pope was also very sollicitous, by means of his nuncio at *London*, to convert king *Charles*, who was generally believed to have an inclination to the popish religion, which he dissembled from political views. Though his nuncio was obliged to quit the kingdom, he still found means to prevail with the king to shew some favour to the papists: and being very zealous for subjecting *England* to the apostolic see, he desired all those who were qualified to inform him, to give him their advice in writing, how such a re-union could be most conveniently accomplished (Z). He was greatly deceived in his expectations from *Charles*, king of *England*; for that same year he sent back the *French* domestics that had accompanied his queen; and, at the intreaty of the *Hugonots* in *France*, he provided a fleet and army for their assistance, which the following year made a descent upon the isle of *Rhee*, from whence they were obliged to retire with considerable loss. *Urban* hearing of the defeat of the *English* army, wrote a congratulatory brief to *Lewis* XIII. He likewise congratulated him the year after upon the reduction of *Rochelle*; for which event he expressed his joy by composing an epigram upon the king, and going in procession with the cardinals to the church of St. *Lewis*, where he celebrated mass, and returned solemn thanks to God [g]. While the *French* king was engaged in this siege, *Urban* in the month of *April* published an universal jubilee, for imploring success to his arms, and prosperity to the church. About the same time he offered his mediation to terminate the differences betwixt the duke of *Nevers*, who had succeeded to *Mantua* and *Montferrat*, and the dukes of *Savoy* and *Guastalla*, who formed pretensions to that succession. As he could not prevail with the duke of *Savoy* and the *Spaniards* to lay down their arms, and refer the dispute to his arbitration, he sollicited *Lewis* XIII. to march into *Italy*, promising to act in concert with him in defence of the duke of *Mantua*. *Lewis* willingly hearkened to the pope's proposal; and while he was engaged in the siege, his ambassador at *Rome* offered the plan of a league to be concluded betwixt himself, the pope, and the *Venetians*. Though *Urban* was very desirous to see the duke of *Mantua* in peaceable possession of his territories, yet his apprehensions of the resentment of the *Spaniards* made him decline entering into the league; and he continued in the same sentiments the following year, notwithstanding the success of the king of *France*, who in the month of *February* forced the passes of the *Alps* with a powerful army, and took possession of *Susa*. The presence of the *French* king quickly obliged the duke of *Savoy* to come to an accommodation with the duke of *Mantua*, and forced the *Spaniards* to retire from before *Casal*: the pope, nevertheless, could not be prevailed upon to sign a defensive alliance against the house of *Austria*, which *Lewis* again proposed to him: and though the war continued for some time in *Italy*, occasioned by the emperor's rejecting the accommodation planned by the *French* king, and claiming the ultimate decision of the dispute as supreme lord of the fief, *Urban* still persisted in his resolution of observing a neutrality. *Lewis* XIII. being obliged to march back into *France* against the *Hugonots*, the *Spaniards* renewed the siege of *Casal*; and an imperial army entering *Italy*, invaded the duchy of *Mantua*, and laid siege to the city of that name. *Urban*, with great sollicitations, endeavoured by his legates and nuncios to effect an accommodation; but, at the same time, he imprudently contributed to the continuation of the war, by allowing the imperialists before *Mantua*, who were reduced to great distress, to purchase provisions in the ecclesiastical state. By this means they were enabled to lie all winter before the city, which they took by treachery and surprize the following year, in the month of *July* [h].

A. D. 1628. b c

*A war raised in* Italy, *on account of the succession to the duchy of* Mantua.

A. D. 1629. d e

Richer *submits his writings to the judgment of the* Roman *see.*

DURING the continuance of this siege, the pope received the agreeable news of the submission of doctor *Richer* in *France*, who, by his book *de ecclesiastica & politica potestate*, had raised a party, by the name of the *Richerists*, who were so powerful and daring, that a general schism of the *Gallican* church was apprehended at *Rome*. As the pope, on condition of his recantation, promised a red hat to the archbishop of *Lyons*, the elder brother of *Richelieu*, the powerful cardinal, by threatening *Richer* with the bastile, or (as some say) [i] by present- f

[f] SPOND. ut supra. [g] Idem ibid. [h] SIRI Memor. recondit. t. vi. [i] MORISOT at Curetum Canonicum Lingonensem, epist. ix.

(Z) On this occasion one father *Pearson*, an *English* Jesuit, then at *Rome*, advised the pope, among other things, to confer all the benefices and cures in *England*, upon the Jesuits, and to allow no other regulars to enter the island; which would be a means of preventing the great scandal raised by the emulation among the different orders (4).

(4) *Etat du Siege de Rome, t. i.*

a ing drawn ſwords to his throat, compelled him to ſign and ſeal a declaration, by which he acknowleged the *Roman* ſee the infallible judge of truth, and ſubmitted his book to the judgment of his holineſs [k]. The pope, a few days after receiving this declaration, ſent a hat to the archbiſhop *Richelieu*, who was diſtinguiſhed from his brother by the title of cardinal of *Lyons*. *Urban* a few weeks after publiſhed a bull, on the 15th of *January*, for ſuppreſſing a new order which began to appear in *Italy*, and was compoſed of ſome female diſciples of the *Jeſuits*, who aſſumed the name of *Jeſuiteſſes*.

AT the ſame time he continued his endeavours to conclude a peace in *Italy*, and for that purpoſe ſent his nephew *Anthony Barberini* and cardinal *Mazarine*, the one as legate, and the other as nuncio, to *Pignerol*, to negociate with cardinal *Richelieu*. The conferences were then b ineffectual, and in the end of *April* the legate returned to *Bologna*; but the loſs of *Mantua*, and the death of the duke of *Savoy*, and *Spinola* the *Spaniſh* general, which happened a few months after, made a great alteration in affairs. The *Spaniards* beginning to be apprehenſive of the power of the imperialiſts in *Italy*, and the duke ſeeing his territories entirely in poſſeſſion of the *French*, began willingly to hearken to a peace, which was at length concluded on the 26th of *October*, by the unwearied endeavours of the nuncio *Mazarine* [l]; and by which, among other articles, it was agreed, that the dukes of *Savoy* and *Mantua* ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of their reſpective territories. Mean while the pope, by a conſiſtorial decree, conferred the title of *Moſt eminent and moſt reverend* upon the cardinals, becauſe that of moſt illuſtrious was then become too common. He prohibited all other eccleſiaſtics from c aſſuming this new title, excepting the three eccleſiaſtical electors of *Germany*, and the maſter of the knights hoſpitallers of *Jeruſalem* [m].

A. D. 1630.

*A peace concluded in* Italy.

As *Guſtavus Adolphus*, king of *Sweden*, had about this time entered *Germany* with a powerful army, to defend the proteſtants, who were oppreſſed by the emperor, *Lewis* XIII. entered into an alliance with him, in hopes of humbling the overgrown power of the *Auſtrian* family. This alliance with the heretical prince gave great offence to the pope; and the following year he made many remonſtrances againſt it to the *French* king, who wrote to the pope with his own hand, offering to renounce his alliance with the *Swedes*, if the king of *Spain* would withdraw his protection from his brother the duke of *Orleans*, who in diſcontent had retired to *Bruſſels*, and would join his forces to thoſe of *France*, in order to extirpate d the *French Hugonots*, and the *German* proteſtants. *Urban* communicated this letter to the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador, who immediately wrote concerning it to *Madrid*, from whence, however, he received no anſwer [n]. In the mean time the king of *Sweden* defeated the imperial army at *Leipſic*; and by that time the elector of *Saxony* had entered *Bohemia* and taken *Prague*, he had over-run all *Germany* from the *Elbe* to the *Rhine*. This rapid progreſs confounded the emperor, and greatly alarmed the pope, who did his utmoſt by his legates, exhortations, and letters, in ſupport of the catholic cauſe. According to *Spondanus*, he likewiſe gave ſupplies in money [o]; though other authors affirm, that he intereſted himſelf but very little in the *German* war, which ſeems to have been the opinion of the court of *Spain*; for in the month of *March*, cardinal *Borgia* preſented a formal proteſt to the pope, in e the name of the catholic king, declaring, that whatever damage the catholic religion had ſuffered, or ſhould ſuffer, could not be aſcribed to *Philip*, but to his holineſs.

*The pope endeavours to divert the* French *king from an alliance with the king of* Sweden. A. D. 1631.

*The houſe of* Auſtria *complain againſt the pope*; A. D. 1632.

*URBAN* is likewiſe ſaid to have given but a cold reception to a cardinal and ambaſſador extraordinary ſent to him by the emperor, to demand aſſiſtance in troops and money. He declared, that the treaſures of the church had been exhauſted by the late war in *Italy*; and that if the imperial troops, which had unjuſtly ravaged the *Mantuan* territories, had been employed againſt the *Swedes*, the emperor would not have needed any foreign aſſiſtance. He abſolutely refuſed to publiſh a cruſade againſt *Guſtavus*; but he granted the emperor 100,000 crowns, promiſed to endeavour to detach the *French* king from his alliance with the *Swedes*, and publiſhed an univerſal jubilee for the proſperity of the catholic religion in f *Germany* [p]. As he declared in a full conſiſtory, that the *Spaniards*, by their unbounded ambition, obliged even good catholics to rejoice at the victories of an heretic, the imperial and *Spaniſh* miniſters at *Rome* endeavoured to perſuade the cardinals to call a general council to depoſe him [q]. Their endeavours, however, were ineffectual; the temporal power and grandeur of the pope rendering ſuch an attempt ridiculous, eſpecially as *Urban* about the ſame time, by his diſintereſtedneſs, had greatly raiſed his character among the *Romans*. Though, by the death of the duke of *Urbino*, he had then entered into the peaceable poſſeſſion of that duchy, he nevertheleſs refuſed to give the inveſtiture of it to any of his nephews, and, contrary to the perſuaſions of the *Italian* princes, united the whole territories of the late duke to

*who refuſes to publiſh a cruſade againſt* Guſtavus Adolphu

[k] PATIMANA. SPOND. ut ſupra. [l] Contin. de MEZER. Hiſt. du Miniſt. de Richelieu, t. iii. Hiſt. du Card. Mazarin, l. i. [m] SPOND. ut ſupra. [n] Journal des Savans, Jan. 1688. [o] SPOND. ut ſupra. [p] Hiſt. de Richelieu, t. iv. [q] HEYDEG. Hiſt. Papat. Etat. vii. Traitez des Paix.

*He unites the duchy of* Urbino *to the territories of the church.*

the dominion of the church; in memory of which union he ordered an inſcription to be engraven and hung up in the *Vatican* [r]. The reſentment for the pope's conduct was indeed very high in *Spain*, where even ſome of the *Jeſuits* declared againſt him. The king's council alſo deliberated about depriving his holineſs of all collation to benefices in that kingdom, and propoſed to erect a datary in *Spain*, to prevent any money from being carried to *Rome*: however, their reſentment cooled upon the death of *Guſtavus*, who was ſlain at the battle of *Lutzen* on the 16th of *November* [s]. a

*A rupture betwixt him and the* Venetians. A. D. 1633.

Not long after the pope had a rupture with the *Venetian* republic, occaſioned firſt by a public affront given by one of his nephews to the *Venetian* ambaſſador at *Rome*; on which account the republic ordered their ambaſſador to return without taking leave. They, in their turn, had offended the pope, by refuſing to give the title of Eminence to the cardinals; but what chiefly irritated both parties, was a conteſt about the navigation of the *Po*, which had been obſtructed by the legate at *Ferrara*. Some ſkirmiſhes had happened in the neighbourhood of this city betwixt the *Romans* and *Venetians*; but the pope being apprehenſive of a war, willingly accepted the mediation of the duke of *Crequi*, the *French* ambaſſador, who, about the middle of *June*, arrived at *Rome* with a ſplendid retinue, to yield obedience to the pope in the king's name. *Crequi* made great profeſſions of the attachment of *Lewis* XIII. to his holineſs; but not being able to prevail with *Urban* to engage in a defenſive alliance with *France*, he left *Rome*, and proceeded to *Venice*, where, in conjunction with the ſieur *de la Thuilerie*, the *French* ambaſſador to the republic, he entered into a negotiation with the *Venetian* deputies [t]. The pope, in the mean time, made an encroachment upon the liberties of the *Gallican* church, by naming commiſſaries to judge ſix biſhops, who were accuſed of favouring a rebellion, which the year before had been raiſed by the dukes of *Orleans* and *Montmorency*. This proceeding, however, was not in the leaſt oppoſed by the court or clergy of *France*; but, on the contrary, *Richelieu* was ſuppoſed to have deſired the commiſſion from *Rome*, that his power and authority might ſeem to be countenanced by the pope, whoſe friendſhip he was at great pains to ſecure, that the imperialiſts and *Spaniards* might be deprived of the papal intereſt [u]. b

*The* French *offer their mediation.*

A. D. 1634.

The following year *Urban* ſent *Mazarine*, his vice legate at *Avignon*, as nuncio extraordinary to *France*, in order to be fully ſatisfied with regard to the origin of the war in *Germany*, and the complaints of the houſe of *Auſtria* againſt the *French*, for granting protection to the elector of *Triers*. During his reſidence in that kingdom, *Urban* publiſhed a bull, renewing the decrees of the council of *Trent*, and of the following popes, for the reſidence of biſhops, ordering all biſhops, archbiſhops, patriarchs, and cardinals, to reſide in their own dioceſes, and not to depart from thence without an apoſtolic licence. By this new conſtitution *Urban* intended civilly to remove from *Rome* and *Italy* ſome cardinals and prelates, who endeavoured to oblige him to declare himſelf a party in the preſent war [w]. Far from engaging warmly in the diſputes in *Germany*, he ſeemed not even greatly to reſent the impriſonment of the elector of *Triers*, who in the month of *March*, was ſurpriſed in his capital by the *Spaniards*, and carried priſoner to *Bruſſels*. The elector had inflamed the reſentment of the houſe of *Auſtria* againſt him, by embracing a neutrality upon the invaſion of the *Swedes*, and putting his territories under the protection of the *French*, who had a garriſon in *Triers*, when it was ſurpriſed by the *Spaniards*. The *French* inſiſted upon the liberty of the archbiſhop, who had never been declared an enemy, or put to the ban of the empire; and, upon the refuſal of the *Spaniards*, immediately declared war againſt them. c d

*The elector of* Triers *is impriſoned by the* Spaniards. A. D. 1635.

*The pope offers his mediation betwixt the kings of* France *and* Spain.

*MAZARINE*, who was ſtill in *France*, wrote to the pope, that, by his mediation, the differences betwixt the two crowns might be eaſily accommodated. In conſequence of this letter, *Urban* immediately ſent an order to *Mazarine*, and to his nuncio *Bolognetti*, to act as mediators; but he quickly found, that the two kingdoms were too much animated againſt each other, to hearken at that time to an accommodation: he therefore continued in his former reſolution, of ſtrictly adhering to a neutrality, though he was again ſollicited by the *French* to enter into a defenſive alliance with them [x]. About the ſame time, he ordered his two nuncios at *Paris* to complain to the king againſt the proceeding of *Richelieu*, who had procured ſeveral biſhops to annul the marriage of the duke of *Orleans* with the ſiſter of the duke of *Lorrain*, as contracted without the knowlege of his brother the king. The pope intereſted himſelf in that affair, at the deſire of the queen mother and the ducheſs of *Orleans*, who were then refugees at *Antwerp*; but all that he could obtain from the court of *France* was a long memorial, preſented by the biſhop of *Montpelier*, urging the abſolute neceſſity of annulling the marriage, which had been contracted contrary to the fundamental laws of the kingdom [y]. e f g

[r] Rycaut Hiſt. Urban. [s] Heydec. ut ſupra. [t] Hiſt. de Richelieu. Rycaut, ut ſupra.
[u] Contin. de Mezerai Hiſt. de Lewis XIII. [w] Spond. ut ſupra. [x] Hiſt. des Traitez de Paix.
[y] Contin. de Mezerai.

The

a THE great power and arbitrary behaviour of *Richelieu* began to give ſome uneaſineſs and jealouſy to the pope, who was apprehenſive leſt he ſhould aſſume the title and dignity of patriarch, as he had taken poſſeſſion of all the regular abbies, which in *France* are chiefs of orders. The following year, therefore, he refuſed him the bulls which he demanded for the abbies of *Ciſteaux* and *Premontre*; and recalled *Mazarine*, who, he was informed, was devoted to the ſervice of the cardinal duke. Though *Richelieu* deſired that he might be ſent to *Madrid*, on pretence of negotiating a peace, but in reality to be his ſpy at that court, *Urban* would not conſent, but ordered him to return to his legation at *Avignon* [z]. In reſentment for theſe mortifications, *Richelieu* recalled the count *de Noailles* from *Rome*, and ſent the marſhal *d'Etrees* in his place, who he knew was not agreeable to the pope, and much b leſs to the *Spaniſh* faction at *Rome*.

*He is jealous of the power of* Richelieu. A. D. 1636.

*D'ETREES* was ordered to complain to the pope of his great ſeverity to his vaſſal the duke of *Parma*, whom he had threatened with excommunication, for eſpouſing the *French* party in *Italy*. *Urban* at firſt refuſed to acknowlege the marſhal as an ambaſſador; but even after he had granted him an audience, he would give him no ſatisfaction with regard to his difference with the duke of *Parma* (A). The pope's nephews, particularly cardinal *Francis*, at that time had a ſecret pique againſt the duke of *Parma*, who it ſeems had not paid his court to them ſo aſſiduouſly as they expected. They had alſo deſired that the duke ſhould contract an alliance in their family, on which account they had prevailed with him to viſit the pope at *Rome*, and promiſed him an abatement of the intereſt of a large c ſum of money, which his father had borrowed from a public bank in the city. As the pope attributed to himſelf the power of lowering the intereſt borrowed from the public banks, the duke eaſily obtained the abatement which he deſired; nevertheleſs ſome difference happening betwixt him and the cardinal nephews, about ceremony, he rejected the propoſed alliance, and left *Rome* without taking leave. He ſoon after married a princeſs of the houſe of *Medicis*; on which account he incurred the reſentment of the pope and his nephews, who reſolved to make him ſenſible of their power. As he had mortgaged the duchy of *Caſtro*, a fief of the apoſtolic ſee, for the money which he had borrowed, and paid the annual intereſt in corn from that duchy, which the miniſters of the apoſtolic chamber, who had the care of ſupplying the public granaries of the city, received inſtead d of money, the nephews prohibited any corn from *Caſtro* from entering the eccleſiaſtical ſtate: they likewiſe allowed the intereſt to run in arrear for two or three years; at the end of which time they made a demand of the whole, which the duke was not able to ſatisfy; on which account the whole duchy of *Caſtro* was confiſcated, and *Taddeo*, prefect of *Rome*, ſeized upon it with an armed force. The viceroy of *Naples* and the grand duke of *Tuſcany* interceded for the duke, who found himſelf unable to oppoſe the army, and was apprehenſive of being attacked in his dominions of *Parma* and *Placentia*. The ſenate of *Venice* likewiſe offered their mediation; but *Urban* ſcorned to admit of any interceſſions betwixt him and his vaſſal; declared the duke to be deprived of his dominions and fiefs, in conſequence of having incurred the ſentence of greater excommunication; and condemned him alſo to e pay all the expences of the war. In purſuance of this ſentence, the duke's palaces and goods in *Rome* were expoſed to ſale, and the duchy of *Caſtro* was taken into the poſſeſſion of the *Camera*, though not annexed to the popedom. Towards the end of the year likewiſe, *Urban* demanded a paſſage for his army, conſiſting of 20,000 men through the dominions of the the duke of *Modena*, with the intention of carrying the war into the duchy of *Parma*.

*Difference betwixt the pope and the duke of* Parma;

*which proceeds to an open rupture.*

A. D. 1641.

DURING theſe confuſions in *Italy*, the pope had ſent cardinal *Ginetti* to the congreſs, which was eſtabliſhed at *Cologn* for negotiating a peace betwixt the emperor, *French*, *Spaniards*, and *Swedes*. He had alſo received the filial obedience from the emperor *Ferdinand* III. though the legality of his election was not a little conteſted in *Germany*; and had ſome diſputes with the cardinal *Richelieu*, who being diſobliged with him for refuſing the cardif nal's hat to *Mazarine*, and denying to grant the bulls for the abbies of *Ciſtaux* and *Premontre*, would not receive his nuncio in *France*. At length the difference betwixt the pope and the *French* court was accommodated; and about the time that he demanded a paſſage for his army through the *Modeneſe*, he made a promotion of cardinals, when he conferred a hat upon *Mazarine* [a]. About the ſame time he publiſhed a bull, condemning all the books of

[z] Idem ibid. [a] Hiſt. du Card. Mazarine, l. i.

(A) *D'Etrees*, during this embaſſy, received two great affronts at the pope's court, the one in the perſon of his daughter-in-law, who was debauched upon a promiſe of marriage by the pope's nephew, cardinal *Anthony*, and poiſoned by him upon her proving with child; the other in the perſon of his groom, whom the cardinal patron ordered to be killed at *Freſcati*, upon account of his inſolence (1).

(1) *Amelot de la Houſſaye, Mem. Hiſt. polit. t.* ii.

*Janſenius*

Urban *condemns the book of* Janſenius *on grace and free-will.*

*Janſenius* (B) upon the aſſiſtance and efficacy of grace, as renewing the doctrine of *Michael Baius*, condemned by former popes; and prohibited, under ſevere cenſures and civil penalties, any one from treating of the aſſiſtance of grace, without the expreſs permiſſion of the holy ſee [b]. a

A. D. 1642.

But the chief concern of the pope at this time was the war with the duke of *Parma*, which began to engage him in difficulties, that, in the beginning of the rupture, he had not expected. Though he had obtained leave of a free paſſage for his army from the duke of *Modena*, yet the *Venetians* and duke of *Tuſcany* having aſſiſted the duke with money and troops, he found it impoſſible to advance, as his raw men, from their dread of a new enemy, deſerted in great numbers. In theſe circumſtances the pope inconſiderately made an offer of a ſuſpenſion of arms for fifteen days, during which time the *Venetians*, the grand duke, and b

*The war in* Parma *involves him in great difficulties.*

the duke of *Mantua*, entered into a formal alliance to aſſiſt the duke of *Parma*, who immediately, with great boldneſs, invaded the *Bologneſe* territory with three thouſand horſe, without either foot or cannon. This unexpected irruption ſtruck a panic into the pope's army, which fled with preat precipitation; while the duke, without oppoſition, made himſelf maſter of *Imola*, *Faenza*, and *Forli*. Upon theſe ſucceſſes, *Rome* was thrown into great conſternation; new levies were ordered, the coach-horſes were ſeized, and ſent from the city to mount the ſoldiers; the prefect, who had behaved with great cowardice, was recalled, and the command of the army given to cardinal *Antonio*, who proceeding to *Viterbo* with 9000 men, endeavoured to oppoſe the march of the duke into the duchy of *Caſtro*. Winter approaching, and the pope's arms hving been ſo unſucceſsful, the cardinal nephews made propoſals for an c

A. D. 1643.

accommodation, which were rejected by the allies, as being diſadvantageous to the duke of *Parma*, who they inſiſted ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of all his former territories. Early in the following ſpring the war was again renewed, with various ſucceſs on both ſides, though carried on with little vigour, each party declining the approach of their enemy, and making conqueſts where they were ſure to meet with no reſiſtance. After the ſummer had been ſpent in ſuch military operations, without much blood-ſhed, propoſals for peace were again offered by the pope, who being affected with the diſtreſſes of his ſubjects, which his nephews had long diſguiſed, began to be very deſirous of ſeeing an end of the war. Accordingly *Urban*, conſenting to reſtore the duchy of *Caſtro* to the duke, and the court of *France* interpoſing as

*A peace concluded with the duke of* Parma. A. D. 1644.

a mediator, a peace was concluded in the beginning of the following year, to the great joy d
of the ſubjects of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, who curſed the ambition of the *Barberini*, for having engaged their uncle in a diſgraceful and ruinous war, which had coſt the apoſtolic ſee upwards of 20,000,000 of crowns [c]. During the continuance of this war, an ambaſſador arrived at *Rome*, to yield obedience to the pope in the name of *John* duke of *Braganza*, as king of *Portugal*; but as the *Spaniards* were very powerful in *Italy*, and looked upon the *Portugueſe* as rebels, the pope, from an apprehenſion of the *Spaniſh* reſentment, refuſed to acknowlege the new king, and would not admit his ambaſſador to an audience [d].

Urban *dies at* Rome.

He ſurvived the peace with the duke of *Parma* but a few months, and died on the 29th of *July*, in the 77th year of his age, and the 21ſt of his pontificate. He is accuſed of having been in ſome meaſure concerned in the maſſacre of the proteſtants in *Ireland*, which e
kingdom, it is ſaid, he endeavoured to reduce under his own dominion, by means of his nuncio *Rinuncini* [e]. Nevertheleſs, he was eſteemed by the proteſtants, who frequently drank his health, and ſtiled him their good friend [f]. He was reckoned one of the moſt learned

[b] Bulla Urban VIII. adverſus Auguſt. Janſenii. [c] Rycaut, ut ſupra. Etat du Siege de Rome, t. i. Larrey, Hiſt. de Louis XIV. t. i. Wicquefort l'Ambaſſadeur & ſes Fonctions, l. i. [d] Vertot Hiſt. of the Revolution in Portugal. Hiſt. de Traitez de Paix, t. ii. [e] Rapin. Ludlow's Mem. [f] L'Homme du Pape & du Roi, p. 127.

(B) We have already mentioned, that, in the end of the former century and the beginning of this, the controverſy about the agreement of grace with the freedom of the will, had made a great noiſe, occaſioned by the book of *Molina*, the *Spaniſh Jeſuit*, on that ſubject. The two parties, after the trial they had at *Rome*, were ſilent for ſeveral years, till one *Garaſſe*, a *Jeſuit*, revived the diſpute by publiſhing a book in the year 1626, intituled, *A ſummary of the fundamental truths of the Chriſtian religion.* This treatiſe was anſwered by the abbé *de St. Cyran* in a maſterly manner; ſo that the *Jeſuit*'s book was generally condemned, and was publicly cenſured, as containing a great many erroneous, ſcandalous, and heretical propoſitions, and being full of falſe quotations of ſcripture, and of the fathers of the church. The revival of this diſpute induced *Janſenius*, who was then at *Louvain*, to examine thoroughly the ſentiments of *St. Auguſtin* upon grace, predeſtination, and free-will; and after reading the works of that father on theſe ſubjects thirty times over, and reconciling his infinite variations, he at length compoſed a huge volume in folio, intituled, *Auguſtinus*, which was publiſhed in the year 1640, two years after his death. The *Jeſuits* denounced his book to the inquiſitor at *Rome*, and publiſhed theſes againſt it; ſo that the popiſh clergy were immediately divided into two parties, diſtinguiſhed by the names of *Janſeniſts* and *Moliniſts*. Theſe laſt were oppoſed by the *Sorbonne* and the moſt eminent divines of *Europe*; however, they found means of ſecuring their intereſt at the court of *Rome*: but though the pope publiſhed a bull in their favour, the conteſt betwixt both parties hath ſtill ſubſiſted, and hath lately been the occaſion of great animoſities and diſturbances in *France* (1).

(1) *Hiſt. de Janſeniſme, t.* i. *Leydecker Hiſt. Janſeniſme, edit, Utrecht* 1695, *Les Imaginaes, let.* iii. *Lettres de Janſenius.*

a men of his time, and was greatly commended for prudence and generosity. His chief fault was nepotisme, or too great a desire of aggrandizing his nephews, who, in the end of his life, gained a great ascendency over him, and engaged him in the war of *Parma*, which made the *Romans* long remember his pontificate with detestation. He was likewise greatly blamed for stripping the brass from the roof of the pantheon, or rotondo, to adorn an altar in St. *Peter*'s church, which gave occasion to the pasquinade, *Quod non fecere Barbari, fecere Barberini* [g].

THO' at the death of *Urban* his nephews were in possession of great power, yet as they had governed in a very arbitrary manner during his pontificate, they had drawn upon themselves a general hatred; so that, according to the author of the history of *Mazarine*, *Thaddeo* b was obliged to deliver up his commission of prefect of *Rome* to the general congregation of cardinals. But, according to *Rycaut*, two cardinals were only joined in commission with him, and a lieutenant-general was created with absolute power over the forces [h]. The cardinals then to the number of fifty-five entered the conclave, where at first the *Barberini* used all their interest to procure the election of cardinal *Sachetti*; but he being excluded by the *Spanish* faction, several other candidates were afterwards named, who were also rejected. At length, after a contest of six weeks, which is minutely narrated in the history of the conclaves, cardinal *Pamphilio* was elected pope on the 15th of *September*, by the general concurrence of all the cardinals, excepting five, and assumed the name of *Innocent* X. According to *Heydegger*, his election met with great opposition, on account of the aversion he was known to c have for the study of divinity and the belles lettres, being acquainted only with the bar and the rota; and because he was universally said to be entirely under the direction of his sister-in-law Donna *Olympia* [i] (C).

*Innocent X. is elected.*

IMMEDIATELY after his promotion he discovered his great vanity, by accepting an impious and blasphemous panegyric that was presented to him by a certain *Latinised Greek*, named *John Baptist Calumsirito*, who insisted, that, as he was named *Pamphilio*, his honour and authority was greater than that of our Saviour, who was only *filius Dei* [k]. He soon took an opportunity likewise of breaking the peace lately concluded with the duke of *Parma*. Notwithstanding the remonstrances of the duke, he conferred the bishopric of *Castro* on a certain monk, whom he forced, even against his inclination, to accept of the benefice. d The new bishop, upon going to take possession of his church, was assassinated; which murder provoked the pope to remove the bishopric of *Castro* to *Aquapendente*. He also excommunicated and declared war against the duke; and marching against *Castro*, took and demolished the city. The duke's allies, however, quickly obliged the pope to agree to a peace, by which the duchy of *Castro* was again restored, on condition that the duke should pay a considerable sum of money; which article the duke, being either unable or not willing to comply with, the duchy was at last re-united to the apostolic chamber [l].

*The war renewed against the duke of* Parma;

*who loses the duchy of* Castro.

ALTHOUGH *Innocent* had been greatly obliged to the *Barberini* for his elevation to the papal dignity, yet he ungratefully resolved to ruin that house, which had then likewise unfortunately incurred the displeasure of the court of *France*, for having espoused his cause in e the conclave. The *French* ambassador at *Rome*, by order of *Mazarine*, desired cardinal *Antonio Barberino* to deliver up the brevet of protector of the *French* affairs, granted him by the king, and ordered him to take down the *French* arms, which were placed above the gate of his palace [m]. Though the *Barberini* endeavoured to persuade the pope that they were persecuted by the *French* for having favoured his election, he behaved to them, nevertheless with great indifference and coldness; and before his coronation he ordered the prefect *Thaddeo* to yield the preference in all ceremonies to foreign ambassadors. They endeavoured to secure his protection by proposing a marriage betwixt Donna *Olympia*'s son *Camillo*, and the daughter of the prefect, with whom they offered in dowry a yearly revenue of 30,000 crowns, to be raised out of the benefices which they held from the church, to- f gether with the estate of *Montelibreto*, which they had bought from the *Ursini* for a million of livres. He however rejected these great offers, created his nephew Don *Camillo* a cardinal, and appointed him legate of *Avignon*, in the room of *Anthony Barberino*, who in the month of *December* left *Rome*, and went to *France*, to endeavour, if possible, to recover the favour of that court.

*Innocent persecutes the* Barberini.

[g] Etat du Siege de Rome. RYCAUT. [h] AUBERY Hist. du Cardinal Mazarine, l. ii. [i] HEYDEGGER Hist. Papat. [k] Idem ibid. [l] Etat du Siege de Rome. [m] Hist. du Cardinal Mazarine.

(C) *Innocent* X. or *John Baptist Pamphilio*, was born at *Rome*, of an antient and noble family. He studied in the *Roman* college, and at the age of twenty years took the degree of batchelor of laws. He was afterwards consistorial advocate, auditor of the rota, nuncio at *Naples*, and datary in the legation of cardinal *Barberini* in *France* and *Spain*; in which last kingdom, after the departure of the legate, he was left a resident nuncio, and a few years after was promoted to the dignity of a cardinal (1).

(1) *Graveson, Hist. Eccles. t.* viii.

*They are supported by the court of* France. A. D. 1645.

His journey was very successful; for *Mazarine*, considering that the court of *Rome* a. was then chiefly composed of a faction entirely devoted to the house of *Austria* and the grand duke, thought the *Barberini*, when supported by *France*, would serve as a counterpoise to that party: he therefore received *Anthony* into his protection, allowed the *French* arms to be replaced upon his palace, and wrote a letter to the pope in favour of the *Barberini*, who in the mean time received daily affronts and mortifications at the papal court. The pope paid no regard to the letter of *Mazarine*; but a few days after erected a congregation of five cardinals, all enemies to the *Barberini*, with a commission to examine their past conduct. He ordered cardinal *Anthony* to return to *Rome* within two months, under pain of excommunication, and forfeiture of all his revenues and benefices which he held from the church, in the mean time sequestering his revenue, and prohibiting cardinal *Francis* and b the prefect from removing any of their effects. The new congregation cited cardinal *Francis* to give an account of all the sums which he had taken from the castle of *St. Angelo*, during the five last years of the pontificate of his uncle: and as he endeavoured to defend himself, by alleging that his office of vice-chancellor exempted him from giving an account of his administration, they produced a decree, annulling the dispensation granted by his uncle for his indemnification. This severe persecution of the *Barberini* raised the public compassion, and drew a general odium upon the pope, who was universally accused of ingratitude and imprudence, especially as he discovered as great a passion of nepotism as his predecessor, and was wholly guided by the counsels of Donna *Olympia Maldachini*, who had impudently assumed the administration of affairs, domineered over the whole court, and amassed money c with such greediness and rapacity, that the extortion of the former pontificate appeared moderate and merciful [n].

*The pope's nephew is banished from* Rome.

The behaviour of the pope to his nephew *Camillo*, or cardinal *Pamphilio*, likewise exposed him to the public censure. The cardinal having fallen in love with the princess *Rossana*, a young widow, laid aside his hat without the knowlege of the pope, and privately married her; which proceeding so exasperated his uncle and his mother, that, after a private conference for two hours, they resolved to banish him and his lady from *Rome*. This severe determination was accordingly executed, to the astonishment of the *Romans*, who thought the crime very pardonable, as the princess *Rossana* was not only distinguished by her birth and fortune, but by her beauty and personal accomplishments. Their banishment d was chiefly attributed to Donna *Olympia*, who being jealous lest the princess should lessen her sovereign authority, thought proper to keep her at a distance from the court [o].

A. D. 1646.

In the mean time the *Barberini* prepared their accounts, which they delivered to the congregation in the beginning of *January*, referring themselves to the books in the apostolic chamber for their discharge, and desiring that these books might be examined. Their demand, however, was refused, and the court in an extraordinary manner, and without form of law, sequestered their money in the public bank, and all their revenues within the ecclesiastical dominions. This severe and unexpected sentence made them think of their perso-

*The* Barberini *escape into* France.

nal security. They accordingly left *Rome* privately and retired to *France*, where they were received with great respect; *Mazarine*, in the mean time, earnestly soliciting the pope in e their behalf, and even threatening to send an army into *Italy*, if *Innocent* would not consent to a reconciliation. The *Venetians* being desirous of preventing any disturbances on their side the *Alps*, used their utmost endeavours to reconcile the pope and *Mazarine*, but without any effect. Both parties were too much actuated by private resentment to hearken to an accommodation. The pope having refused a red hat to the archbishop of *Aix*, the brother of *Mazarine*, that cardinal in resentment protected the *Barberini*, and fitted out a powerful fleet, with a design of making a descent on the coast of *Italy*, and humbling his holiness.

*The* French *invade* Tuscany;

The news of the *French* preparations alarmed the pope; but what confounded him much more was a report that the chapel at *Loretto* had again taken flight, and quitted *Italy*. Soon after the *French* fleet appeared on the coast, and took possession of *Piombino*, *Portolongone*, f *St. Stephano*, and *Telamone*, places belonging to the *Spaniards* in *Tuscany*. These successes obliged *Innocent* to think in earnest of a reconciliation with the *Barberini*; he therefore sus-

*which influences the pope to pardon the* Barberini. A. D. 1647.

pended the execution of his bull, which he had published against them for three months, during which time he re-established them in their former employment, took off the sequestration from their effects, and declared, that he would accept of their submission, if they would repair to the county of *Avignon*, and write to him from thence [p]. The duke of *Guise* soon after arriving at *Rome*, insinuated himself into the favour of Donna *Olympia* and of the

[n] Etat du Siege de Rome, t. i. Hist. du Card. Mazarine. De Larrey Hist. de Louis XIV. Contin. de Mezerai. Rycaut, Hist. Innocent X. [o] Idem ibid. [p] Larrey, ut supra. Hist. du Card. Mazarine, l. ii. Silhon eclaircissement touchant l'Administration du Card. Mazarine. Nani Hist. Venice. Rycaut, ut supra.

pope;

a pope; and having had several conferences with his holiness, he persuaded him the following year to a reconciliation with *Mazarine*, and prevailed with him to confer a hat on the archbishop of *Aix*, as a means of securing for the future the interest of the prime minister of *France*, who governed that kingdom in a most absolute manner. *Mazarine*, however, being offended that the promotion of his brother had been so long delayed, thanked the pope in a very cold manner, and, contrary to his expectation, still kept possession of *Piombino* [q].

MEAN while several bishoprics becoming vacant in *Portugal*, the king nominated successors to them; and the clergy of that kingdom, with his consent, dispatched *Nicholas de Monteyro* to *Rome*, to procure the bulls. The *Spanish* ambassador made several attempts to assassinate this envoy in *Rome*, on which account he was ordered by the pope to quit the b city. He refused, however, to confer the bishoprics at the nomination of the king of *Portugal*, but offered to bestow them, *proprio motu*, on the same persons whom the king mentioned. This expedient was rejected by the king, who nevertheless refused to order his clergy to elect a patriarch, or to allow the chapters to chuse the bishops, and the other prelates to consecrate them, as he was advised by several doctors in his dominions [r].

*He refuses to acknowlege the king of* Portugal.

ABOUT the same time the authority of the pope received a check from the clergy of *France*, who, knowing the disposition of the present prime minister, in a numerous assembly drew up a formal protest against the encroachments upon their liberties during the late pontificate. The parliament of *Paris* likewise endeavoured to oppose the innovations introduced by the nuncio of *Innocent*, who, from his own authority, had ordered a decree of c the *Roman* inquisition against a book of Mr. *Arnaud*, doctor of the *Sorbonne*, to be published and dispersed in *France*. The parliament, in defence of the privileges of the nation, drew up an arret, prohibiting all persons from printing, publishing, and selling any briefs, decrees, or bulls, from *Rome*, without letters patent from the king, registered in their court. They received a letter from the king, who was then at *Compeigne*, or rather from *Mazarine*, who was biassed in favour of the see of *Rome*, desiring them not to proceed on that subject. They, nevertheless, continued their deliberations, and, by a decree, prohibited, the archbishops and bishops, their vicars and officials, the rector and members of the university, from receiving, publishing, or executing, the decrees of the inquisition, or other bulls and briefs, excepting those allowed of by the laws of the kingdom [s].

d MEAN while the celebrated dispute about grace, betwixt the *Jansenists* and *Jesuits*, revived with great warmth. *Innocent* observing that the bull of his predecessor on that subject was eluded, sent briefs to the governor of *Flanders*, to the archbishops of *Mecblin* and *Cambray*, to seven other bishops, to the *Sorbonne*, to Mr. *William des Anges*, doctor of *Louvain*, to *William Leopold*, archduke of *Austria*, and to the bishop of *Strasburg*: by which he confirmed the bull of *Urban*, and strictly ordered it to be published and put in execution. It was accordingly published in some places, and a prosecution began to be raised against the *Jansenists*, all being rigorously prohibited from being admitted to the direction of souls, unless, after having solemnly made profession of the faith of the council of *Trent*, they should sign the formula of the condemnation of *Jansenius*. The *Jansenists*, provoked e by this rigorous treatment, drew up an appeal to the pope, under the title of *The complaint of the* Augustinian *truth suffering in the* Low Countries, supplicating him to order the doctrine to be examined before it should be condemned. In three other writings, which they then published, they maintained, that an opinion, which was not contrary to the Scripture nor the councils, could not be condemned as heretical; and that the censure had been published not against *Jansenius*, but against *St. Augustine*, whose doctrines he had only put in a proper light. The primate of *Flanders*, the bishop of *Ghent*, and the grand vicars of the episcopal see of *Ypres*, likewise declared their reasons why they could not publish the pope's bulls; on which account the *Jesuits*, who were favoured at *Rome*, formally condemned five propositions taken from the works of *Jansenius*, which the *Jansenists* maintained were f not to be found in his writings [t].

*Confirms the bull of* Urban *against the* Jansenists.

DURING these proceedings a rebellion happened in *Naples* and *Sicily*, occasioned by the grievous taxes laid upon the people to support the war against *France*. The duke of *Guise*, who was then at *Rome*, was encouraged by the pope to head the rebels, in hopes of securing the possession of those kingdoms, to which he had some distant pretensions. The duke accordingly proceeded to *Naples*, and by his courage and conduct, without being assisted by *France*, quickly made a surprising progress. The *French* however, the following year, making a shew of sending a powerful army to that kingdom, the pope was very apprehensive lest they intended to seize it for themselves: he therefore urged

A. D. 1648: *Offers the investiture of* Naples *to the duke of* Guise; *and*

[q] Memoires du Duc de GUISE, l. i. LARREY, ut supra. [r] Hist. des Traitez de Paix: [s] Hist. du Cardinal Mazarine, l. v. Contin. de MEZERAI. [t] Hist. General de Jansenisme. Contin. de MEZERAI. HEYDEGGER Hist. Papat. Æt. vii.

the

the duke to assume the title of king of both *Sicilies*, offered to give him the investiture of the kingdom; promised to lend him 300,000 crowns, and assured him that all *Italy* would form a league in his behalf. The duke replied, that it was not then a proper time to declare his pretensions, but begged that *Innocent* would send him the money, of which he was in great need. The pope, however, did not think proper to send him the subsidy he had promised him, but only advised him to be diffident of the *French* and *Spaniards*, who were equally his enemies. a

*condemns the treaties of* Osnaburgh *and* Munster.

Soon after *Innocent*, having received copies of the treaties of *Osnaburg* and *Munster*, by which a general peace was established in *Germany*, *France*, and *Sweden*, he published a bull, by which he protested against them with great formality. His nuncio *Fabio Chigi*, who had presided at the negociations for three years as mediator, had done his utmost, by declamations and protests, to prevent the conclusion of the peace; but his remonstrances being ineffectual, the pope, in his bull, which he published in the end of *November*, exclaimed against the injustice and iniquity of the treaties, as the heretics were allowed thereby to secularize ecclesiastical possessions, and were admitted equally with catholics to public offices and employments. As the number of electors was augmented without the consent of the apostolic see, and many other things agreed to, prejudicial to the orthodox religion, he therefore condemned, annulled, and declared invalid, all those articles in the treaties prejudicial to the catholic religion, divine worship, and the apostolical *Roman* see, the inferior churches, and the ecclesiastical order, as also to their jurisdictions, authorities, immunities, franchises, liberties, exemptions, revenues, privileges, and rights [u]. This protestation, however, had no effect upon the different parties concerned in the treaties; and *Conringius*, *Blondel*, *Hoornbeeck*, and other protestants, wrote an answer to it, shewing the necessity and reasonableness of the treaty. b c

A. D. 1650.

*He adopts a nephew, whom he creates cardinal patron.*

In the mean time, finding himself loaded with the multiplicity of affairs, he resolved to adopt a nephew, with the design of creating him cardinal patron, to give audience to ambassadors and ministers, and in his absence to preside at the council. Accordingly, by the advice of his favourite cardinal *Panzirollo*, and afterwards upon his public recommendation, he fixed upon *Astalli*, brother of the marquis *Astalli*, that had married a niece of Donna *Olympia*, who being consulted slightly on the affair, seemed not averse to his promotion. However, to her great surprize, a few days after, *Astalli*, who was then about twenty-seven years of age and clerk of the chamber, was promoted in a full consistory, and declared cardinal of the house of *Pamphilio*. The same day the pope sent him to lodge at one of his palaces, and assigned him a revenue of 10,000 crowns; and by way of public rejoicing, though unusual on such occasions, ordered the cannon of St. *Angelo* to be fired. The pope, with great irresolution, immediately began to repent of his proceeding, and when the new cardinal took his leave of him to go and visit the members of the sacred college, he said to him, "Go, we do not know what we have been doing." Donna *Olympia* likewise, coming to the palace with her daughters, and complaining with great bitterness against him, he was immediately disgraced, and not allowed a single servant; so that *Panzirollo*, who found the necessity, for his own sake, of supporting him, was obliged to furnish him with attendants, and to maintain him at his own expence for fifteen days. d e

Olympia *disgraced and banished.*

*PANZIROLLO*, soon after, prevailed upon the pope to countenance and honour *Astalli*; and, what was more, had influence sufficient to persuade him to disgrace *Olympia*, and to banish her the court. She had abused her authority in a most scandalous manner, and had gained such an absolute ascendant over the pope, that in every thing his will had been subservient to her dictates. Her avarice and ambition were unbounded: she disposed of all benefices, which were kept vacant, till she fully informed herself of their value: she rated an office of 1000 crowns for three years, at one year's revenue, and if for life at twelve years purchase, one-half of which sum she required to be paid by advance: she gave audience upon public affairs, enacted new laws, abrogated those of former popes, and sat in council with *Innocent* with bundles of memorials in her hands. It was generally said that they lived together in a criminal correspondence, and that she had charmed him by some secret incantation. In the protestant countries the loves and intrigues of *Innocent* and Donna *Olympia* were represented upon the stage, and libellous jests were daily put into the hands of *Pasquin* at *Rome*. As she had usurped such an absolute authority, the new cardinal nephew saw the necessity of ruining her credit; he therefore seconded the endeavours of *Panzirollo*, and insinuated to the pope, that his reputation had suffered greatly among the catholics by her scandalous proceedings, and that his nuncios were treated with disrespect and contempt at the courts of the emperor, *France*, and *Spain*. Upon these representations, *Innocent* at length, but with great reluctance, banished *Olympia*, and was reconciled to prince *Camillo* and the princess *Rossana*; though some authors affirm that her f g

[u] Heiss Hist. de l'Empire, t. iii. Dumont, t. ii. par. ii.

banish-

a banishment was no more than a political retreat, and that she still in private directed the affairs of the pope [w]. After the banishment of *Olympia*, the cardinal patron and *Panzirollo* were for some time in great credit and esteem; but *Panzirollo* having weakened his health by his continual application to business, and dying the year following, cardinal *Astalli*, or *Pamphilio*, quickly found his influence lessened.

DURING these transactions, the *Barberini* suffered continual mortifications at the pope's court, notwithstanding several remonstrances of the *French* ambassador in their behalf. At length the aversion of *Innocent* for *Mazarine* and the *French* increasing, he began to think of a reconciliation with the *Barberini*, in order to lessen the *French* interest in the conclave. For this purpose he consulted with the heads of the *Spanish* faction, who, in order b to bring over *Francis Barberino* to their party, offered an advantageous match for his niece the princess of *Palestrina*, who was then in *France*, and promised to restore to him 10,000 crowns a year, which he held in abbies within the dominions of his catholic majesty. The *French* ambassador at *Rome*, being informed of this secret negociation, wrote to *France*, urging the absolute necessity of giving the princess of *Palestrina* in marriage to one of the peers of the kingdom, and of writing without delay to cardinal *Francis*, to prevent him from closing with the *Spaniards*. *Mazarine* having considered the ambassador's letter, created cardinal *Antonio* bishop of *Poictiers*, and cardinal *Francis* grand almoner of *France*. However, they could not resist the offers made to them by Donna *Olympia*, who had now recovered great credit with the pope, and promised to restore them to his intimate favour, on c condition that they would assent to the marriage of Don *Thaddeo*'s son with her granddaughter, without any dowry. They embraced these offers with great ardour; and cardinal *Antonio* having privately conducted his niece, the princess of *Palestrina*, to *Padua*, returned to *Rome*, where the eldest son of *Thaddeo* was created a cardinal, and the marriage celebrated betwixt his second son and the grand-daughter of *Olympia*. Soon after the princess of *Palestrina* was married to the duke of *Modena*, and cardinal *Francis* was admitted into the cabinet council, which was composed of the pope, Donna *Olympia*, the cardinal patron, and monsignor *Azzolini* [x].

A. D. 1651.

*The* Barberini *are restored to favour and confidence.*

A. D. 1652.

*INNOCENT* in the mean time interested himself, in some measure, in the civil commotions in *France*; and being informed that *Mazarine* had imprisoned cardinal *de Retz*, he d sent an extraordinary nuncio to obtain his liberty. The nuncio, however, was prohibited from passing *Lyons*, which so provoked the pope, that he declared to the abbe *Chartre*, whom the cardinal had sent to *Rome*, "That if the malcontents would furnish an army, he would "supply them with a legate [y]." About the same time he was sollicited by the *Jansenists* and *Molinists* to publish a bull in their favour. The *Jansenist* clergy of *France* complimented the pope on this occasion, and referred to his decision in the first instance, which, by the privileges they enjoyed, they were not obliged to do. They hoped by this complaisance to flatter the pope to declare in their favour; however, they were greatly deceived; for the intrigues of the *Jesuits* prevailing, the pope published a a bull, condemning the five propositions of *Jansenius*, though he had acknowleged to Mr. St. *Amour*, that, as he had never e studied divinity, he would not consider them. Notwithstanding this bull, as the pope declared that he did not intend to condemn the two doctors of grace, St. *Augustine* and St. *Thomas*, and desired the *Augustines* and *Dominicans* at *Rome* to preach grace as formerly, according to the opinion of those two doctors, both parties claimed the victory, and the dispute still continued [z].

*The pope sollicits the liberty of cardinal de* Retz.

A. D. 1653.

*He publishes a bull against the doctrines of* Jansenius.

DONNA *Olympia* and the *Barberini* had at this time the management of the pope. *Olympia* again assumed the supreme direction of affairs, as before her disgrace; and the *Barberini*, having had long experience in the administration of the government during the pontificate of their uncle, so successfully insinuated themselves into the pope's esteem, that he refused them no favour they asked; so that, before his death, they repaired all the losses that f their estates had suffered during their disgrace. As the *Barberini* increased in favour, the reputation of the cardinal patron declined; and he being likewise undermined by Donna *Olympia*, the pope was provoked, in the beginning of the following year, to order him to lay aside the arms and name of *Pamphilio*, and to retire from *Rome*. He likewise deprived him of all his offices and benefices, obliged him to deliver up 60,000 crowns of ready money, and left him only a yearly revenue of 6000 crowns [a]. A few weeks after the disgrace of *Astalli*, *Innocent* as a means of procuring new friends to protect his family, made a promotion of nine cardinals; among whom was *Azzolini*, who, a few months before, by the

Olympia *again assumes the administration.*

A. D. 1654.

[w] GALEAZO GUALDO, PRIORATO Hist. de Jules Mazarine, t. ii.——L'Abbe GUALDO Hist. de Donna Olympia Maldachina. Etat du Siege de Rome. RYCAUT, ut supra. HEYDEG. Hist Papat. Mem. du Card. de Retz, t. iv. DESMARETZ Tableau des Papes. Hist. du Card. Mazarine. [x] RYCAUT, ut supra. [y] Mem. du Card. de Retz. [z] LARREY Hist. de Lewis XIII. t. ii. p. 441. WICQUEFORT Let. de Juillet, 1653. Etat du Siege de Rome, t. i. Journal de ST. AMOUR, par. iii. c. xiii, HEYDEGGER Hist. Papat. [a] PRIORAT. ut sup.

intereſt of Donna *Olympia*, had obtained the office of ſecretary of the briefs. As the commotions in *Naples* were again renewed, *Azzolini*, together with the *Barberini*, endeavoured to perſuade the pope to attempt the conqueſt of that kingdom, the *Barberini* offering to maintain an army of 10,000 men at their own charge, on condition that, after the conqueſt ſhould be made, the principality of *Salerno* ſhould be granted to them in full ſovereignty. a

*INNOCENT* declined this enterprize on account of his great age, and in the mean time reſigned himſelf wholly into the hands of Donna *Olympia*; who, obſerving his infirmities daily increaſing, redoubled her ardour in her rapacious ſchemes, diſpoſing of benefices and livings to the higheſt bidders, in all parts of *Italy*, eſpecially in the ſmall province of *La Marca*, where ſhe is ſaid to have conferred no leſs than 336 benefices. She was again in hazard of being diſplaced by a new favourite, namely, the cardinal *De Retz*; who, having eſcaped from his impriſonment in *France*, arrived at *Rome* in the end of autumn, and was received by the pope with uncommon marks of diſtinction. At his firſt arrival he ſent the treaſurer of the chamber to him with a purſe of 4000 crowns of gold. He conferred upon him the red hat in a full conſiſtory, and began to talk of adopting him for his nephew; but b

Innocent *dies at* Rome. A. D. 1655.

three days after he was ſeized with a diſtemper, under which he languiſhed for ſeveral weeks, and died on the 7th of *January*, in the 81ſt year of his age, and the 11th year of his pontificate [b]. During his laſt illneſs, he received nothing but from the hands of Donna *Olympia*, who was at great pains to prolong his life, watched continually at his bed-ſide, and prevented the ambaſſadors or others from diſturbing him with diſcourſes upon buſineſs. She is ſaid, during the laſt ten days of his life, when he continued without the uſe of reaſon, to have amaſſed about half a million of crowns [c]. According to *Priorato*, his aſpect was noble and majeſtic, and his ſpirit firm and active [d]; but other authors affirm, that he was exceſſively ugly and deformed; and that he was ignorant, irreſolute, cunning, and revengful [e]. He is commended for his temperance and ſtrict regard to juſtice, which he executed with great impartiality; and, during his pontificate, he adorned the city with ſeveral magnificent buildings and public works [f]. c

UPON the death of *Innocent* X. the cardinals immediately began to cabal, and to form parties for the future conclave. The moſt powerful factions were thoſe of *Spain* and *France*; but ten cardinals, who had been promoted by *Innocent*, formed a party independent of any crown, and privately reſolved to elect *Fabio Chigi*, though they agreed apparently to advance the intereſt of cardinal *Sachetti*, as a means of diſtracting the other factions. On the 18th of *January*, the cardinals entered with the uſual ceremony ino the conclave, where the independent party, which was diſtinguiſhed by the name of the flying ſquadron, quickly diſcovered its power, being ſufficiently ſtrong to prevent the election of any whom it did not approve of. There were no leſs than 22 pretenders, moſt of whom had conſiderable intereſt, and all of them high expectations. Many of the candidates quickly ſuffered the mortification of an excluſion; but *Sachetti* continued for ſeveral days to have thirty-two and thirty-three voices upon every ſcrutiny, which was made every forenoon and afternoon. The various intrigues at this election are minutely related in the hiſtory of the conclaves, and by *Priorato* and the cardinal *De Retz*; but we ſhall only obſerve, that the cardinals, after they had been ſhut up eighty days, unanimouſly choſe cardinal *Chigi*, who owed his election chiefly to the intereſt of cardinal *De Retz* and the *Barberini*, and during the conclave behaved like *Sixtus* V. with great reſerve and affected modeſty [g]. He was elected on the 8th of *April*, and aſſumed the name of *Alexander* VII. (D). His elevation to the pontificate gave univerſal ſatisfaction, and the greateſt expectations were raiſed of his future government. The people expreſſed the moſt extravagant joy, and as nothing was d e

Alexander VII. *is elected. Great expectations from his pontificate.*

[b] Idem ibid. RYCAUT. Etat du Siege de Rome. Mem. du Card. de Retz, t. v. [c] RYCAUT.
[d] PRIOR. ubi ſup. [e] Tabl. des Papes. DE LARR. Hiſt. Louis XIV. NANI Hiſt. de Veniſe. [f] RYCAUT
[g] GUALD. PRIORAT. Hiſt. de Mazar. l. v. Hiſt. des Conclav. t. ii. Mem. du Card de Retz.

(D) *Fabio Chigi*, or *Ghigi*, was deſcended of an ancient and noble family at *Siena*, and was born in that city in the year 1599. His anceſtors had made a conſiderable figure at *Rome* during the pontificate of *Julius* II. but meeting afterwards with misfortunes, they were obliged to return to *Siena*. *Fabio* was educated carefully, and went early to *Rome*; where, being recommended by the marquis *Pallavicini* to *Urban* VIII. he, by his taſte for poetry, and profeſſed admiration of *Horace*, ſecured the eſteem of that pope, who ſent him as inquiſitor to *Malta*; from whence he returned with the greateſt commendations from the grand maſter and the knights, who declared that *Malta* had never before been bleſſed with ſuch a legate. *Urban* then appointed him vice-legate at *Ferrara*; where he reſided three years, and acquired the eſteem of all ranks of people by his moderate and juſt adminiſtration. He was afterwards ſent as nuncio to *Cologn*, to be preſent at the negociations for a general peace, where, it is ſaid, he diſcovered ſome inclination to embrace the proteſtant religion (1). At *Munſter* he preſided at the negociations, as pope's legate, and uſed his utmoſt endeavours to prevent the concluſion of the treaty, which was prejudicial to the intereſts of the *Roman* ſee. Upon his return to *Rome*, *Innocent* created him a cardinal; and at the death of *Panzirollo*, appointed him firſt ſecretary of ſtate (2).

(1) *Bayle Nouv. de la Rep. des Let. Octob.* 1686. *Idem, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Chigi.* (2) *Angel. Corrar. Relat. della Corte Romana. Il Syndicato di Aleſſandro VII. Guald. Priorat. ut ſup. Wicquef. l'Ambaſ. t.* ii.

talked

talked of at *Rome* but the ſanctity and piety of the pope, it was generally believed; that the virtue of miracles would be again reſtored to the church. Great rejoicings were alſo made in all the catholic countries, in hopes that they would now be no longer ſubject to the blind paſſions which had prevailed for ſo many centuries at the *Roman* court. Several proteſtants are even ſaid to have come expreſsly to *Rome*, to examine if matters were really ſo as repreſented. In reality, he began his pontificate in ſuch a manner as increaſed the hopes that had generally been conceived of him. He continued to faſt twice a week, as he had practiſed when he was cardinal. He prohibited his relations to come to *Rome* without his permiſſion: rejected the congratulations of *Donna Olympia*, and forbid her to enter the palace; and, inſtead of indulging himſelf in the luxury of a court, he lived in the ſtricteſt
b abſtinence and mortification of body. To remind him of his mortality, he ordered his coffin to be brought into his chamber; he eat common victuals ſeaſoned with aſhes, and ſlept on a ſtraw mattreſs, or on boards, with a ſtone pillow under his head [n]. Whether by theſe external obſervances he deceived himſelf, or wanted to deceive the world, is uncertain; but cardinal *De Retz* mentions, that he urged upon him the neceſſity of ſome outward ſhew, to ſecure the regard of the public; and remarks likewiſe, that the pope appeared to him to have a little genius, which placed a great importance upon minute and trifling matters; as inſtances of which remark he relates, that, when a fine ſtatue was ſhewed to the pope, he took notice only of a fringe that went round the bottom of the robe, and in a converſation with himſelf in the conclave, when talking of his youthful ſtudies, he obſerved that he had
c wrote two years with the ſame pen [i].

AFTER his coronation, in his firſt conſiſtory, he granted the pallium to the cardinal *De Retz*, by which he confirmed him in his archbiſhopric of *Paris*, contrary to the inclination of the king. Having, by this proceeding, greatly exaſperated the *French* court, he, for the future, acted with greater reſerve towards the cardinal, and refuſed to intereſt himſelf in protecting him from the reſentment of *Mazarine* [k]. Mean while, having received a great number of memorials againſt *Donna Olympia*, he ordered her to retire to *Orvieto* within eight days, and not to remove from that city without new orders from him. The ſame day that ſhe quitted *Rome*, he began to take the examination of witneſſes for drawing up the proceſs againſt her; but, the charges againſt her being ſo numerous, he ordered ten of the moſt ma-
d terial points to be ſelected, to which ſhe ſhould be obliged to give an anſwer.

*He orders Donna* Olympia *to be proſecuted.*

WHILE he was thus proſecuting *Olympia*, with all the ſeverity that the law would allow, he began to abate of his rigour to his relations, and at the perſuaſion of ſome of the cardinals he ſent for his brother Don *Mario*, with his ſon *Flavio*, and two other nephews *Auguſtine* and *Sigiſmond*, with ſeveral other relations, whom, in a ſhort time, he loaded with wealth and dignities (E). Don *Mario* was made governor of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate; his ſon was created cardinal patron; *Sigiſmond*, being too young for any dignity, was gratified with rich penſions; *Auguſtino*, deſigned to be the pillar of the houſe, was married to a rich niece of cardinal *Borgheſe*; another nephew, by his ſiſter, was created a cardinal; and the brother of this nephew, who was a knight of *Malta*, was made general of the gallies [l]. *Alexander* like-
e wiſe, by degrees, began to lay aſide his auſtere manner of living, and, at length, by the perſuaſions of his relations, he ran into the other extreme, and exceeded all his predeceſſors in the pomp and magnificence of his robes, furniture, and equipages [m]. Cardinal *De Retz* mentions, that, upon his return from the medicinal wells in *Tuſcany*, he found the pope quite changed; that he was continually employed in trifles; that he was envious and jealous of all the world; that he was ridiculouſly vain; and that he never ſpoke a word of truth [n]. Mean while a grievous plague afflicted the city of *Rome* and its neighbourhood, which raged to ſuch a degree, that not only trade and commerce were interrupted, but the common courts of juſtice were ſhut up. *Donna Olympia* was cut off by this peſtilence; and *Alexander*, inſtead of confiſcating her eſtate to the apoſtolic chamber, as was generally expected, allowed
f the prince *Pamphilio* to ſucceed as her heir, after drawing from him about a million of crowns, which he beſtowed on his own kindred [o]. At the ſame time, being informed, that *Chriſtina* queen of *Sweden* had abdicated her crown, embraced the popiſh religion, and was arrived in *Germany* in her way to *Rome*, he ſent an extraordinary nuncio to congratulate her

A. D. 1656. *He heaps honours and wealth upon his relations.*

*A ſevere plague at* Rome.

[h] Synd. of Alex. Mem. du Card. du Retz. Cont. de MEZER. [i] Mem. du Card. Retz. t. v. [k] Idem ibid. [l] Synddic. d'Alexand. HEYDEG. ut ſup. NANI Hiſt. de Veniſe. [m] Contin. de MEZER. Syndic. d'Alex. [n] Mem. du Card. de Retz, ut ſup. [o] RYCAUT. Life of Alexand.

(E) It is ſaid, that, at the beginning of his pontificate, he ſwore never to receive his relations at *Rome*, and that afterwards, being greatly embarraſſed with his oath, the Jeſuit *Pallavicini* freed him from his ſcruples, by adviſing him to go and meet them out of the city; which ingenious expedient was embraced by the pope, who accordingly went to meet them at the diſtance of a mile from *Rome* (3).

(3) *Heydeg. Hiſt. Papat. ut ſup.*

upon her converſion. As the plague ſoon after abated, ſhe proceeded to *Rome*, where ſhe a
was received with the greateſt magnificence, and on *Chriſtmas day* was confirmed in St. *Peter*'s
church by his holineſs; who, to her former name *Chriſtina*, ſuperadded that of *Alexandra*,
and aſſigned her a penſion of 12,000 crowns.

*The* Venetians *aſk aſſiſtance from the pope againſt the* Turks.

As the *Venetians* at this time were engaged in a war with the *Turks*, who had invaded the iſland of *Candia*, they earneſtly ſollicited the aſſiſtance of the Chriſtian powers againſt the infidels. The pope excuſed himſelf from granting them any ſubſidy, as his treaſury had been exhauſted by the rapaciouſneſs of the nephews of his predeceſſors, and by the large ſums which had been lately iſſued to ſupport the poor, who had been diſtreſſed by a famine, which
A. D. 1657. had attended the peſtilence. However, at the ſollicitation of *Pallavicini*, the *Jeſuit*, who preſented him with a large ſum of money, he hearkened to ſome expedients propoſed to b
him by the *Venetians* for ſupporting the holy war; and, on condition that they would repeal the law againſt the *Jeſuits*, and allow them to return to their dominions, he granted a bull, authorizing the ſenate to ſell ſome lands and rents belonging to the two orders of the *Crociferi* and *Santo Spirito*, and likewiſe appointed a nuncio, who, with three ſenators, ſhould paſs the title to the purchaſers. The repeal of the law againſt the *Jeſuits* at firſt met with great oppoſition in the ſenate; but the neceſſity of their affairs obliging them to court the favour of the pope, they at laſt conſented to allow the *Jeſuits* to return; and, having obtained the bull, raiſed above a million of ducats by the ſale of the church lands, though not without the cenſures and curſes of the clergy againſt them, the pope, and the *Jeſuits*. This condeſcenſion of the republic was very agreeable to the court of *Rome*, and ſeveral cardinals, as c
a teſtimony of their zeal againſt the infidels, granted very conſiderable ſubſidies to the maintenance of the war [q].

*They repeal the act againſt the* Jeſuits.

Alexander *condemns the book of* Janſenius.

THE *Jeſuits* being thus re-eſtabliſhed at *Venice*, the pope employed his authority to confirm their doctrine in *France*; and as the *Janſeniſts*, by ſubtle diſtinctions, had eluded the bull of his predeceſſor, he renewed the cenſure of *Innocent* X. againſt the five propoſitions ſaid to be contained in the books of *Janſenius*, and condemned them by a new bull, both *in their obvious ſenſe*, and *in the ſenſe intended by the author*. This bull, however, had not the effect he deſired; for, inſtead of putting an end to diſputes, the controverſy was continued with greater animoſity; and the *French* court, and ſome biſhops, eſpouſing the cauſe of the *Jeſuits*, a confeſſion of faith was drawn up, which the king, by a particular edict, ordered all d
the clergy to ſwear to, then the ſeculars, and even the nuns. By this formulary, all perſons, though they had never ſeen or read the book of *Janſenius*, were obliged to ſwear that
A. D. 1658. the five condemned propoſitions were contained in his book [r]. The *Janſeniſts*, on this occa-
*His bull occaſions great diſturbances in* France ſion, ſuffered a great perſecution. The fathers of *Port Royal*, in hopes of ſatisfying the court, offered an entire ſilence and ſubmiſſion to the fact, and promiſed to condemn the five propoſitions wherever they ſhould find them; but this propoſal being rejected by *Mazarine*, the divines and nuns of that place abſolutely refuſed to conſent to any other expedient. The biſhops of *Alet*, *Angers*, *Beauvais*, and *Pamiers*, refuſed purely and ſimply to ſubmit to the pope's bull, which condemned the doctrine of *Janſenius*; on which account *Alexander* the following year appointed commiſſaries to try them for their diſobedience and hereſy. But e
nineteen of their brethren writing to him, and affirming, that the *French* prelates, when accuſed of hereſy, could only be tried by the council of their province, the affair at that time proceeded no farther, *Tellier* and *Colbert* perſuading *Lewis* XIV. to ſtop the diſpute, which had already proceeded too far, and which, in the end, might occaſion a rupture betwixt him and the court of *Rome* [s].

*The peace of the* Pyrences *concluded without his participation.* A. D. 1659.

*ALEXANDER* in the mean time earneſtly preſſed the courts of *Spain* and *France* to agree to a peace, offering himſelf as mediator, and deſiring that the conferences might be held at *Rome*. As he had acted as mediator at *Munſter*, and had thoroughly canvaſſed the differences betwixt the two nations, he expected that they would have both willingly deſired his arbitration; however, to his great diſappointment and ſurprize, the treaty was concluf
ed the following year, without his knowlege, at the *Pyrenees*, by *Mazarine* and Don *Lewis de Haro* [t]. *Alexander* blamed the *French* more than the *Spaniards* for his being excluded from the treaty, as he obſerved that *Mazarine* induſtriouſly ſeized all opportunities of throwing contempt upon his perſon and authority. He diſſembled, however, his reſentment; and, as the *Turks* had begun hoſtilities in *Upper Hungary*, he wrote to the kings of *France* and
*He rejects the propoſal of a league againſt the* Turks. A. D. 1660. *Spain* to turn their arms againſt the infidels, at the ſame time laying a tythe upon all the eccleſiaſtical revenues in *Italy*, to raiſe a ſubſidy for the emperor [u]. This appears to have been a pretended zeal; for *Mazarine*, ſoon after ſending ſome troops to the aſſiſtance of the *Venetians* againſt the *Turks*, and deſiring his holineſs to propoſe a general league againſt the in-

[q] Idem ibid. DE REINCOURT, les Faſtes de Louis le Grand. NANI, cited by DE LARR. Etat du Siege de Rome. [r] Idem ibid. t. iv. [s] Contin. de MEZER. [t] PRIORAT. Hiſt. de la Paix des Pyrenees, p. 119, 125. DE LARREY. Hiſt. de Louis XIV. [u] RYCAUT, ubi ſup.

fidels,

a fidels, to declare himſelf the head of the alliance, and to animate the other Chriſtian princes by his example, *Alexander* paid no regard to theſe exhortations; but even by his backwardneſs cooled the zeal of others, who ſeemed deſirous of a general league [w]. The pope at that time was chiefly engaged in filling the city with inſcriptions, and adorning it with magnificent buildings. He, however, did not neglect to teſtify his hatred for *Mazarine*, by aſſembling a conſiſtory, and re-uniting the duchy of *Caſtro* to the apoſtolic chamber, becauſe that miniſter had preſumed to intercede in behalf of the duke of *Parma* [x].

The difference and animoſity between the pope and the cardinal occaſioned a bad correſpondence betwixt his holineſs and the duke of *Crequi*, the *French* ambaſſador at *Rome*. This ambaſſador, at his firſt arrival, was received with the utmoſt ceremony and reſpect; and,
b being diſtinguiſhed by his nobility and perſonal accompliſhments, was greatly careſſed by the pope. As he was naturally of a haughty diſpoſition, and had ſecret orders from the king to mortify the pope and his relations, he ſoon began to pay more reſpect to other cardinals than to the pope's nephews. *Alexander* immediately reſented this affront, and behaved to *Crequi* with great coldneſs and indifference at his audiences. This bad correſpondence ſoon broke out into an open enmity, occaſioned at firſt by two *Frenchmen*, who, to ſhew their bravery, diſarmed the night patrol, conſiſting of three *Corſi*. Theſe *Corſi* were puniſhed for having made no reſiſtance, and their officer broke. Soon after ſome bailiffs and officers, to ſhew themſelves diligent in their duty, entered the ambaſſador's houſe in ſearch of ſome criminals, while he was at maſs in his chapel. That ſame evening a *Frenchman*, who, in paſ-
c ſing thro' the quarters of the *Corſi*, had thrown out againſt them ſome ignominious reproach, was purſued by them to the ambaſſador's houſe, where they aſſembled, to the number of 400, with drums beating and colours flying, and fired upon the ambaſſador, who came to the window to endeavour to appeaſe them. They likewiſe fired upon his lady, who was returning home in her coach, and killed one of her lacquies. As Don *Mario* and cardinal *Imperiali* covered the eſcape of the *Corſi* who were reckoned moſt guilty, and but ſlightly puniſhed the others, the duke of *Crequi* looked upon the pope's relations as the authors of the inſult; and though the whole family of the *Chigi* paid their viſits of condolance to him and his lady, excuſing the riot and tumult, which, they ſaid, was owing ſolely to the inſolence of the guards, he inſiſted upon more full ſatisfaction for the outrage, and ſent an account
d of the whole tranſaction to his court.

*The* French *ambaſſador inſulted at* Rome. A. D. 1662.

The pope and the queen of *Sweden* likewiſe wrote to *Lewis* XIV. excuſing the tumult; but he paid more regard to the letters of his ambaſſador, and immediately ordered the nuncio to leave *Paris*, and ſoon after conducted him with a guard to the confines of *Savoy*. About the ſame time the duke of *Grequi* left *Rome*, and retired into *Tuſcany*, where he continued for ſome time, receiving propoſals of an accommodation from the pope, who likewiſe wrote ſeveral other letters to *Lewis* XIV. full of ſorrow and reſentment for the late outrage. The duke, not receiving the ſatisfaction he expected, at length left *Italy*, having, before his departure from *Leghorn*, notified to the pope the demands of the king; who required, *that Don* Mario *ſhould be baniſhed to* Siena *for five years*; *that cardinal* Imperiali
e *ſhould be deprived of his hat*; *that the* Corſican *nation ſhould be baniſhed for ever from* Rome; *and that a pyramid ſhould be erected, with an inſcription, in the place where the outrage was committed*; *and beſides, that* Caſtro *ſhould be reſtored to the duke of* Parma, *and the vale of* Commachio *to the duke of* Modena. Theſe high terms quite confounded the pope, eſpecially as he obſerved, that the dukes of *Savoy*, *Modena*, and *Parma*, declared for the *French*, and the *Spaniards* had granted leave for a *French* army to march through the *Milaneſe* into the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. However, having private aſſurances of aſſiſtance from the emperor, and being encouraged by ſome cardinals, he made great profeſſions of hazarding every thing in defence of the dignity of the apoſtolic ſee.

*He quits* Italy, *and returns to* France. A. D. 1663.

As he ſoon found that the emperor had no great intention of fulfilling his promiſes, and
f was informed that the parliament of *Aix* had taken the opportunity of an inſurrection at *Avignon*, to reunite that city and its dependences to the crown of *France*, he willingly embraced the offer of the *Venetians* to act as mediators. Accordingly *Lewis Grimani*, the *Venetian* ambaſſador at *Paris*, prevailed upon the king to agree to a congreſs at *Lyons* for an accommodation; but as the pope ſent the title of extraordinary nuncio to his deputy *Raſponi*, the conferences were quickly broke off, without any effect. Soon after the negociations were again renewed at *Buonvicino* on the frontiers of *Savoy*, *Raſponi* reſiding in the duchy, and the agents from *Modena* and *Parma*, with *Crequi*, *Grimani*, and the twelve conſuls of *Avignon*, reſiding in *France*. But the pope abſolutely refuſing to conſent to the reſtitution of *Caſtro* and *Commachio*, the treaty was again broke off. During this congreſs at *Buonvicino*, a *French* fleet appeared on the coaſt of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and great warlike pre-

[w] Angelo Corraro, ut ſup. [x] De Larrey, ut ſup.

*A treaty concluded betwixt the pope and the* French. A. D. 1664.

parations were made at *Rome*; the fleet, however, retired, without any act of hoſtility, to *Sardinia*; and to the ſurprize of *Italy*, when the treaty broke off, the pope ordered his new-levied troops to be diſbanded. Both parties thus diſcovering a deſire of an accommodation, a few months afterwards *Piſa* was appointed for a third congreſs; where a treaty was at length concluded, on the 22d of *February*, between *Raſponi* and *Bourlemont*, the plenipotentiaries of the pope and the *French* king. a

*The conditions of the treaty.*

THE conditions of this treaty were very diſhonourable for the pope; for it was agreed, that *Caſtro* ſhould be again diſmembered from the patrimony of the church, and reſtored to the duke of *Parma*, on condition of his paying to the apoſtolic chamber, within eight years, 1,629,750 crowns, at two payments; ſo that, upon making the firſt payment, he ſhould receive the inveſtiture of one half of the duchy. In lieu of *Commachio*, the pope was alſo obliged to give the duke of *Modena* 40,000 crowns, or a palace at *Rome*, to deliver to him *Mont d' Eſte*, valued at 30,000 crowns, to remit to him a debt of 50,000 crowns, which he owed to the *Montiſts*, and beſides to grant him the right of perpetual patronage to the abbeys of *Pompaſa* and *Bondeno*. It was alſo ſtipulated, that the cardinal nephew ſhould be ſent as legate to *France*; where, at his firſt public audience, he ſhould declare to the king, according to a form of words inſerted in the treaty, that his holineſs was ſorry for the outrage committed againſt the duke of *Crequi*, of which neither he nor any of his family was culpable; that cardinal *Imperiali* ſhould go to *France* to make his ſubmiſſion in perſon to the king; that cardinal *Maldachini* ſhould be allowed to return to *Rome*, there to live in freedom and ſecurity; that Don *Mario* ſhould declare in writing, upon the faith of a gentleman, that he had no part in the outrage committed againſt the king's ambaſſador; and till ſuch certification, confirmed by the pope's brief, ſhould be delivered into the king's hands, he ſhould not have liberty to enter *Rome*; that Don *Auguſtino* ſhould, upon the approach of the duke of *Crequi* to *Rome*, go out to meet him as far as St. *Quirico*, or *Civita Vecchia*, or *Narni*, according as the duke ſhould chuſe his route; that *Donna Berenice*, or the princeſs *Farneſe*, ſhould go out to meet the ambaſſadreſs as far as *Ponte Molle*; that the pope ſhould annul all proceedings againſt the duke *Ceſarini*, and all others, on account of the above-mentioned outrage; that the *Corſican* nation ſhould be declared for ever incapable of ſerving either in *Rome* or in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate; and that the captain of the guard at *Rome* ſhould be broke; that, oppoſite to the place where the *Corſi* held their chief guard, a pyramid ſhould be erected, with an inſcription, declaring the crime for which they were baniſhed; that upon the arrival of the cardinal legate at *Paris*, and the execution of the foregoing articles, the king ſhould reſtore *Avignon*, with its dependences, to the pope; who ſhould grant a free pardon to all the inhabitants who had been concerned in the revolt, and ſhould proſecute none of them for any thing that had happened ſince that time; and laſtly ſhould grant aſſeſſors to the judges of *Avignon*, and the county of *Venaſſin*. However mortifying and diſgraceful theſe conditions were to *Alexander*, he was obliged punctually to fulfil them, though he laboured much to excuſe the baniſhment of Don *Mario*, and the ſending cardinal *Chigi* as legate to *France*[y]. b c d

A. D. 1665.

AFTER the execution of the articles of the treaty, Don *Mario* returned from *Sora* to *Rome*, and the pope had leiſure to attend to the diſputes in *Spain* betwixt the *Dominicans* and *Jeſuits*, concerning the immaculate conception of the Bleſſed Virgin. This controverſy was carried on with ſuch animoſity, that, inſtead of being determined in the ſchools by a moderator, it was in danger of being decided in the field by the ſword. To prevent any commotion, the king ſent the biſhop of *Placenza* to *Rome*, deſiring his holineſs to determine the controverſy by a bull: but *Alexander*, inſtead of deciding which of the opinions was orthodox, followed the example of his predeceſſors, and left the article of faith ſtill unſettled. The *Jeſuits*, however, having prevailed upon him to embrace the opinion of the immaculate conception, he publiſhed a bull, prohibiting any one, under ſevere penalties, from aſſerting the contrary doctrine, either in public or private. This determination did not ſatisfy the king of *Spain*, who was beſides greatly offended with the pope for ſeeming to favour the king of *Portugal*, and ordered his ambaſſador to threaten him with the loſs of 130 biſhoprics and 60 abbeys in *Spain*, if he ſhould concern himſelf with the biſhoprics in *Portugal*[z]. e

Alexander *offends the king of* Spain *by favouring the king of* Portugal. f

ABOUT the ſame time the divines of the *Sorbonne* having cenſured two books, which had been publiſhed by the *Jeſuits*, under the falſe names of *James de Vernant* and *Amadeus Guimenius*, and which defended the pope's ſupremacy and infallibility, *Alexander* wrote to the king, complaining of their proceeding. *Lewis*, in compliance with his holineſs's requeſt, aſſembled a congregation of biſhops at *Pontoiſe*, who paſſed a ſlight cenſure on the *Sorboniſts*, blaming their preſumption, without condemning their opinion. The parliament of *Paris*, however, publiſhed a declaration againſt the pope's brief, and in defence of the pro-

[y] WICQUEF. l'Ambaſſad. &c. t. iv. Des Faſtes de Louis le Grand. NANI. DE-RIENCOURT. DE LARREY. Contin. de MEZER. Etat du Siege de Rome, t. i. RYCAUT. ubi ſupra. Traitez de Paix, t. i. p. 635. [z] RYCAUT, ut ſup. WICQUEF. BAYLE Dict. Hiſt. & Crit. Art. Chigi (Fabio).

a ceeding of the divines of the *Sorbonne*, whoſe ſentiments they affirmed were the ſame with thoſe of the fathers, councils, holy ſee, and all the parliaments and univerſities of the kingdom. The pope, greatly irritated at the freedom of the parliament, in the month of *June* publiſhed a terrible bull againſt the cenſures of the *Sorbonniſts*, annulling them as *preſumptuous*, *raſh*, and *ſcandalous*, and prohibiting all eccleſiaſtics from receiving or approving them, under pain of excommunication *latæ ſententiæ*. His bull, however, in *France*, was treated with great contempt, and looked upon with deteſtation, as plainly countenancing the moſt immoral doctrines, ſince it condemned thoſe who had cenſured them. The parliament of *Paris*, in the end of *July*, publiſhed an arret, prohibiting all the king's ſubjects from reading, ſelling, or poſſeſſing, the ſaid bull, and ordered the cenſures of the *Sorbonniſts* againſt the b books of *Vernant* and *Guimenius* to be regiſtered in the rolls of the court, prohibited all perſons of whatever rank from maintaining or teaching the cenſured propoſitions, declared their intention of ſupporting the faculty of divinity in their right of cenſuring all books, which ſhould contain propoſitions contrary to the authority and diſcipline of the church, to the purity of Chriſtian morality, to the rights of the crown, and the liberties of the *Gallican* church; and ordered two of their members to read their arret in the preſence of the members of the faculty, and to exhort them to continue their cenſures, as occaſion ſhould anſwer, with the ſame zeal [a]. Though no author mentions how the pope received this terrible ſtroke, it may be preſumed, that it greatly affected him; however, that he might not ſeem expreſsly to approve of the deteſtable maxims which had been cenſured, he ſoon after pub- c liſhed a bull, condemning ſeveral propoſitions taken from the writings of the *Jeſuits* [b]. At the requeſt of the court and clergy of *France*, he likewiſe canonized *Francis de Sales*, titular prince and biſhop of *Geneva*, having alſo a few years before made another ſaint in favour of the *Spaniards*, namely, *Thomas de Villa Nova*, a hermit, of the order of *Auguſtines*, and archbiſhop of *Valencia*, who had been dead upwards of 100 years [c].

*He publiſhes a bull againſt the proceedings of the doctors of the* Sorbonne;

*who are ſupported by the parliament of* Paris.

The following year the pope fitted out his gallies againſt the *Turks*, and ſent them, under the command of *Bichi*, into the *Archipelago*; where, in conjunction with the gallies of *Malta*, they attacked ſeveral maritime places belonging to the infidels; but, having paſſed the ſummer without any memorable action, they returned in the beginning of winter to *Italy* [d]. A few months after he again offended a great many catholics, by a bull, which he affixed to d the gates of St. *Peter*'s church, ordering all cardinals, biſhops, and others, in treating of the point of attrition, either in diſcourſes or in books, not to cenſure thoſe who held the opinion contrary to what they themſelves maintained, whether that which affirms the neceſſity of the love of God, proceeding from the fear of the pains of hell, or that which denies any ſuch neceſſity in attrition. On this occaſion he was accuſed of intending to extirpate true piety from the heart, and to impoſe, as problematical or dubious, an opinion which was aſſerted in the moſt clear terms through the whole ſcripture [e]. About the ſame time he ſent three cheſts of relics to *France*, together with a bull, which affirmed that they might, with all confidence, be expoſed to the veneration of the people. Notwithſtanding this bull, when the relics were examined by a phyſician, one of the ſkulls, intitled *Caput Sancti Fortunati*, or the e head of St. *Fortunatus*, was found to be artificially made of paſteboard, and fell to pieces upon being put into warm water. The phyſician, however, received a letter *de cachet*, prohibiting him from publiſhing the diſcovery, upon pain of being ſent to the *Baſtile* [f].

*The pope fits out a fleet againſt the* Turks. A. D. 1667.

These were ſome of the laſt acts of *Alexander*; for very ſoon after he died at *Rome*, on the 22d of *May*, in the 69th year of his age, and the 13th of his pontificate, very little regretted by the people; who, being diſappointed in their expectations of great things from him, looked with prejudice and diſſatisfaction upon all his conduct, which, during his whole reign, was very inconſiſtent. He was of a middle ſtature, and good habit of body, had an agreeable air in his countenance, and was pleaſant and facetious in his converſation. He is accuſed of being ungrateful, irreſolute, hypocritical, vain, proud, envious, of having made a game f of religion for worldly purpoſes, and of having chiefly attended to the enriching of his own family, without any regard to juſtice. He was, however, tolerably learned, loved the ſciences, and delighted in the converſation of learned men. He had a great taſte for magnificent buildings, and enlarged and adorned many ſtreets in *Rome*, much to the ornament of the city and the convenience of the inhabitants, though he thereby exhauſted the apoſtolic chamber, and ruined ſeveral private perſons, by ordering their houſes, which interrupted the regularity of the ſtreets, to be demoliſhed, without granting them any ſatisfaction [g] (F).

*He dies at* Rome.

[a] Recueil de diverſes Pieces concernant les Cenſures de la Faculte de Theolog. de Par. &c. a Munſter. an. 1669. Bayle Crit. Gener du Calvin. let. xxv. Rycaut, ut ſup. [b] Catech. Hiſt. & Dogmat. t. ii. p. 41. & 43. [c] Heydeg. Hiſt. Papat. Ætat vii. De Larr. Hiſt. de Louis XIV. [d] Rycaut. [e] Heydeg. ut ſup. [f] Politique du Clerge de France, p. 69. Edit. 1682. [g] Nani, ut ſup. Angelo Corraro, ut ſup.

(F) He is ſaid to have condemned the horrid cruelties, which the poor *Vaudois* in the vallies of *Piedmont* ſuffered during his pontificate (4); and to have refuſed the adoration offered to him by ſome *Engliſh* proteſtants, who

(4) *Courcelles inter Preſtant. & Erudit. Viror. Epiſt. Eccleſiaſt. p.* 876. *Edit.* 1684.

had

THE conclave, which followed upon the death of *Alexander*, was not without parties and factions, according to the uſual manner. The faction of *Chigi* conſiſted of thirty-ſeven voices; that of the *Barberini* of about ſixteen; the *Spaniſh* of nine; the *French* of about ſeven; beſides ſome others who adhered to no party. A few candidates made ſome ineffectual endeavours in their own behalf; but the weather being extremely hot, the air unhealthy, and one of the cardinals dying, *Barberino* and *Chigi* joined their intereſts in favour of cardinal *Roſpiglioſi*; who, without having made any intereſt for the pontificate, was elected on the 20th of *June*, and aſſumed the name of *Clement* IX [h] (G). After his coronation, which was performed on the 26th of the ſame month, he thanked the cardinals in a full conſiſtory for their ſuffrages; and, to reconcile his ſubjects to his government, he aboliſhed ſome taxes with which they were burthened, and took care that proviſions might be cheap and plentiful at *Rome*. He was likewiſe very deſirous to aſſiſt the *Venetians* againſt the *Turks*; but, his predeceſſor having left an empty treaſury, he was obliged to ſuppreſs ſome of thoſe orders of regulars, which appeared of little ſervice to the *Romiſh* church, and had degenerated from the rules of their inſtitution. He accordingly iſſued out a bull, authoriſing the *Venetians* to ſecularize the lands of theſe orders within their dominions, and to apply the money to the ſacred war. The ſale of theſe lands, however, in the *Milaneſe* and the kingdom of *Naples*, met with great oppoſition from the *Spaniards*; who affirmed, that they could not be ſold without the conſent of the catholic king, and that the pope had no right to diſpoſe of the money ariſing from their ſale. The execution of the pope's decree was oppoſed at *Naples* by force; on which account he thundered out an anathema, but without ſucceſs; for the king's miniſters defended their proceeding with great firmneſs, ſo that the controverſy continued for ſeveral years in ſuſpence, and was not terminated till the time of the ſucceeding pope [i].

Clement IX. *is elected.*

*He orders the ſecularizaton of ſome monaſteries.*

THOUGH *Clement* is ſaid to have blamed himſelf afterwards for this ſecularization, on account of a ſcruple of conſcience, yet at this time he appeared fully ſatisfied of the neceſſity and juſtice of ſuch a proceeding, and endeavoured beſides to engage the Chriſtian princes in a league againſt the infidels; for which purpoſe he ordered his nephew, whom he recalled from *Bruſſels*, where he had reſided as inter-nuncio three years, to return by *Paris*, and to perſuade *Lewis* XIV. to a peace with *Spain*, and to an alliance againſt the *Turks*. The cardinal *Roſpiglioſi* accordingly proceeded to *Paris*; but his conferences with the king produced but very little effect. A few *French* gentlemen went as volunteers to *Candia*; and the *French* king agreed to treat of a peace at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, though in the mean time he ſent an army, the following *February*, into *Franche Compte*, and in a few weeks made himſelf maſter of that whole province. About the ſame time the cardinal nephew having returned to *Rome*, *Clement* ſent an extraordinary legate to *France*, and another to *Spain*, to forward the peace; and having appointed *Bargellini* as his plenipotentiary at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, the treaty was at laſt concluded, by his mediation, in the month of *May* [k].

*He offers his mediation for a peace betwixt* France *and* Spain. A. D. 1668.

MEAN while he acted with great moderation with regard to his relations, conferring upon them only ſmall and inconſiderable favours. As he had never engaged much in the commerce of the world, his heart was ſo tempered by virtue, that the aſſaults and perſuaſions of flatterers were vain and fruitleſs. They endeavoured to perſuade him of the expediency of following the uſual maxims, and of aggrandizing his houſe; but he with conſtancy reſiſted their advices, his relations themſelves not being very ſollicitous for wealth or honours, but

*His moderation with regard to his relations.*

[h] Hiſt des Conclaves. RYCAUT. Etat du Siege de Rome, t. i. p. 124. [i] RYCAUT. NODOT. Relat. de la Cour de Rome. [k] DE LARREY Hiſt. de Louis XIV. t. iii. RYCAUT.

had mixed themſelves with others at an audience, and were reproved by the pope for offering to commit, what they believed, an act of idolatry (5). As a ſingularity, it is affirmed that he was related to the grand ſignior *Mohammed* IV. A *Turkiſh* corſair, in the year 1525, had made a deſcent in *Italy*, and pillaged a caſtle belonging to *Siena*, from whence they carried off *Margaret Marſili*, who was married to *Soliman*, and by him had *Selim* II. from whom *Mohammed* IV. was deſcended in a direct line. *Leonard Marſili*, the brother of the captive *Margaret*, was grand-father to *Laura Marſili*, the mother of *Alexander* VII (6).

(G) *Julio Roſpiglioſi* was born at *Piſtoia* in 1600, being deſcended from an ancient and noble family. Having received a good education, and being diſtinguiſhed by his active and lively genius, *Urban* VIII. appointed him auditor to his nephew *Barberino*, when he went as legate to *France*; and being ſatisfied with his conduct, he ſent him afterwards as nuncio to *Spain*, in which character he behaved to the ſatisfaction both of the court of *Rome* and of the catholic king, and his commiſſion was therefore continued for eleven years, tho' uſually it did not exceed three. Upon his return to *Rome* he was appointed governor of the city, during the vacancy of the ſee, at the death of *Innocent* X. *Alexander* VII. created him a cardinal at his firſt promotion, and afterwards made him ſecretary of ſtate; in which office he ſo diſtinguiſhed himſelf, that he had the approbation of the pope, of the ſacred college, and of all *Rome* (7).

(5) *Sorbier. apud Bayle Dict. Hiſt. & Crit. Art. Chigi (Fabio) rem.* 1. (6) *Paſorius in Henninge redivivo, p.* 157. *apud Heydeg. Hiſt. Papat. Joh. Ulricus Wallichius in Tractatu de Relig. Turcica, Mohammedis Vita, & Orient. cum Occident. Antichriſt. compar. p.* 320, 321. (7) *Hiſt. de Familles de Rome. De Lar. Hiſt. Louis XIV. t.* iii. *p.* 537.

a contenting themſelves with the reſpect they received at court, not ſeeming to reflect upon the change which would happen to them upon the death of the pope, or acting as though ſuch a change would be of no importance [l]. A certain author indeed alleges, that the pope had allowed cardinal *Chigi* to engroſs his confidence, and that reſigning himſelf too much to his counſels, he was perſuaded by him to overlook his own kindred [m].

*He quiets the differences betwixt the* Janſeniſts *and* Moliniſts.

As the differences betwixt the *Moliniſts* and the *Janſeniſts* in *France* began to threaten the public peace in that kingdom, the court found the neceſſity of abating the rigour exerciſed againſt theſe laſt; and the pope conſenting to alter the form of proceeding againſt the four biſhops who had refuſed to ſubſcribe to the formula ordained by the king, they gave an account of their conduct in a letter to his holineſs, who declaring that he was ſatisfied with
b their reaſons, the king immediately publiſhed a decree, affirming, that he was likewiſe ſatisfied, and prohibited all his ſubjects from writing in that controverſy, or provoking each other by party names [n]. About the ſame time *Clement* granted a bull, allowing *Lewis* XIV. to nominate ſucceſſors to all biſhoprics, abbeys, and benefices in his kingdom, and likewiſe permitted him to remove the croſs which had been erected at *Rome*, over-againſt the church of *St. Anthony*, in memory of the converſion of *Henry* IV. of *France* to the catholic religion. In return for theſe favours, *Lewis* XIV. allowed the pyramid, erected on account of the baniſhment of the *Corſi*, to be demoliſhed, and omitted intereſting himſelf in behalf of the duke of *Parma*, who offered the money ſtipulated at the treaty of *Piſa* for the reſtitution of *Caſtro*, but could not prevail with the pope to grant him the inveſtiture of the duchy [o]. In the

*Sends a fleet to the aſſiſtance of* Candia.

c mean time, *Clement* ſollicited the Chriſtian princes, with great earneſtneſs, to ſend ſuccours to *Candia*; and having prevailed upon *Lewis* XIV. to ſend a fleet thither, under the command of the duke of *Beaufort*, he fitted out his own gallies, and ordered his nephew *Vicenzo Roſpigliоſi*, who commanded them, to join the *French* fleet and the gallies of *Malta*. By his ſollicitation other ſuccours were likewiſe ſent from *Germany*, by the elector of *Bavaria*, the biſhop of *Straſburg*, and other princes of the *Rhine*.

*He acknowleges the king of* Portugal.

While he was thus endeavouring his utmoſt to prevent *Crete* from falling into the hands of the *Turks*, he was informed that the king of *Portugal* had been depoſed by his brother Don *Pedro*. This prince had ſucceeded him in the throne, and married his queen, who had obtained a divorce from her firſt huſband. The cardinal *de Vendome*, uncle of the queen,
d whom the pope had ſent as legate into *France*, ratified the diſſolution of the firſt marriage, without waiting for any inſtructions from *Rome*, although his legation did not extend to *Portugal*. The legate excuſed this extraordinary ſtep, by alleging, that his commiſſion was conceived in the moſt ample terms, and that he had written to *Rome* without receiving any anſwer, though it is ſaid that his letter was purpoſely never ſent. To ſatisfy the pope, the queen ſent her confeſſor to *Rome*; and *Lewis* XIV. likewiſe wrote to his holineſs, to perſuade him of the juſtice of the divorce, as the impotence of the queen's firſt huſband was atteſted by no leſs than thirty phyſicians. *Clement*, however, would not conſent to confirm the marriage, but gave a commiſſion to the dean of the inquiſitors in *Portugal* to examine the cauſe. A. D. 1669.
e As the dean, after going through a new proceſs, declared the firſt marriage invalid, and the ſecond lawful, the pope at length, at the ſollicitations of the *French* king and the marquis *de las Minas*, who came to *Rome* as ambaſſador of obedience, granted the bull for a diſpenſation in the beginning of the following year: and as the kingdom of *Portugal*, by the peace with *Spain*, had been declared independent, he made no difficulty of receiving the obedience of Don *Pedro*, and of conferring the *Portugueſe* biſhoprics according to his nomination [p].

*Complains of the ignorance of the prelates.*

About the ſame time he applied himſelf earneſtly to re-eſtabliſh his finances, which were under ſuch a bad regulation, that the apoſtolic chamber was in great hazard of becoming bankrupt. For this purpoſe he inſtituted a congregation *Dello aggravio*, conſiſting of ſome cardinals and prelates, which was then much approved of, though it appeared af-
f terwards that it was inſufficient to remedy the diſorders in the finances. *Clement* likewiſe complained greatly of the ignorance of the prelates about his court, and was revolving ſome means of reforming that evil, when being informed by the *Venetian* ambaſſador, of the loſs of *Candia*, which is ſaid to have been delivered to the *Turks* by the intrigues of the *Jeſuits* [q], he was ſo ſeized with grief, that he ſuddenly fell into a kind of apoplexy. This perhaps, in ſome meaſure, might be owing to his intemperance in eating, which vice he ſeemed to glory in, thinking that he thereby demonſtrated the ſtrength of his conſtitution. Though he revived from this fit, yet melancholy ſo oppreſſed his ſpirits, that he died about

[l] Etat du Siege de Rome, t. i: [m] Nodot, ut ſupra. [n] Catechiſme Hiſt. & Dogm. Etat du Siege de Rome, t. i. Varet Relat. de ce qui s'eſt paſſé dans l'Affair de la Paix de l'Egliſe, edit. 1706. Queſnei. P. de Clement IX. edit. 1700. Inſtruction paſtorale de l'Eveque de Montpellier, 1724. [o] Rycaut, ut ſupra. [p] Vertot Hiſt. des Revol. de Port. Etat du Siege de Rome. [q] Jo. Burchardi Maii de Rom. Pontif. elect. p. 93. not. c.

*He dies at* Rome. a month after, on the 9th of *December*, generally lamented by all ranks of people. He was a possessed of many eminent virtues, and, among others, of modesty, mildness, and charity. Immediately after his promotion, he discovered great generosity and public spirit; and it was evident to all that his heart was engaged in promoting a general reformation. He is accused of wanting firmness and resolution, of being too indulgent to the great, and to those from whom he had received any obligations; but these faults may have proceeded from the weakness of old age, and the excess of his gratitude. As he was not ambitious of worldly honour, he forbad his relations to raise any magnificent monument to his memory: his successor, however, erected a stately monument for him, with his statue, in the church of *St. Peter*, and the people of *Rome* voluntarily caused several eulogies to be engraved to his honour, particularly one in the area of the Capitol, on the triumphal arch of *Septimius* b *Severus* [r].

A. D. 1670. After the usual ceremonies at the death of the pope, the cardinals entered the conclave on the 20th of *December*, where, upon account of the obstinacy of the factions, they continued more than four months, before they could agree in their choice of a successor to the papal chair. Besides the *Spanish* and *French* factions, and the flying squadrons, there were other three parties, headed by *Rospiglioси*, *Barberino*, the dean of the college, and by cardinal *Chigi*, which last, to intimidate his adversaries, declared, that he proposed to eat cherries in the conclave; to which *Barberino* replied, that he intended to eat figs. The great number of candidates likewise retarded the election; but, after several exclusions, and a remonstrance from the *Spanish* ambassador, who was admitted to an audience in the c conclave, the intrigues quickly ceased. The old cardinals declared, that they would agree to the choice of any one to obtain their liberty; and *Rospiglioси*, *Barberino*, and *Chigi*, finding that their obstinacy had no other effect than to retard the election, at last united their interest in favour of cardinal *Emilio Altieri*, a decrepid old man, of eighty years of age, who, on the 29th of *April*, was elected pope by fifty-nine voices, and assumed the name of *Clement* X [s].

Clement X. *elected.*

His election gave great joy to the *Romans*, as he was descended of a *Patrician Roman* family, which had been illustrious for more than 600 years. His brother had been created a cardinal by *Urban* VIII. but did not long survive his promotion. The same pope sent *Emilio* into *Poland*, as auditor to the nuncio, and, upon his return, gave him the govern- d ment of *Ravenna*, created him bishop of *Camerino*, and sent him as nuncio to *Naples*, where he resided during the insurrection of *Massaniello*. During the pontificate of *Innocent* X. he was recalled to *Rome*, and likewise deprived of his revenues; but upon the election of *Alexander* VII. his reputation was restored, and he obtained the nunciature of *Poland*. *Clement* IX. declared him chief of his bed-chamber, and when he was lying on his death-bed, upon his own sollicitation, created him a cardinal [t].

*He adopts cardinal* Paluzzi *as his nephew,*

Immediately after his election, as he had no near relations of his own name, he adopted cardinal *Paluzzi* as his nephew, for no other apparent reason, but because his niece Donna *Laura Altieri* was married to the cardinal's nephew Don *Gasparo Paluzzi*. He ceded to the family of the *Paluzzi* all the revenues of the house of *Altieri*, erected their castle *Russina* into e a principality, and appointed Don *Angelo*, the cardinal's brother, general of the gallies, and Don *Gaspare*, his nephew, general of the forces of the church [u]. This sudden promotion of the family of *Paluzzi*, which was known to be poor and loaded with debts, greatly surprized the *Romans*, who dreaded that the new cardinal nephew and his relations would usurp the whole administration, and govern with great avarice and extortion. It quickly appeared that their fears were just; for cardinal *Paluzzi* or *Altieri*, refused to affix the seal to several grants and favours which the pope, according to the usual custom, had bestowed at his coronation, under pretence that his holiness had been surprised, or that the benefices had been disposed of before. He likewise gave orders to the master of the pope's chamber, and to all the attendants near his person, not to permit any addresses, petitions, f

*who assumes a most absolute power.*

or memorials, to be presented to the pope, without his knowlege and permission. Thus the cardinal nephew assumed an absolute power, and disposed of all offices, benefices, and places of trust, according to his pleasure, which was always regulated by the greatest profit; which proceeding occasioned an universal murmuring among the *Romans*, many of whom, since the promotion of the pope, deduced their lineage from some branch or other of the family of *Altieri*, and pretended to be his relations either by blood or alliance. The opposition to the exorbitant and despotic power of the nephew was not so great, however, as might have been expected; for as it was confined to ecclesiastical affairs and domestic concerns, it was overlooked at first by the courts of *France* and *Spain*; and the cardinals

[r] Nodot. relat. de la Cour de Rome, let. ii. Contin. de Mezerai. Rycaut. [s] Heydegger Hist. Papat. Etat du Siege de Rome. Hist. des Conclaves, t. ii. [t] Iidem ibid. [u] Hist. des Familles de Rome.

hoped,

a hoped, that, from the great age of the pope, it would be of very ſhort duration. But this very reaſon prompted the cardinal nephew to make the greateſt advantage of his preſent proſperity; he therefore ſought, by all means, to eſtabliſh the grandeur of his family, and ſoon after contracted an alliance with the houſe of *Colonna*.

MEAN while the pope received a ſplendid embaſſy from the king of *Spain*, who ſent the viceroy of *Naples*, with the title of ambaſſador extraordinary, to *Rome*, to make the preſent of the white gennet, and to perform the ceremony of obedience for the kingdom of *Naples*. After his departure, father *Nitardo*, inquiſitor general of *Spain*, was left as reſident ambaſſador at *Rome*, and was dignified with the title of archbiſhop of *Edeſſa* by the pope, who the following year promoted him, and ſeveral others, to the dignity of cardinal [w]. *Clement*, A. D. 1671. Pius V. *is canonized.*

b about the ſame time, likewiſe canonized pope *Pius* V. at the ſollicitation of the *Dominicans*, tho' by the perſuaſion of *Altieri*, he refuſed to concern himſelf with the affairs of *Poland*, which was almoſt wholly over-run with the arms of the *Turks*. That he might not ſeem, however, intirely to neglect the Chriſtian cauſe, he raiſed the ſum of 300,000 crowns, by a tax on eccleſiaſtical benefices in *Italy*, as a ſubſidy to the *Poles*, of which only 50,000 crowns were ſent into *Poland*, the reſt being detained by *Altieri* for his own uſe. The king of *Poland* dying about the ſame time, *Altieri*, to gratify the *Spaniards*, preſumed to recommend prince *Charles* of *Lorrain* as a proper ſucceſſor; but the *Poliſh* nobility, who had never received kings at the nomination and recommendation of *Rome*, choſe the great general of the crown, *John Sobieski*, who, according to the uſual privilege, immediately after his elec-

c tion, nominated the biſhop of *Marſeilles*, as the perſon for whom he deſired the cardinal's hat. *Altieri*, at the deſire of the *Spaniards*, made an objection to his nomination; and tho' the king perſiſted in the choice that he had made, he ſtill prevented the pope from beſtowing the hat; on which account, during the whole reign of *Clement*, there was a bad correſpondence betwixt *Poland* and the court of *Rome*. A. D. 1673.

THE cardinal nephew, however, was more favourable to the family of the late pope; for, about the beginning of the following year, he perſuaded *Clement* to beſtow the hat he had received from his predeceſſor upon *Felice Roſpiglioſi*. About the ſame time he engaged him in a diſpute with the *French* king, who intending to reform the order of *St. Lazarus*, for that purpoſe appointed a new chief or general, in conſequence of the right of re-

*A diſpute with the* French *king concerning the regalia.*

d galia, or *jus patronatus*, which he affirmed was inherent in his crown. *Altieri*, to vindicate the papal authority from the king's uſurpations, perſuaded a certain *Gaſcon*, who had come to *Rome* for preferment, to accept of the honour of the abbot of the order of *St. Lazarus*, and conferred upon him the abbacy of *St. Colombiere*. This proceeding of *Altieri* was reſented with great warmth by the *French* ambaſſador, who impriſoned the ſcrivener that had drawn up the new abbot's memorial to the pope. The *Gaſcon*, however, had the confi- A. D. 1674.
dence to return to *France*; but he had no ſooner entered the kingdom, than he was ſeized and committed to priſon. *Lewis* XIV. publiſhed an edict the following year in defence of his right of regalia, which he affirmed extended over all his kingdom, tho' the biſhops of *Pamiers*, *Alets*, and ſome others, alleged, that their dioceſes were exempted [x].

e *ALTIERI* in the mean time ſtill governed at *Rome* in his uſual arbitrary manner; and as the farmers and collectors of the cuſtoms and impoſitions, which are laid on all ſorts of proviſions brought into *Rome*, complained greatly of the frauds and abuſes committed by foreign miniſters, who allowed great quantities of proviſions to be brought into the city by private perſons under their name, he publiſhed an edict, depriving the ambaſſadors and cardinals of their immunities, and ordering them to pay the ſame taxes as others for all proviſions which they uſed. By this edict, he in ſome meaſure appeaſed the farmers, whom he had obliged to give a greater ſum than uſual for the cuſtoms, on account of the approach of the jubilee year. But the ambaſſadors complained loudly of his arbitrary and irregular government, and agreed to go in a body, and to demand an immediate audience of the

Altieri *deprives the ambaſſadors of their immunities.*

f pope, and reſolved for the future not to ackowlege him as cardinal nephew. He, however, prevented their acceſs to the palace, by drawing chains acroſs the ſtreets, and placing guards at the avenues; and being ſure of the protection of the pope, he behaved with ſuch reſolution, that they were obliged in the end to comply with the edict, which, however, was not rigorouſly put in execution, they being ſtill allowed, in ſome meaſure, to enjoy their immunities by way of indulgence [y]. All the ambaſſadors then, by orders from their courts, were reconciled to him, except the duke *D'Etrees*, the ambaſſador of *France*, who alleged, as the cauſe of his remaining diſcontent, that *Altieri* had made ſecret offers to aſſiſt the *Spaniards* in regaining *Meſſina* from the *French*.

[w] RYCAUT: [x] Idem ibid. De LARREY Hiſt. de Louis XIV. t. iv. p. 199. [y] Etat du Siege de Rome, t. i. p. 157 & 158.

THE

A. D. 1675. THE following year the jubilee was celebrated according to the uſual manner; and as *Italy* was at this time free from the diſturbances of war, great numbers of pilgrims and ſtrangers crowded to *Rome*, to receive the benefits of indulgences and pardons. During this feſtival *Clement* created ſix cardinals, among whom was *Philip Howard*, a *Dominican*, of the illuſtrious family of *Norfolk*, who had been great almoner to the queen of *England*. About the ſame time he received a letter from the king of *Perſia*, concerning an alliance againſt the *Turks*, in anſwer to one that his predeceſſor had written to that prince [z]. Another alliance againſt the grand ſignor was alſo propoſed to him, by an ambaſſador that arrived at *Rome* from *Muſcovy*. *Clement* received this ambaſſador with great reſpect: no treaty, however, was concluded, in conſequence of his embaſſy; and he returned to *Muſcovy* diſſatisfied, becauſe the pope refuſed the title of emperor to his maſter [a]. Soon after *Clement* had a diſpute with the viceroy of *Naples*, who having formed a reſolution of extirpating the banditti from that kingdom, had for ſome time proceeded againſt them with great rigour, and had even ordered ſome of them to be ſeized within the juriſdiction of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. The pope did not live to receive ſatisfaction for this inſult, but died a few months after, on the 22d of *July*, loaded with old age, which had enfeebled his underſtanding, and reduced him to dotage. A few hours before his death, *Altieri* preſſed him to fill up four vacant places of cardinals with creatures of his own, but he would not conſent; and to ſtop his importunity, he ſaid to him, ſomewhat moved, "You ought to be content as you "have been pope for ſix years: ſuffer me now to follow my own inclinations, and to be "pope for ſix hours only [b]." He is commended for his goodneſs and moderation [c]; but he was treated by the *Romans* with great contempt, for ſuffering the *Altieri* to govern in a moſt ſcandalous manner, and to oppreſs his ſubjects in order to enrich themſelves, and to build one of the fineſt palaces in *Rome* [d].

*An ambaſſador arrives at* Rome *from* Muſcovy.

A. D. 1676.

Clement *dies at* Rome.

Innocent XI. *is elected.*

As cardinal *Altieri*, on account of his arbitrary proceedings, had incurred the public hate, it was generally believed, that, upon the death of the pope, he would be removed from all his offices, and deprived of his ſuffrage in the enſuing conclave; but the immenſe wealth that he had acquired during the ſhort reign of his reputed uncle, procured him a great number of friends; ſo that after the pope's death was publiſhed, and the *ſigillum piſcatorium* broken in pieces, he quitted *Monte Cavallo*, and repaired with a numerous train, to his new palace, where he received viſits of condolance from the cardinals, princes, ambaſſadors, prelates, and nobles. After the funeral obſequies of the late pope were performed, the cardinals entered the conclave in proceſſion on the 2d of *Auguſt*, and next day, after ſome others had come in, which made their number amount to fifty-two, the doors were ſhut, and the guard committed to prince *Savelli*. Several candidates were propoſed and rejected at various ſcrutinies, the time being conſumed in a trifling manner till the 1ſt of *September*, when four other cardinals from *France* entered the conclave. Though at ſeveral ſcrutinies many votes had appeared in favour of *Odeſcalchi*, yet the election was ſtill deferred, till a courier ſhould return from *France* with the approbation of *Lewis* XIV. His recommendation being obtained, the *French* ambaſſador entered the conclave, and preſented his letters to the cardinals, who accordingly, on the 21ſt of *September*, after the ambaſſador had retired, choſe *Odeſcalchi*, who took the name of *Innocent* XI [e].

HE had been a candidate at the former election; but the auſterity of his manners, and the innocence of his life, prevented him from ſucceeding [f]. At this conclave he ſhewed ſome reluctance to accept of the pontifical dignity; and before he would conſent he propoſed ſome articles for the reformation of the eccleſiaſtical government, which he required the cardinals to ſubſcribe to the performance of [g]. His former name was *Benedict*, and he was born at *Como*, of a very antient family, which is even ſaid to have flouriſhed in the times of the *Lombards* and *Charlemagne* [h]. In his youth he was educated in his own country by the *Jeſuits*, and afterwards he ſtudied the civil and canon law, partly at *Rome*, and partly at *Naples*. He propoſed at firſt to follow the profeſſion of arms in the *Neapolitan* ſervice; but ſtopping at *Rome* in his way to *Naples*, he was prevailed upon to embrace an eccleſiaſtical life; and having a conſiderable revenue of his own, he was immediately made a prelate [i]. *Urban* VIII. made him one of the prothonotaries of the apoſtolic chamber, and afterwards preſident of the ſame; then commiſſary of the province of *La Marca*, and governor of *Macerata*. Upon his return to *Rome* he made a preſent of a valuable ſervice of plate to Donna *Olympia*, which he obſerved ſhe had coveted, and by that means obtained the office of clerk of the chamber. Soon after, by voluntarily loſing conſiderable ſums of money in her houſe at play he was rewarded with a cardinal's hat, and was afterwards appointed legate at *Ferrara*, and bi-

[z] Hiſt. des Familles de Rome. [a] Ibid. [b] RYCAUT. [c] AMAT. de GRAVESON Hiſt. Eccleſ. t. viii. [d] RYCAUT. [e] Hiſt des Conclaves, t. ii. RYCAUT. [f] AMELOT DE LA HOUSSAYE. [g] RYCAUT. [h] Campana Traite des Familles illuſtres d'Italie. [i] Etat du Siege de Rome.

a biſhop of *Novara*, which biſhopric, ſome years after, he reſigned to his brother, as the air of that place did not agree with his health [k]. In the mean time he lived at *Rome* in a retired and modeſt manner, and was looked upon as a good and charitable man, diſengaged from the world, without pride, vanity, and pomp, moderately zealous, without bigotry, and chiefly ſevere upon himſelf [l].

*He propoſes a general reformation.*

AFTER his elevation he no ſooner took the government of affairs into his own hands, than he began a reformation in ſeveral particulars. He determined to aboliſh nepotiſm, and prohibited his nephew Don *Livio* from receiving or returning viſits as nephew of the pope. The ſenate of *Venice* honoured him with the title of nobility, and he was created duke of *Ceri*, which were all the honours he acquired; for the pope by no intreaties could be prevailed b upon to make him general of the church, or cardinal patron. *Innocent* even propoſed by a bull, for ever to aboliſh that name and office; but he could not obtain the conſent of the cardinals, of thoſe eſpecially who aſpired at the pontificate. In the mean time he was indefatigable in re-eſtabliſhing his finances, which were in the utmoſt diſorder; in reforming the divine ſervice, in correcting ſeveral abuſes in the city, and in endeavouring to revive modeſty and virtue among the eccleſiaſtics and religious orders. He immediately ſent nuncios to *France*, *Spain*, *Poland*, and *Portugal*, exhorting them to peace; and aboliſhed a great many indulgences, confraternities, and new offices, invented by ſuperſtition and monkery. He prohibited the *Jews* from dealing in uſury, though he himſelf became afterwards the moſt inſufferable uſurer by threatening to reduce the intereſt of the money in the pubc lic bank one-half *per cent.* unleſs the proprietors would accept of 70 crowns for a hundred [m].

To aſſiſt him in the adminiſtration of the government, *Innocent* made choice of cardinal *Cibo*, whom he appointed ſuperintendant and ſecretary of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. At the ſame time he reduced his army and increaſed the number of archers at *Rome*, with the intention of proceeding ſeverely againſt all kinds of criminals. He publicly reproved the cardinals for their pomp and luxury, ſent the biſhops who remained at *Rome* to their dioceſes, appointed four divines to reform the abuſes of the church, and four cardinals, with as many clergymen, to examine the lives and manners of thoſe who aſpired to the prieſthood, and ordered that none ſhould be admitted to that dignity, who were in the leaſt blemiſhed with an ill fame, or had not applied themſelves to ſtudy [n]. To prevent the *Altieri*, as he ſaid, d from plundering elſewhere, he allowed them to remain in *Rome*, and continued them in their military and other employments.

*He ſends a nuncio to aſſiſt at the negociations at* Nimeguen. A. D. 1677.

THE following year the conferences for a general peace being appointed at *Nimeguen*, he ſent his nuncio thither, to act as mediator, who, though he was not acknowleged in that character by the proteſtant powers, yet received particular honours from the magiſtrates of the city, who offered him all ſecurity for the free exerciſe of his religion during the congreſs [o]. Mean while great diſturbances happening at *Rome*, on account of the franchiſes and immunities claimed by ambaſſadors, *Innocent* reſolved intirely to aboliſh them, the bulls publiſhed againſt thoſe privileges by his predeceſſors *Julius* III. *Pius* IV. *Gregory* XIII. and *Sixtus* V. having been hitherto ineffectual. As the ambaſſadors extended their privileges to a conſie derable extent round their houſes, ſo as to comprehend ſeveral ſtreets, through which the officers of juſtice were not even allowed to walk, a ſanctuary was thereby afforded to an infinite number of criminals, and the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador at this time was accuſed of abuſing this privilege, by confining in his quarter a great number of preſſed men, who were to be ſhipped off to recruit the army at *Meſſina*. This report occaſioned ſeveral tumults in *Rome*, which the pope endeavoured to ſuppreſs, by puniſhing the rioters ſeverely: but to put a ſtop to the original cauſe of the diſorder, he publiſhed an edict, intirely aboliſhing the privileges of quarters, againſt which the ambaſſadors proteſted, but without any effect; the pope continuing firm and reſolute, and prevailing upon the queen of *Sweden* to renounce the privif leges of her quarter, as an example to the reſt [p].

*He aboliſhes the franchiſes of ambaſſadors.*

BEFORE this conteſt about the franchiſes was entirely ſettled, the pope was engaged in another with the king of *France* about the regalia, or the right of inveſtiture of biſhoprics. Since the publication of the king's edict, declaring that right inherent in the crown, there had been ſome diſpute in *France*, betwixt the king and the biſhop of *Pamiers*, who refuſed to accept of one nominated by the king as his archdeacon, and appealed to the pope. *Clement* X. did not concern himſelf much in the controverſy; but *Innocent* eſpouſed the cauſe of the biſhop, and wrote two briefs to the king, exhorting him not to violate the liberties of the church, by ſubjecting thoſe dioceſes to the regalia who were exempted from it;

*A difference betwixt him and the king of* France.

[k] Hiſt des Familles de Rome. Voyage Hiſt. d'Italie, t. i. let. xxxii. [l] NODOT relat. de la Cour de Rome. [m] HEYDEGGER Hiſt. du Papat. par. ii. p. 297. Hiſt. des Familles de Rome. BURNET'S Travels. [n] HEYDEGGER, RYCAUT, ut ſupra. [o] Lettr. & Negot. des Ambaſ. Francois, t. ii. p. 216. De LARREY Hiſt. de Louis XIV. [p] Lettr. ſur les Matieres du temps. RIENCOURT. Jo. BURCHARD de elect. Roman Pontif. p. 93, not. E. Etat du Siege de Rome. RYCAUT.

concluding, "That he had not forgot thoſe popes his predeceſſors, who, upon the like a
"occaſions, had endured long and great afflictions [q]." Theſe two briefs producing no ef-
A. D. 1679. fect, the following year he wrote a third, threatening the king with eccleſiaſtical cenſures, if he did not revoke the edict which he had publiſhed. As *Lewis* had ſequeſtered all the revenues of the biſhop of *Pamiers*, the pope likewiſe wrote to the cardinal *d'Etrees*, deſiring him to uſe all his influence in ſupport of the authority of the holy ſee; but by the cardinal's anſwer, he found that he was more attached to the king than to the ſee of *Rome*. The cardinal, indeed, ſoon after was ſent to *Rome* to treat with the pope; but his negociation was ineffectual, both parties inſiſting obſtinately upon their different pretenſions. *Lewis* XIV. in the mean time aſſembled all the biſhops then at *Paris*, who aſſerted the authority of national churches in judging of all matters, both of faith and manners; and prayed his ma- b
jeſty to give leave for aſſembling a national council or general aſſembly.

*The clergy of* France *declare againſt the pretenſions of the pope.* A. D. 1682.

THE king conſented to call a general aſſembly, which was accordingly ſummoned to meet the 1ſt of *October* following. Its firſt deliberations were concerning the regalia, which queſtion was debated for ſome time. At length, on the third of *February*, an act was ſigned, whereby they declared, that the right to the regalia was inherent in the crown, and ought to prevail through the whole kingdom, without regarding the pretended exemption of ſome biſhoprics. The prelates likewiſe wrote concerning the diſpute to his holineſs; and, a few days after, the archbiſhop of *Paris* preſented the act to the king, together with the letter to the pope, which they begged his majeſty to order the duke *d'Etrees* to deliver to his holi- c
neſs. They in the mean time continued their aſſembly, and made ſeveral regulations on-
cerning morals and church diſcipline. To put a ſtop to the uſurpations of the ſee of *Rome*, they drew up four propoſitions; by the firſt of which they affirmed, that a general council was above the pope, according to the doctrine eſtabliſhed in the 4th and 5th ſeſſions of the council of *Conſtance*, rejecting the opinion of thoſe who allege that the doctrine above-mentioned is only true during a ſchiſm. In the 2d they aſſerted, that neither the pope nor the univerſal church has any power over the temporal juriſdiction of kings, who cannot be depoſed, and whoſe ſubjects can never be abſolved from their oath of allegiance. By the 3d they declared, that the power of the pope ought to be limited by the canons, and that he had no authority to decree any thing contrary to the liberties of the *Gallican* church, and to the maxims eſtabliſhed by the councils. In the laſt they maintained, that the deciſions of the d
pope in matters of faith are not authentic, without the conſent of the univerſal church; therefore that he was not infallible, unleſs at the head of a council, and then only when he decreed according to the deciſions of the ſaid council. The king, by an edict, ordered the profeſſors in divinity and the canon law to teach theſe four propoſitions, and all his ſubjects to receive them, prohibiting the publiſhing of any doctrines that were contrary to them [r].

*who condemns their proceedings.*

DURING theſe tranſactions in *France*, in oppoſition to the papal power, *Innocent* furniſhed the emperor with ſeveral ſubſidies againſt the *Turks*, who aſſiſted the rebels in *Hungary*, and threatened to invade that kingdom. He likewiſe condemned ſixty-five propoſitions about caſes of morality, which were partly drawn from the writings of the *Jeſuits*, and tended to the depravation of manners. And as there were no leſs than twenty-ſix e
vacancies in the ſacred college, he made a promotion of ſixteen cardinals, reſerving the other ten hats to gratify kings or princes, who ſhould deſire that dignity for any of their favourites [s]. Being informed of the proceedings of the *French* biſhops, he immediately called a conſiſtory, in which they were formally condemned, and their four propoſitions ordered to be burnt: and in anſwer to their letter, he wrote to them in very ſevere terms, accuſing them of betraying the cauſe of God, and aſſuring them, that he was reſolved, at the hazard of his life, to defend the honour and authority of the holy ſee [t]. The cardinal *d'Etrees* ſtill reſiding at *Rome*, and finding the pope inflexible, the controverſy was allowed to remain in ſuſpence, rather than occaſion a breach of amity with the holy ſee; the pope, nevertheleſs, during the reſt of his pontificate, retained a warm reſentment againſt the *French*. f

*He aſſiſts the emperor againſt the* Turks. A. D. 1683.

THE following year, *Innocent* being informed of the immenſe preparations made by the *Turks*, which were deſigned againſt the emperor, he urged the king of *Poland* to conclude an alliance with *Leopold*, which was accordingly negociated by his nuncio at *Warſovia*; by which *Sobieſki* engaged to march in perſon to the relief of *Vienna*, if it ſhould be beſieged [u]. Though the infidels, in the end of *September*, were ignominiouſly defeated, and obliged to raiſe the ſiege of that city with great loſs, yet as the year after they ſtill continued their incurſions in *Hungary*, the pope was very ſollicitous to form a general league againſt them, and offered to contribute to the utmoſt of his power by ſubſidies in money, which he con-

[q] RYCAUT. [r] Idem ibid. HEYDEGGER. Contin. de MEZERAI. De LAROQUE nouv. Traitè de la Re- g
gale. RIENCOURT. DE LARREY ut ſupra. DU PIN nouv. Bibliot. des Aut Eccleſ. t. xix. BURNET's Treatiſe on the Regalia. [s] RYCAUT. [t] HEYDEGGER Hiſt. Papat. [u] Recueil des Traitez de Paix, &c. t. iv. p. 500

tinued

a tinued from time to time to ſend to *Vienna*, prevailing at laſt with the *Venetians* to join in the alliance with the emperor and the king of *Poland* [w].

DURING the progreſs of the war in *Hungary* againſt the infidels, the pope received the news of the revocation of the edict of *Nantz*, and of the proſecution of the proteſtants in *France*, on which account great rejoicings were made at *Rome*. The pope wrote to the king, commending his zeal and ſingular piety, and ordered *Te Deum* to be ſung, and the cannon of St. *Angelo* to be fired. He likewiſe teſtified his joy on that account in a *Latin* diſcourſe which he made to the conſiſtory; though ſeveral authors affirm, on the teſtimony of a letter which then appeared under the name of the queen of *Sweden* [x], that the pope diſapproved of the cruelties exerciſed againſt the proteſtants; while others ſay, that he was ignorant of their
b ſufferings, his health not allowing him to read the treatiſes which were then publiſhed on that ſubject [y].

*and publicly approves of the revocation of the edict of* Nantz. A. D. 1686.

*INNOCENT* in the mean time endeavoured, with great zeal, to repreſs the immodeſty and luxury of the dreſs of the women at *Rome*. In the firſt years of his pontificate he had ordered the capuchins, both confeſſors and preachers, to labour for the reformation of manners; and as the panic which had ſeized *Italy*, upon the irruption of the *Turks* into *Germany*, produced no effect, about that time he publiſhed an edict, ordering the women, both married and unmarried, to cover their ſhoulders and boſom to the neck, and their arms to the wriſt, threatening thoſe who did not obey within ſix days with excommunication, *ipſo facto*; and declaring that confeſſors, who ſhould preſume to abſolve any one, ſhould themſelves incur
c the excommunication, and beſides be liable to all the ſpiritual and temporal puniſhments his holineſs ſhould think proper; which temporal puniſhments, fathers, huſbands, maſters, and heads of families, ſhould likewiſe incur, if they connived at the breach of the edict in any of thoſe under their authority. Theſe terrible menaces, however, produced but little reformation; ſo that this year the pope publiſhed another prohibition, expreſsly forbidding the women to employ any maſter of muſic to teach them to ſing, or to play on any inſtrument, even though the maſter ſhould be an eccleſiaſtic, or their own near relation; at the ſame time ordering the nuns, who were uſed to ſing at divine ſervice, to learn only from other nuns their companions [z].

*Sumptuary laws againſt luxury of dreſs.*

SOON after the pope was offended with the treaty of *Augsburgh*, concluded betwixt the
d emperor, the king of *Spain*, and the eſtates of the empire, for their mutual defence againſt the enterprizes of the *French* king; not that he favoured the ambitious ſchemes of *Lewis* XIV. but becauſe the contracting powers had declared, in expreſs words, that they intended to provide againſt all infractions of the truce by *France*, both in ſpirituals and temporals. He inſiſted upon an alteration of that article; and his deſire not being complied with, he withdrew his ſubſidy from the emperor, though at the ſame time he granted a conſiderable ſum to the king of *Poland* [a]. This bad correſpondence betwixt him and the emperor continued but for a ſhort time; for, in the beginning of the following year, he renewed the ſubſidy, and granted a red hat to one of his nomination.

A. D. 1687.

ABOUT this time the ſect of the *Quietiſts* began to appear at *Rome*, and in ſeveral other
e cities of *Italy*. The author of the ſect was one *Molinos*, a *Spaniſh* prieſt, who ſome time before had publiſhed a book, intituled, *Il guida ſpirituale*; in which he advanced ſeveral uncommon doctrines; and making ſmall account of corporal auſterities, reduced all the exerciſes of religion to a ſimplicity of mind, and abſtract devotion by a ſilent contemplation of God, and withdrawing the ſoul from all groſs images. Several of his tenets, however, were alleged to have an immoral tendency; ſo that the pope, at the inſtigation of the *Jeſuits*, ordered him, and ſeveral of his followers, to be impriſoned in the inquiſition, where he was put to the torture, to prevail with him to abjure his opinions. He, nevertheleſs, defended his doctrines with great ſubtilty, to the ſurprize of the cardinals and divines that examined him. The pope himſelf is ſaid to have looked upon him as a good man, and to have
f had a great opinion of his ſanctity; and ſeveral of the cardinals were thought to have ſecretly embraced his opinions: however, he was condemned to perpetual impriſonment, and obliged to abjure ſixty-eight propoſitions taken from his works [b].

*The ſect of the* Quietiſts *is ſuppreſſed.*

THE pope was not only diſturbed with the affair of *Molinos*, but likewiſe with the pretenſions of the *French* king to the privilege of franchiſes at *Rome*. The duke *d'Etrees* dying the foregoing year, *Innocent* ordered his nuncio at *Paris* to inform the king of his reaſons for aboliſhing franchiſes, and to deſire him to drop all pretenſions to that privilege: but *Lewis* XIV. replied in a haughty manner, that he intended to ſend another ambaſſador to *Rome*, and was reſolved to maintain the antient rights of his crown in that city. *Innocent*, irritated by this reply, on the 2d day of *May* publiſhed a bull, denouncing the penalty of the

*A rupture betwixt the pope and the king of* France.

[w] RYCAUT. [x] BAYLE nouv. de la Rep. des Lettres, Mai 1686. [y] Memoires du Marquis de LA FERE. BAYLE, ut ſup. JULIET. 1686. Les Actes de l'Aſſemblee Generale du Clerge de France 1685, concernant la Religion, avec des Reflexions ſur ſes Actes, edit. 1686. [z] BAYLE, ut ſup. & Dict. Hiſt. & Crit. art. Innocent XI. rem. K. [a] Hiſt. des Papes, a la Haye, an. 1734. [b] Idem ibid. BURNET's Travels.

greater

greater excommunication againſt all thoſe, whether eccleſiaſtics or ſeculars, who ſhould a
claim or defend the privileges commonly called franchiſes, or ſhould, directly or indirectly, diſturb the officers of juſtice in the execution of their orders. He likewiſe ſent a maſter of the ceremonies to meet the new *French* ambaſſador at *Bologna*, to declare to him, that he would not be received in that character, unleſs he renounced his pretenſions to the franchiſes. The marquis *de Lavardin* the ambaſſador, without ſatisfying the maſter of the ceremonies, proceeded to *Rome*, attended by 200 officers, and 500 marine guards; and having intimidated the pope's officers, who offered to ſearch his baggage, he took poſſeſſion of the whole
A. D. 1688. quarter belonging to his predeceſſor, where he kept a continual guard. The pope, however, refuſed him an audience, treated him as a perſon excommunicated, and interdicted the church and the clergy of the pariſh of St. *Lewis*, where he was informed the ambaſſador on b
*Chriſtmas-day* had performed his devotions [c]. *Lavardin* proteſted againſt this ſentence of interdiction; and according to orders from his court, appeared frequently in the ſtreets and the churches, and took all opportunities of aſſerting the privileges belonging to his character. *Innocent* at the ſame time renewed the diſpute concerning the regalia; and by refuſing bulls in favour of thoſe biſhops appointed by the king, kept thirty-eight cathedral churches without paſtors.

'Tis probable *Innocent* followed the example of his predeceſſor *Sixtus* V. and ſaw the neceſſity of thwarting the ambition of *Lewis* XIV. who at this time diſturbed the repoſe of *Europe*, as much as his catholic majeſty *Philip* II. had ever done. Though the *French* king, in reſentment, ſeized the city and county of *Avignon*, in hopes that *Innocent*, like *Alexander* c
VII. would condeſcend to a ſubmiſſion, yet he found himſelf greatly miſtaken; for the
*The pope refuſes to confirm the election of cardinal* Furſtemberg *to the ſee of* Cologn.
A. D. 1689. pope ſtill continued to oppoſe his deſigns, and ſoon after refuſed to confirm the election of cardinal *Furſtemberg* to the ſee of *Cologn*, under pretence that he was a perſon of a bad character, but in reality becauſe he was a creature of *France*, and his intereſt had been eſpouſed by *Lewis* XIV. who expected by his promotion to have the electorate of *Cologn* at his devotion. Though the cardinal's competitor, prince *Clement* of *Bavaria*, lay under ſeveral incapacities, the pope removed theſe by a bull, and confirmed him in the archbiſhopric, which ſerved *Lewis* XIV. with a pretence to renew the war [d]. On this occaſion the pope was accuſed by *La Fontaine*, *Racine*, and a great number of other *French* writers of abandoning the catholic cauſe, which they alleged was promoted by the conqueſts of their monarch [e]. The *Jeſuits* d
even in ſome monaſteries, ordered public prayers to be made for his converſion [f].

It is certain that *Innocent* did not warmly countenance the deſigns of *James* II. of *England*, for reſtoring the catholic religion in that kingdom. He had indeed appointed a nuncio at *London*, but he received the *Engliſh* ambaſſador at *Rome* with great indifference; and one Mr. *Porter* coming at this time to *Rome*, to aſk his aſſiſtance in the expedition which king *James* was then undertaking for his reſtoration, he granted him only ſome chaplets and indulgencies, while at the ſame time he ſent money to the emperor to be employed againſt the *Turks*, which was in reality made uſe of to oppoſe the king's return [g]. Mean while the diſtempers, which he had for a conſiderable time laboured under, increaſing, he
*He dies at* Rome. died on the 12th of *Auguſt*, in the 78th year of his age, to the great joy of the *French*, who e
had waited for his death with much impatience. He was reckoned one of the beſt popes that for a long time had filled the papal chair: his ſubjects, nevertheleſs, ſtill felt the miſeries of a deſpotic government to a great degree, as he did not aboliſh any of the taxes of his predeceſſors, while at the ſame time he kept a very frugal court, did not employ any money in public buildings, and neglected to fill up the vacancies in the ſacred college; ſo that the circulation of money being languid, and the taxes exceſſive high, great numbers of people were compelled to leave his territories. On this account it was believed that *Rome* loſt one-fourth part of its inhabitants during his pontificate [h].

Alexander VIII *is elected.* The ſucceſſor of *Innocent* XI. was *Peter Ottoboni*, who was choſen pope on the 6th of *October*, and took the name of *Alexander* VIII. He was deſcended of an antient family at *Ve- f*
*nice*, which is ſaid to have come originally from the iſland *Negropont* in the *Archipelago*. Some of his anceſtors had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the wars of the republic againſt the *Turks*: his father had enjoyed the office of grand chancellor of the republic, and had purchaſed a patent of nobility, which had coſt him 100,000 ducats. After he had finiſhed his ſtudies at *Venice* and *Padua*, at which laſt place he took the degree of doctor of laws, he went to *Rome*, in the 20th year of his age, where *Urban* VIII. made him referendary of both ſignatures, appointed him governor of *Terni*, *Rieti*, and *Citta Caſtellana*, and afterwards, at the nomination of the republic, made him one of the auditors of the rota or rolls. *Innocent* X. created him a cardinal prieſt, and two years after conferred upon him the biſhopric of

[c] De Larrey, ut ſup. Contin. de Mezerai. Jagerus Hiſt. Eccleſ. & Polit. ſect. xvii. Riencourt. [d] La Comteſſe de La Fayette mem. de la Cour de France, p. 10. [e] La Fontaine Oeuvres Poſt. p, 182. Racine Prologue d'Eſther. [f] Conſiderations ſur les Affaires de l'Egliſe. [g] La Fayette mem. de la Cour de France, p. 220, 221. [h] Burnet's Travels.

a *Breſcia*. *Alexander* VII. recalled him to *Rome*, and appointed him datary. He had a great ſhare in the public affairs during *Clement* IX. *Clement* X. and *Innocent* XI. was a member of all the congregations at *Rome*, and, when promoted to the pontificate, was biſhop of *Freſcati*, and ſubdean of the ſacred college. He was of an active, vigilant diſpoſition; had a ſmiling aſpect, and agreeable manners; ſo that having acquired a general eſteem, his election gave great joy to the *Romans* [i].

*He promiſes aſſiſtance to the abdicated king of* England.

ALTHOUGH he was older than the deceaſed pope when he arrived at the pontificate, yet he acted in the beginning of his reign with great vigour, and deſired to examine and to tranſact every affair himſelf. He immediately wrote to *James* II. late king of *England*, exhorting him to ſuffer his adverſe fortune patiently, and promiſing to ſpare neither his prayers, b authority, nor purſe, for his reſtoration [k]. As *Louis* XIV. had renewed the war with the emperor, he deſired to ſecure the favour of the pope, and therefore immediately reſtored *Avignon*, and dropped his pretenſions to the franchiſes at *Rome*: *Alexander*, in return, ſeeming not to give great attention to the diſpute concerning the regalia, which had continued in ſuſpence during the reign of his predeceſſor. The chief advantage, however, that the king of *France* gained by his good correſpondence with the new pope, was a delay of the peace which the emperor deſired to conclude with the *Turks*, with the intention of turning the whole of his force againſt *France*. *Alexander*, by his exhortations, and by the ſubſidies which he granted to *Leopold* and the *Venetians*, prevailed with them to continue the war againſt the infidels.

*He obſerves no meaſures in aggrandizing his family.*

c BUT the chief concern of the pope was the aggrandizing of his family; for he promoted all his nephews within three weeks after his elevation. He created his grand nephew cardinal patron, legate of *Avignon*, and grand chancellor of the *Roman* church, which laſt office *Innocent* XI. had aboliſhed. He afterwards conferred upon him ſuch a number of benefices, that his annual revenue amounted to 80,000 crowns. He appointed his nephew, Don *Antonio* general of the forces of the church, and another nephew, Don *Marco*, general of the gallies, and afterwards duke of *Fiano*, which duchy he purchaſed for him, and likewiſe procured for him an advantageous marriage with the houſe of *Colonna* [l] (D).

*He renews the diſpute with* France *about the regalia.* A. D. 1690.

NOTWITHSTANDING the ſeeming attachment the pope at firſt diſcovered to the intereſts of *France*, he ſoon renewed the diſpute concerning the regalia; and the following year he re- d fuſed the bulls to thoſe prelates who had aſſiſted at the general aſſembly of the clergy at *Paris*, unleſs they would agree to a recantation. The prelates rejected this condition, while both courts ſeemed averſe to a rupture, and conſented to a negociation, to put an end to the diſpute. The *French* found it inconſiſtent with their pretenſions to grant the terms of ſatisfaction which the pope demanded; and in the month of *September* a deputy was diſpatched to *Rome*, to ſupport the cauſe of the biſhops. The pope, however, though he agreed to a negotiation, had reſolved not to relinquiſh his claim; and a few weeks before the arrival of this deputy, had drawn up a bull, condemning the propoſitions compoſed by the general aſſembly. He kept this bull a ſecret, and ſtill endeavoured to prevail with the king of *France* to comply with his deſire; but finding his health declining, and *Lewis* XIV. threatening to *His death.*
e re-eſtabliſh the pragmatic ſanction, if the bulls were not granted before *Eaſter*, he publiſhed A. D. 1691. his bull on the 30th of *January*, and died two days after, in the 81ſt year of his age, having enjoyed the pontificate only fifteen months and twenty-two days [m]. He greatly diſappointed the expectations that were raiſed upon his promotion, and had rendered himſelf unacceptable to the empire, *France*, and *Spain*. The *French* writers at firſt made him the ſubject of panegyric, but they quickly changed their ſtile, and publiſhed ſevere ſatires againſt him. The *Romans* likewiſe revenged themſelves for the extortions of the *Ottoboni* by daily paſquinades, but the reproaches of the public did not influence his conduct. His predeceſſor, by oppreſſing his ſubjects with grievous taxes, had left about a million and a half of crowns in the treaſury, which *Alexander* immediately diſpoſed of. Beſides, he gave his nephew 100,000 f crowns, which *Innocent* had raiſed by ſequeſtering the revenues of ſome vacant churches, as a fund for the ſubſidies againſt the *Turks*. He likewiſe made a promotion of cardinals, by which means ſeveral vacancies were made among the clerks of the chamber, each of which offices he ſold for 60,000 crowns. He was greatly addicted to pleaſantry, and was familiar to every one without diſtinction. He is acuſed of a great many vices, but more particularly of drunkenneſs and atheiſm [n].

[i] Mem. des Intrigues du Conclave de l'Année 1689. BAYLE Dict. art. Ottoboni, Le Mereure Gallant du Mois d'Octobre 1689. Hiſt. des Familles de Rome. [k] Mem. de la Comteſſe, ut ſupra. [l] Etat du Siege de Romé, l. ii. p. 83. [m] Idem ibid. DE LARREY Hiſt. de Louis XIV. [n] Tableau des Papes, art. 51, p. 255---260.

(D) *Alexander*, ſoon after his promotion, aſked one of his intimates what the *Romans* ſaid of him? He anſwered, that they ſaid he did not loſe time in advancing his family; to which the pope replied, *Oh, oh, ſono vinti tre hore e mezza*. Three and twenty hours and a half of the day are already expired; the *Italians* not dividing their day by two diviſions of twelve hours, but by one diviſion of twenty-four (1).

(1) *Menagiana*, p. 208.

Innocent XII. *is chosen pope.*

THE intrigues of the following conclave delayed the election for several months; at length, on the 12th of *July*, *Anthony Pignatelli* was elected, and took the name of *Innocent* XII. He was born at *Naples*, of an ancient and noble family, which had originally come from *Tropea*, a city in *Further Calabria*. Having made choice of an ecclesiastical life, he came early to *Rome*, where he finished his studies, and afterwards by his merit recommended himself to several popes. *Urban* VIII. made him vice-legate of the duchy of *Urbino*. *Innocent* X. appointed him inquisitor of *Malta*, governor of *Viterbo*, and nuncio at *Florence*; and his successor *Alexander* VII. sent him as nuncio to *Poland* and *Vienna*. *Clement* X. made him master of the household, and *Innocent* XI. honoured him with the hat, created him bishop of *Faenza*, legate of *Bologna*, and at last archbishop of *Naples*; in memory of which favours he took the same name, and declared that he would do his utmost to follow his steps, and to abolish nepotism [o]. He had hitherto lived in an exemplary manner, was remarkable for his simplicity, and seemed intirely free from artifice and dissimulation [p].

*He reforms many abuses in* Rome.

THE rejoicings at *Rome* on account of the election of the new pope were extraordinary. Immediately after his coronation (E) he applied himself to redress the disorders occasioned by the long vacation of the see. He refused to grant any benefices, or any share in the government, to his relations, and even prohibited them from coming to *Rome*. At the same time he declared, that he desired to be the universal father of the church and of good men; and that he would give employments only to men of merit, without regarding acquaintance or kindred. He forbade the officers of justice to take bribes, or to have regard to persons in the administration of their office. He had frequent conferences with cardinal *Casanata* about the means of extirpating the abuses and disorders that had crept into the government, and into the city of *Rome*. He recommended good œconomy to the masters of the household, and to the commissaries of the chamber, ordering, that the expence of his dinner should not exceed a feston, or eighteen-pence; and that nothing should be provided for his supper. He suppressed all useless offices, and by these means made a saving of 80,000 crowns a year to the apostolic chamber, which was indebted 5000000 of crowns, by nepotism, during the short reign of his predecessor. He ordered the *Sbirri* to go into all the quarters of the ambassadors, and commanded the garrison at *Rome* to assist them in case of need [q]. He soon after ordered a young man to be hanged for having offered to oppose them; which example of severity, though very disagreeable to the people, was nevertheless at this time very necessary; for assassins were become so daring and numerous at *Rome*, that, during the late vacation of the see, no less than 182 persons were murdered. The same day he happened, by a fall, to hurt his thigh, which accident obliged him for some time to keep his bed, and interrupted a laudable custom, which he had introduced about a month after his election, of giving public audience every *Monday* to the poor, and to all those who had any thing to propose to him.

*Gives public audience to the poor, and*

ALTHO' he acquired great reputation by his conduct; yet his subjects did not receive so much advantage from it as might be expected, as he had not the resolution to grant any favours without consulting his ministers. It was, however, a means of the reformation of several abuses. Upon receiving a complaint against a *Roman* prince, he compelled him to pay his creditors, and to behave to his vassals with moderation. He imprisoned a duke in the castle of St. *Angelo*, for having threatened his uncle, who was a prelate; and banished a cavalier, who had been guilty of some irregularities, notwithstanding the intercession of a cardinal his uncle. Some ladies were sent to the castle of St *Angelo* for having played at bassat and hazard contrary to his edict; and some of the *Sbirri* were whipped for having taken money from several great players at cards whom they had discovered. He prohibited the ecclesiastics from wearing perukes, and ordered all the curates at *Rome* to assemble every *Wednesday*, to confer about cases of conscience. He was chiefly intent upon doing good to the poor, whom he called his nephews. He ordered 5000 of them to be lodged in the *Lateran* palace, and assigned a fund of 300,000 crowns for their support; at the same time, to prevent the increase of the number of poor, imprisoning or banishing all idle persons who refused to work [r].

*publishes a bull for abolishing nepotism.* A. D. 1692.

IN the second year of his pontificate, by steadiness and resolution, he obliged the cardinals to comply with his design of abolishing nepotism. Several members of the sacred college were equally zealous with himself in that affair; and cardinal *Albani*, who was ordered to compose the bull, drew it up in the strictest terms, taking all possible precaution to

[o] Hist. des Conclaves, p. 328, 329. [p] Mem des Intrig. du Conclav. 1689, p. 171. Etat du Siege de Rome. [q] Hist. du Pape a la fin de l' Hist. des Concl. [r] Idem ibid.

(E) At this ceremony he ordered a great number of medals to be thrown among the people, upon which were struck his arms, consisting of three pots, which appeared full of money, and reversed with these words; *Nihil pro me*, Nothing for myself (1).

(1) *Hist. du Pape a la fin. de le Hist. des Conclaves.*

prevent

a prevent any evaſions of future popes, and limiting the bounties that the moſt indulgent could grant to their nephews, in dignities and benefices, to the ſum of 12,000 crowns. *Innocent* publiſhed the bull, and cauſed it to be ſubſcribed by all the cardinals who were at *Rome*. He likewiſe ſuppreſſed the theatre where the operas were repreſented, and applied himſelf to reform the licentious manners of the regular monks, whoſe ſcandalous lives were a diſgrace to Chriſtianity. As theſe monks were very rich, and very numerous in *Italy*, and were beſides related to ſeveral conſiderable families, it was a bold attempt to venture to diſturb them. Upon the news of the intended reformation, *Italy* and *Rome* were filled with manuſcripts and printed pamphlets, deſcribing, in an exaggerated manner, the abuſes of the court of *Rome*, and exhorting his holineſs to begin at the root, and to reform the ſcandalous
b diſorders of thoſe who ought to give an example to the lower orders of the church. *Innocent* was not diverted from his intention by theſe writings; but, at length, he dropt the deſign, by the advice of thoſe who foreſaw the impoſſibility of ſucceeding [s].

MEAN while he carried on a negociation with the court of *France*, to regulate the difference about the regalia. *Lewis* XIV. endeavoured, in the beginning of his pontificate, to intimidate him with threats; but, finding him fixed and reſolute, he made ſeveral propoſitions for an accommodation, which were not accepted by the pope, who inſiſted peremptorily upon the ſubmiſſion of the biſhops. *Innocent*, by his firmneſs, at length forced the king to a ſubmiſſion; and the following year the *French* biſhops, who had aſſiſted at the general aſſembly, were compelled to write a *Latin* letter to the pope, wherein they declared, that
c they proſtrated themſelves at the feet of his holineſs, and that their grief, for the things that had paſſed in the aſſembly, which had ſo greatly diſpleaſed him and his predeceſſors, was very great, proceeded from the heart, and was more than they could expreſs. They therefore proteſted, that they held, and ought to hold, as null and invalid, all that had been decreed in that aſſembly with regard to the authority of the church and the pope. By this baſe and mean compliance, the court and biſhops of *France* were reconciled to the holy ſee; the deſpotic government in that kingdom forcing the prelates, in this public manner, to ſign what it is more than probable they believed a falſehood [t].

*The* French *biſhops make their ſubmiſſion to the pope*; A. D. 1693.

*INNOCENT*, having gained this victory over the *French* monarch, reſolved likewiſe to make the emperor ſubmit to his pretenſions. As there were many ſmall fiefs in the eccle-
d ſiaſtical ſtate that acknowleged the emperor as ſovereign, the count of *Martinitz*, the imperial ambaſſador at *Rome*, publiſhed a placard, ordering the poſſeſſors of, and pretenders to theſe fiefs, to make an acknowlegment to *Leopold*. *Innocent* was highly offended with this proceeding of the ambaſſador, and ordered cardinal *Altieri* to affix another placard, wherein, by his ſovereign authority, he declared all the fiefs within his territories reunited to the chamber of the church. On this account a great number of ſatirical writings were publiſhed by both parties; but the emperor, to prevent a final rupture, recalled his ambaſſador, and in his ſtead ſent the count of *Lamberg*, who ſeemed leſs reſolute than his predeceſſor, and purpoſely dropt the diſpute, leſt the pope, in reſentment, ſhould declare openly for the king of *France*, who at this time had a powerful army in *Italy*, under the command of *Ca-*
e *tinat* [u]. *Lewis* XIV. by his ſubmiſſion to *Innocent*, had ſo far gained his favour, that he privately devoted himſelf to the intereſt of *France*, withdrew his ſubſidy from the emperor, and wrote to the king of *Spain* to prevail with him to abandon the general alliance. His catholic majeſty, however, in his anſwer to the pope, juſtified the neceſſity of the war, which, he ſaid, was undertaken to procure the general repoſe of *Europe*, and the advancement of the catholic religion [w].

*who refuſes to allow the emperor any juriſdiction within the eccleſiaſtical ſtate.* A. D. 1694.

THE pope, not being able to prevail with the king of *Spain* to agree to a peace with *France*, applied himſelf to the duke of *Savoy*, with whom he was ſucceſsful; for, the offers made by *France* being very conſiderable, the following year the duke concluded a treaty with *Lewis* XIV. by which a neutrality was ſtipulated for *Italy*. *Innocent* being deſirous to
f ſee the imperial troops out of *Italy*, ſent a preſent of 60,000 crowns to be diſtributed among the *Germans* [x]. At the ſame time he ſent a ſubſidy to the *Venetians* againſt the *Turks*; and another to king *James*; while at *Rome* he was endeavouring, to the utmoſt of his power, to put a ſtop to the progreſs of *Quietiſm*; which ſect was daily gaining ground, notwithſtanding the ſeverities of the inquiſition. The following year he received the agreeable news of the concluſion of a general peace, and of the converſion of the elector of *Saxony* to the *Roman* catholic religion, and ſent a nuncio to *Poland*, to congratulate him upon his election to that crown.

*He perſuades the duke of* Savoy *to deſert the allies.* A. D. 1696.

[s] Hiſt. du Siege de Rome. t. i. p. 110. 113. 120. [t] Mem. Communes du Temps. [u] Etat du Siege de Rome. [w] Ibid. [x] Europe Hiſt. t. ii. Lettres Hiſtor. en Nov. & Decem. 1696.

SOON

*Archbishop of* Cambray *is accused of* Quietism.

Soon after he received an accusation against the celebrated *Fenelon*, archbishop of *Cambray*, who was said to have embraced the doctrines and opinions of the *Quietists*. The archbishop, about the conclusion of the peace of *Ryswick*, had published a book concerning the *maxims of the saints*; in which he affirmed, that the true foundation of piety was a pure and disinterested love of God. From thence M. *Bossuet*, bishop of *Meaux*, who is said to have had a private pique against him, took an occasion of accusing him of *Quietism*. The archbishop defended the opinions he had published; but his enemies carrying the affair to *Rome*, his book was this year condemned by a bull, to which he immediately paid an entire submission. Instead of appealing from the censures of the apostolic chair, by vague protestations of catholicism, upon receiving the pope's bull he kissed it; and, ascending the pulpit, exhorted his hearers to conform to it, declaring, that he himself abjured his former sentiments from the heart. By this conduct he disappointed his enemies, and gave great satisfaction to the pope, who soon after wrote a brief to him, as a testimony of his regard for him, and approbation of his conduct [y]. Mean while *Lewis* XIV. who probably acted by the persuasion of his confessor, and had condescended to sollicit the bull from *Rome*, ordered the parliament of *Paris* to register it, and by his letters patent required the bishops to receive it in the assemblies of the different provinces. Both the bishops and the parliament, however, upon receiving the bull, added a protestation of *saving the authority of the ancient canons* [z]. As the following year was supposed to begin a new century, the pope published a bull for the celebration of a jubilee at *Rome*; on which account great numbers both of protestants and papists, crouded thither, which occasioned a considerable augmentation to the revenues of his holiness. *Innocent* did not live to see the conclusion of this festival; but, after a long illness, died on the 7th of *September*, in the 86th year of his age, and the 10th of his pontificate, greatly reverenced and esteemed for his uprightness and integrity [a].

*His book is condemned.* A. D. 1699.

*A jubilee at* Rome. A. D. 1700.

*The pope's death.*

The long indisposition of *Innocent* had given leisure to the cardinals to form parties for the following conclave, which was composed of no less than fifty-nine members. Accordingly the factions and intrigues were very violent; but the disorders in *Rome* obliged the cardinals to lay aside their private cabals, and to hasten the election. All the factions at length united in the choice of cardinal *John Francis Albani*, who by a rare example of modesty, for three days refused, with the most ardent protestations, to consent to their choice. He prayed, wept, and conjured the cardinals to turn their thoughts upon a more worthy person; and, as a reason of his dissent, he mentioned his great love for his relations, which would influence him to break the law against nepotism, to the scandal of Christianity, the dishonour of the sacred college, and the damnation of his own soul. At last he yielded, on the 3d of *November*, and took the name of *Clement* XI. being then only in the 51st year of his age [b]. He was descended from a family of note in the dutchy of *Urbino*, his grandfather having been created a *Roman* senator by *Urban* VIII. After he had completed his studies, he was at first a canon in *St. Laurence* in *Damaso*, then vicar of *St. Peter*'s, and afterwards governor of *Rieti* and *Orvieto*. *Innocent* XI. recalled him from *Orvieto*, and made him secretary of the briefs. As he was gay and chearful, he insinuated himself into the favour of cardinal *Ottoboni*; who, after his promotion to the pontificate, under the name of *Alexander* VIII. conferred upon him the dignity of cardinal, without allowing his nephews to accept of any money from him. *Innocent* XII. kept him near his person, and employed him in the administration of affairs, as an expert man, who possessed the rare talent of pleasing every one [c].

Clement XI. *is elected.*

Immediately after his coronation, he declared to the governor of *Rome*, and to the principal officers, that he intended to cause justice to be executed with the utmost exactness, without respect of persons, ordering the *Sbirri* to have no regard to the quarters of the ambassadors, but to pursue criminals in every place without distinction. He appointed one of his nephews secretary of briefs; but, that he might not seem partial to his relations, he ordered that, according to the general rule, they should be examined with regard to their fitness and merit. He appeared to act with vigour, and every day was giving new orders to suppress different abuses, which had prevailed during the former reigns. He was always with the pen in his hand, to make remarks on different occurrences; and not trusting intirely to his ministers, desired to see and examine into every chief matter himself [d].

*He resolves to execute justice with exactness.*

Soon after his election, he wrote with his own hand to king *James*, and sent him his picture. He likewise, in a private consistory, granted the investiture of *Naples* to *Philip* V. of *Spain*, grandson of *Lewis* XIV. who contested the succession of that kingdom with the archduke *Charles*, second son of the emperor. This dispute occasioned great disquietudes to the

*Refuses to engage in the war about the* Spanish *succession.* A. D. 1701.

[y] Larrey Hist. de Lewis XIV. t. vii. p. 136. Contin. de Mezer. p. 540. Etat du Siege de Rome, t. ii. p. 149. [z] De Larrey, ubi sup. [a] Journales du Temps. [b] Etat du Siege de Rome; [c] Ibid. [d] Journal. du Temps.

a pope, who was ſollicited ſtrongly by each party to declare himſelf in his favour. As he was afraid leſt the party he ſhould eſpouſe might be worſted, he would not declare for either; but embraced a neutrality, and offered himſelf as mediator of the difference. Each party, however, being reſolved to aſſert his right by arms, his mediation was rejected, and *Lewis* XIV. in behalf of his grandſon, took poſſeſſion of the *Milaneſe*; which obliged the pope to raiſe 10,000 men, and put his frontier places into a ſtate of defence, to prevent himſelf from being inſulted, and forced to abandon the neutrality. He leaned, however, to the ſide of *France*; and, hearing that the emperor intended to ſend an army into *Italy*, wrote to him, exhorting him to deſiſt from that intention, and aſſuring him that God would reward him a hundred fold.

b The imperialiſts, nevertheleſs, entered *Italy*, where they quickly made a conſiderable progreſs, which obliged the pope to act with great reſerve. He therefore refuſed the *Hacqueney*, which was offered him in the name of *Philip* V. and, that he might ſeem to act with great impartiality, he ſent extraordinary nuncios to the emperor, and to the kings of *France* and *Spain*, to exhort them to peace. *Clement* had before this time acknowleged *Philip* as king of *Spain*, but refuſed to declare himſelf with regard to his ſucceſſion to *Naples*. The following year, the *French* being reinforced in *Italy*, and *Philip* V. arriving at the camp, *Clement* ſent cardinal *Barberini* to wait upon him as legate *à latere*, with a preſent of a golden croſs, of the value of 10,000 crowns; which proceeding gave great offence to the imperialiſts [c].

*Sends a legate à latere to Philip V. A. D. 1702.*

c Though the pope favoured the cauſe of *Philip* againſt his competitor, he was nevertheleſs offended with the juſt reſpects ſhewn to him by one of his ſubjects. *Philip* had aſſiſted at a divine ſervice, where cardinal *Cantelmi*, archbiſhop of *Naples*, had officiated. Afterwards he invited him to dine with him; when the cardinal, according to the reſpect paid by a ſubject to his ſovereign, continued ſtanding during the entertainment. This ſubmiſſion offended the court of *Rome*, and the pope wrote a brief to the cardinal, blaming his conduct, ordering him not to behave in ſuch a manner for the future, and delaring that what he had done ought not to ſerve as an example to others [f]. In the mean time, that the delay of accepting the *Hacqueney* might not prejudice the rights of the king of *Spain* to the kingdom of *Naples*, *Clement* conſented to declare, by an authentic act, that the delay
d ſhould have no conſequence to invalidate the right [g]. He likewiſe ordered *Clementia Marchioni*, an abbeſs of a monaſtery in *Naples*, to be apprehended, for endeavouring, by pretended prophecies, to cauſe the people to revolt in favour of the archduke *Charles*. The common people had a great opinion of her ſanctity, and believed her a real propheteſs; but ſhe afterwards made a ſolemn abjuration, in the great hall of the inquiſition, before an extraordinary aſſembly of cardinals and officers of the holy office; and confeſſing that, from vanity ſhe had deſigned to impoſe upon the world, ſhe was condemned to an impriſonment for ten years [h].

*A falſe propheteſs impriſoned in the inquiſition.*

Soon after, towards the end of the year, he publiſhed an edict againſt luxury and extravagant entertainments, prohibiting the acting of plays, and the diverſions of the carnival,
e and deſiring that ſeaſon to be employed in prayers for peace among the catholic princes [i]. The *Romans* were deterred, by more powerful and affecting motives, from indulging in the licentious pleaſures of that feſtival; for, in the beginning of the following year, the city of *Rome*, and the whole eccleſiaſtical ſtate, were filled with deſolation, by a dreadful inundation of the *Tyber*, and ſeveral terrible ſhocks of earthquakes. On the 3d of *February* the ſhocks were extremely violent, and continued for fifteen minutes, ſo that the greateſt number of the cardinals and courtiers run out of the palace, and abandoned his holineſs. As *Clement* was looked upon by the common people as a prophet, this belief was the occaſion of a general conſternation next morning, about three hours after midnight, when the city was univerſally alarmed by pretended orders from the pope, deſiring all people immediately to
f quit their houſes, as there would be inſtantly a more terrible ſhock than any that had been felt. The whole inhabitants, except the ſick and diſabled, quitted their beds, and run into the ſtreets; and the alarm even reached his holineſs, who, upon being informed of the cauſe of the general terror, immediately ſent the *Sbirri* and guards to aſſure the people, that the pretended revelation was only diabolical invention, and to exhort them to return to their houſes. This public calamity occaſioned a general penitence for ſome time. All courts of juſtice were ſuſpended, and a jubilee was publiſhed. *Clement* cauſed boxes to be placed at the churches, to receive the alms which ſhould be beſtowed to ſupport thoſe families that had been ruined. He appointed officers to viſit the ſhops of engravers, ſculptors, and painters, and to ſeize all indecent pictures and ſtatues. He prohibited men from teaching the women
g to ſing, or play on muſical inſtruments, and ordered that none of thoſe women who received

*Deſolation at Rome occaſioned by earthquakes. A. D. 1703.*

[c] De Larrey Hiſt. de Lewis XIV. p. 27, 28. [f] Idem ibid. [g] Belleg. Hiſt. Gener. d'Eſpagn. t. ix.
[h] Idem ibid. [i] Journal du Temps.

their dowry from hoſpitals, ſhould wear any habits of ſilk. As an encouragement to re- a
build the houſes that had been deſtroyed, he declared them free from all charges and taxes for a conſiderable time; and that the prelates and other eccleſiaſtics might by their lives, ſerve as an example to others, he publiſhed ſeveral regulations relating to them, and, among other things, prohibited them from playing at cards, or any other games in the ſacred palace [k].

MEAN while *Clement* continued to ſollicit the catholic princes who were at war, to agree to a congreſs for negociating a peace. His ſollicitations, however, were ineffectual; for, in the month of *September*, the archduke *Charles* was proclaimed at *Vienna* king of *Spain*. The imperial miniſters at *Rome*, on this occaſion, were preparing to make great rejoicings in the national church of the *Germans*, where they propoſed to expoſe the picture of the b
pope, with that of the archduke, dreſſed with the royal ornaments, after the *Spaniſh* faſhion. Upon complaints of the *French* and *Spaniſh* ambaſſadors againſt theſe preparations, *Clement* held ſeveral congregations, and at length declared to the *Germans*, that, if they preſumed to expoſe the pictures in any church, he would lay it under a ſentence of interdiction [l]. The pope, by endeavouring to give offence to no party, diſpleaſed both; and, tho' he continued to adhere to a neutrality, he could not ſecure his dominions from ſharing in the calamities of the war; for, in the following campaign, both armies entered the territories of *Ferrara*, where they committed a great many diſorders. As a means of removing ſuch troubleſome gueſts, *Clement* thundered out an anathema againſt thoſe generals who ſhould refuſe to withdraw their troops. The *French* immediately obeyed, and the *Ger-* c
*mans* ſoon after marched towards the *Trentin* [m].

*The imperial and* French *armies, without leave, enter the pope's territories.*

THE attention of the pope in the mean time was engaged by a ſpiritual conteſt, which for ſome years had divided the *Roman* church. Before the death of his predeceſſor, news had arrived in *Europe*, that the *Jeſuit* miſſionaries in *China*, to facilitate the converſion of that people, had allowed their converts, after they had embraced Chriſtianity, to continue their idolatrous rites paid to the great philoſopher *Confucius*. The *Jeſuits* on this account were accuſed of impiety, and many books immediately appeared, ſhewing the profaneneſs of ſuch an indulgence [n]. The ſociety, however, wrote in defence of the practice of their miſ- d
ſionaries, and had intereſt at *Rome*, during the few months of the life of *Innocent* XII. to elude the proſecutions of their enemies. They were likewiſe ſo ſucceſsful as to procure the friendſhip of *Clement*, who gave a general ſcandal by the protection which he afforded them, and delayed giving ſentence in the affair as long as poſſible. But the clamour againſt the fathers of the ſociety became ſo univerſal, that he was obliged to give a deciſion; and, having appointed a congregation to examine the affair, on the 20th of *November*, by a bull, he authorized their ſentence, which condemned the worſhip and ceremonies of the *Chineſe* converts. The pope likewiſe, to examine fully into the affair, ſent the cardinal of *Tournon* to *China*; who, not favouring the ſociety, was, by their intrigues, expoſed to a great many hardſhips in that country [o].

A. D. 1704. *The idolatrous worſhip of the* Chineſe *converts condemned.*

As the reputation of the *Jeſuits* had, in ſome meaſure, ſuffered by this apoſtolic deciſion againſt them, *Clement* embraced the firſt opportunity of ſhewing himſelf favourable to the e
ſociety. About two years before, the diſpute about *Janſeniſm* had begun to revive in *France*, occaſioned by a caſe of conſcience, which had been preſented to the doctors of the *Sorbonne*. It was demanded of them, what ought to be thought of a perſon who did not believe the fact concerning *Janſenius*; namely, that the five propoſitions were contained in his writings, and was firmly perſuaded, that the church had no right to exact ſuch a belief, and who, nevertheleſs in ſuch a diſpoſition of mind, had ſigned the formulary purely and ſimply. The doctors replied, that any perſon might act ſo with a ſafe conſcience; and forty of them ſubſcribed to this deciſion. As many writings immediately appeared, cenſuring the determination of the doctors, ſome of them replied in their own defence, addreſſing the explication of their opinion to cardinal *Noailles*, archbiſhop of *Paris*, as judge ſu- f
preme in his own dioceſe. The cardinal, however, the year following publiſhed an ordonnance, condemning the deciſion of the doctors, as contrary to the conſtitutions and briefs of *Innocent* X. *Alexander* VII. and *Innocent* XII. at the ſame time condemning the invidious and ſcandalous libels that had been publiſhed againſt the doctors, and exhorting the clergy to peace. The ſame day a ſevere edict of the king appeared againſt renewing the diſpute; while at *Rome* the pope, by a brief, condemned the deciſion of the caſe of conſcience, and by another brief acquainted the king of his ſentence of condemnation. *Clement* this year wrote a third brief, addreſſed to the cardinal *Noailles*, to excite him to act zealouſly againſt the determination of the doctors, the greateſt part of whom, however, ſome time before,

*The diſputes about* Janſeniſm *are again renewed.*

[k] Ibid. [l] Ibid. [m] BELLEG. ut ſup. [n] ARNAUD Morale Pratique des Jeſuites, t. vi. DU PIN Hiſt. Eccleſ. du 17 Siecle, t. iv. [o] Contin. de MEZER. p. 542. Etat du Siege de Rome, t. ii. p. 213.

a had, by a formal act, promiſed to conform their ſentiments and conduct to the archbiſhop's ordonnance. By the influence of the pope's nuncio, *Lewis de Pica* and ſome others of the chief ſubſcribers were baniſhed; which drew another brief of thanks from *Rome*.

MEAN while the *French* prelates, particularly *Godet des Marets*, biſhop of *Chartres*, who had declared againſt the deciſion of the caſe of conſcience, perſuaded *Lewis* XIV. to demand a bull from *Rome*, which ſhould declare, that it was not ſufficient to keep a reſpectful ſilence with regard to the truth of the fact, but that it was neceſſary to believe it abſolutely and in the heart. As this was the chief point of the whole diſpute, the pope purpoſely ſhunned determining it; for if, according to truth, he had declared that an implicit faith ought not to be required to facts which might be known by ſenſible evidence, the b *Janſeniſts* would have been victorious; and if he ſhould give a contrary deciſion, he would eſtabliſh a principle oppoſed by all divines. He therefore, the following year, publiſhed A. D. 1705. a bull, diſtinguiſhed by its three firſt words, *Vineam Domini Sabaoth*; by which he declared that due ſubmiſſion was not given to apoſtolic bulls by a reſpectful ſilence only; which, with regard to points of faith, was acknowleged by both parties. He gave no further deciſion of the point in diſpute; but, taking it for granted that the propoſitions were in the works of *Janſenius*, he launched out into invectives againſt thoſe whom he accuſed of concealing error under the veil of a reſpectful ſilence. The king, having received the bull with a brief from the nuncio, wrote to the clergy who were then aſſembled at *Paris*, deſiring them to deliberate immediately upon the acceptation of the bull. Accordingly the c archbiſhop of *Rouen*, with ſeven biſhops and ſeven abbots, were appointed as commiſſaries, who firſt eſtabliſhed three preliminary maxims; 1ſt, That biſhops have a divine right to judge of matters of doctrine; 2dly, That the pope's bulls, after they are received by the body of paſtors, have an obligation upon the whole church; 3dly, That the receiving or acceptation of the biſhops is always by way of judgment. After theſe precautions, they determined, that the bull ought to be accepted with reſpect and ſubmiſſion; and that, by circular letters, all the biſhops in the kingdom ſhould be exhorted to publiſh it in their dioceſes. It was likewiſe accepted by the *Sorbonne*, and by the parliament: however, the diſpute was not thereby terminated; for a new diſtinction was found out betwixt human faith and divine faith; and the general obſcurity of the bull ſerved ſtill to ſeduce the ſimple, and d to give a handle to continue the perſecution of the *Janſeniſts*, among whom were reckoned the members of the *Port Royal*, whoſe monaſtery was ſoon after deſtroyed [p].

*A rupture between the pope and the emperor;*

DURING this ſpiritual conteſt, the pope had a difference with the emperor, occaſioned by the oppoſition made to the *Sbirri* by one *Cavaletti*, a *Roman* gentleman, and his ſon, who were thereupon impriſoned. The count de *Lamberg*, the imperial ambaſſador at *Rome*, inſiſted upon the liberty of *Cavaletti*, who he affirmed was one of his domeſtics; but his remonſtrances not being regarded by the pope, he wrote to *Vienna*. *Cavaletti* was ſoon after ſet at liberty; but the ambaſſador, receiving orders from his court, quitted *Rome* and the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, without taking an audience of leave of the pope, while the nuncio at *Vienna* was ordered to retire from the court. The emperor at the ſame time, as a ſatisfac- e tion for the inſult, demanded that *Pallavicini*, governor of *Rome*, ſhould be baniſhed; that cardinal *Paluzzi*, ſecretary of ſtate, ſhould be forbid the palace; that another cardinal ſhould be ſent to *Vienna*, to excuſe the proceeding; and that in the mean time the imperial troops ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of *Ferrara*. The pope would not conſent to theſe conditions; but wrote to *Vienna*, complaining of the irregular conduct of *Lamberg*, and deſiring that his nuncio might be allowed to return to court; but, not obtaining this laſt requeſt, he recalled him to *Rome*.

THIS bad correſpondence with the imperial court continued for ſome time. The pope, A. D. 1706. mean while, finding that his exhortations to peace were not effectual, the following year publiſhed an univerſal jubilee for that purpoſe, the calamities of the war occaſioning a ge- f neral murmuring through *Italy*, eſpecially after the celebrated victory obtained by the imperialiſts before *Turin*, when, not having any longer an enemy to keep them in awe, they lived at diſcretion, and committed a great many diſorders. But what chiefly irritated the *Italians* was the public worſhip of the proteſtants in the imperial army, which likewiſe greatly ſcandalized the pope; who, therefore, a few months after, in conjunction with the catholic *Swiſs* cantons, renewed his inſtances for a general peace, but without any effect [q]. He was the more earneſt for peace, as he obſerved that the cauſe, which he was known to wiſh well to, became the inferior; for ſince the victory obtained on the 7th of *September*, by prince *Eugene* before *Turin*, the *French* had been obliged intirely to evacuate *Italy*, and

[p] Hiſt. du Caſ. de Conſcience, in 2 vol. the firſt of which appeared in 1705, and the ſecond in 1711. DE LARR. Hiſt. de Lewis XIV. t. viii. p. 433. Hiſt. Abreg. de Port Royal. Mem. ſur la Deſtruct. de Port Royal, edit. 1711. Catechiſme Hiſt. & Dogm. t. ii. art. v. p. 139. [q] BELLEG. Hiſt. Gener. d'Eſpagne, t. ix. p. 117.

the

*who gives the inveſtiture of the* Milaneſe *to his brother the archduke* Charles. A. D. 1707.

the imperialiſts had taken poſſeſſion of the *Milaneſe*; the inveſtiture of which duchy, in *March* following, the archduke *Charles* received from his brother the emperor. Beſides, the imperialiſts had ſeized the duchy of *Mantua*, and ſent upwards of 8,000 men through the eccleſiaſtical ſtate to *Naples*, which kingdom, by the intrigues of cardinal *Pignatelli*, the archbiſhop of the capital, and his brother the duke of *Monteleon*, had been prevailed upon to declare for the archduke *Charles*. The count de *Thaun*, who commanded the imperialiſts in *Naples*, quickly reduced the whole kingdom with little or no oppoſition, and took the *Spaniſh* viceroy priſoner. a

As the *Auſtrian* troops, in their paſſage through the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, had levied contributions upon ſeveral biſhops, the pope complained of the outrage to the emperor; but, receiving little ſatisfaction, he excommunicated thoſe troops which had committed the diſorders. Notwithſtanding this cenſure, prince *Eugene* took poſſeſſion of ſeveral places in the duchy of *Ferrara*, particularly the city of *Comacchio*, where his troops lived at diſcretion. The emperor *Joſeph* likewiſe publiſhed a manifeſto, declaring the cenſures of the pope invalid, and alleging, that, as the cities of *Italy* were fiefs of the empire, his army had a right to require lodging and ſubſiſtence; adding alſo, that he intended to maintain all the rights of the imperial crown in *Italy*, and to except no cities which could not prove their immunities by authentic titles. About the ſame time the cardinal *Grimani*, who, for his ſervices to the imperial party, had been appointed viceroy of *Naples*, publiſhed an edict in that kingdom, ſuppreſſing the tribunal of the nunciature, and prohibiting the clergy from paying annates to the *Roman* chancellary. He likewiſe affirmed in his edict, that the king of the *Two Sicilies* ought not to take the inveſtiture from the pope, becauſe theſe provinces were not eccleſiaſtical fiefs, and that the ſtates of *Avignon* and *Benevento* ought to be reunited to the kingdom of *Naples*. b c

*The imperialiſts take poſſeſſion of the duchy of* Ferrara. A. D. 1708.

*The pope raiſes an army to protect his dominions.*

*CLEMENT*, in the mean time, to ſecure his territories as much as poſſible, with the conſent of the cardinals, drew 500,000 crowns from the treaſure lodged in St. *Angelo*; ordered conſiderable levies of troops to be made through the whole eccleſiaſtical ſtate; gave the command of his army to the count *de Marſigli*, who had lately been diſgraced by the emperor; and reinforced the garriſon of *Ferrara*, with 3000 men. However, he was not powerful enough to reſtrain the diſorders committed by the imperialiſts, who obliged many of his ſubjects to lay down their arms, under pain of military execution. The emperor pretended to ſeize the territory of *Ferrara* for his ally the duke of *Modena*; and as the duke of *Mantua* and *Montferrat* had eſpouſed the cauſe of *Philip* V. he put him to the ban of the empire, confiſcated his eſtates, and, having ſtripped the *Mantuan* territory of all the artillery and military ſtores, which were carried to *Milan*, he gave the inveſtiture of *Montferrat* to his ally the duke of *Savoy*, on condition that he ſhould not deſert the grand alliance till the concluſion of a general peace[r]. Theſe and other violent proceedings of the emperor obliged the pope and cardinals to act with greater ſpirit in their own defence. The levies were accordingly continued, and ſeveral cardinals, and the greateſt part of the *Roman* barons, voluntarily aſſeſſed themſelves in conſiderable ſums, according to their ability. The count *de Marſigli* marched into the territory of *Ferrara*, where the papal troops had ventured to act offenſively againſt the *Germans*. Upon the news of theſe hoſtilities, the count *de Thaun*, who had returned to *Lombardy*, marched thither with ſome new regiments; and, having taken poſſeſſion of ſeveral poſts in the territory of *Bologna*, inveſted *Ferrara*, prohibiting any proviſions to be carried into the city under pain of death. At the ſame time an imperial army advanced from *Naples* towards the frontiers of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, threatening an invaſion, on purpoſe to divide the pope's forces. The emperor, however, propoſed an accommodation to his holineſs, and, in the mean time, ordered a ceſſation of all hoſtilities. d e

*He is obliged to conſent to a peace with the emperor.* A. D. 1709.

As the ſtates and princes of *Italy* were over-awed by the *Germans*, and the coaſts of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate were threatened by the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* fleets, while the *French* were in no condition to give him any aſſiſtance either by ſea or land, *Clement* found himſelf obliged to ſubmit to the terms preſcribed by the emperor. Accordingly, on the 15th of *January*, a treaty was concluded betwixt him and *Joſeph*, by which he agreed to diſband all his troops, excepting 5000 men; to give winter-quarters to 6000, or according to ſome authors, to 5000 *Germans*; to diſmiſs all the *French* and *Spaniards* in his ſervice; and to pay a contribution of 100,000 *Roman* crowns. Among other articles it was alſo agreed, that commiſſaries ſhould be appointed to examine the emperor's pretenſions to *Comacchio*, *Parma*, *Placentia*, and *Modena*; and a congregation of cardinals was ordered to inquire into the claim of the archduke *Charles* to the crown of *Spain*. This laſt article was merely a form; for, before the ratification of the treaty was delivered, *Clement* was obliged to acknowlege f g

[r] Idem ibid. STRUVIUS Hiſt. Germ. ſect. xii. t. ii. p. 4060, 4081. Lettr. Hiſt. Mar: 1707. La Clef du Cabinet des Princes, Decem. 1708. LUNIGIUS Literis Proc. p. 111. BARR. Hiſt. d'Allemagne.

a *Charles* as king of *Spain*, to write to him as ſuch, and to ſend a nuncio to his court at *Barcelona*, while the ambaſſadors of *France* and *Philip* V. entered their proteſt againſt every thing done to the prejudice of the rights of the two crowns.

*CLEMENT*, however, notwithſtanding this declaration, ſoon after ſent an extraordinary nuncio to *Philip* V. at *Madrid*, with the bleſſed linen for his infant ſon the prince of *Aſturias* [s]; and in the midſt of the diſturbances occaſioned by the war in *Italy*, he had been very attentive to the religious diſputes in *France*, having granted a bull, at the requeſt of *Lewis* XIV. for ſuppreſſing of the monaſtery at *Port Royal*, in the ſuburbs of *Paris*, which he ſtiled *a neſt of hereſy* [t]. He likewiſe publiſhed a brief, condemning the New Teſtament which had been printed a few years before by father *Queſnel*, with moral reflections upon each verſe. He did

b not cenſure any particular propoſition, but condemned the book in general in the moſt ſevere terms: his brief, however, was not received and publiſhed in *France*, the clergy then inſiſting upon the privileges and rights of the *Gallican* church; and this year a refutation of the brief was publiſhed, as was ſuppoſed, by *Queſnel*, under the title of *A Dialogue upon the Decree of* Rome *againſt the New Teſtament of* Chalons, *with moral Reflections*. The pope endeavoured to intereſt the *French* king in the affair, by means of the *Jeſuit Tellier*, confeſſor to his majeſty; but, whatever inclination *Lewis* XIV. had to ſecond the pope's deſires, the time and circumſtances would not then allow him to declare himſelf, as he had already too many enemies to contend with, who had rejected with diſdain the propoſals made by him for peace (F). *Clement* likewiſe omitted nothing to draw the *French* biſhops to his party;

c nevertheleſs, the following year he gave offence to the *Gallican* clergy, by two briefs which he publiſhed againſt their privileges. Theſe decrees condemned a treatiſe *of the origin of the regalia*, and *a mandate of the biſhop of* St. Pons; but they were not written in the uſual form. The parliament of *Paris*, nevertheleſs, ordered them to be ſuppreſſed, and prohibited the printing and ſelling any bulls or briefs of the court of *Rome*, under the penalty of 3000 livres, unleſs they were allowed to be publiſhed by the king's letters patent regiſtered in parliament [u].

*He condemns the New Teſtament, publiſhed by* Queſnel, *with moral reflections.*

As the emperor *Joſeph* died the year after, and his brother the archduke *Charles* ſucceeded him, this revolution occaſioned a great alteration in the ſyſtem of affairs, and gave hopes that a general peace would ſoon be concluded; eſpecially as the queen of *England* had with-

d drawn her troops from *Spain*, and had agreed to a congreſs at *Utrecht*; and the *Dutch* began to be apprehenſive of the great power of the new emperor, if he ſhould unite the *Spaniſh* dominions to the imperial dignity and the *Auſtrian* hereditary countries.

*The archduke* Charles *elected emperor.*

[s] Barre ut ſup. Hiſt. des Papes, a la Haye, edit. 1734.
[t] Catechiſme Hiſt. & Dogmat. t. ii. p. 141.
[u] De Larrey, ut ſup.

(F) *Paſquier Queſnel* was born at *Paris* in 1634. After finiſhing his courſe of divinity in the *Sorbonne*, he entered into the congregation of the oratory, and addicted himſelf wholly to eccleſiaſtical ſtudies. For the uſe of his brethren, he wrote ſome moral reflections upon the four goſpels, which were approved by the biſhop of *Chalons-ſur-Marne*; who, in the year 1671, recommended them to the uſe of his dioceſe. *Queſnel*, about ten years afterwards, having offended *Harlay*, archbiſhop of *Paris*, by his attachment to the general of his order, was commanded to leave the dioceſe of *Paris*. He retired to *Orleans*; but, being ſoon after obliged to leave *France*, he went to *Bruſſels*, where he lived nine years, and finiſhed his moral reflections upon the New Teſtament; which work was publiſhed in the year 1694. After it had gone thro' ſeveral editions, it was approved by cardinal *Noailles*, who being hated by the *Jeſuits*, they, in the year 1698, publiſhed a libel, under the title of the *Problem*, againſt a work of his, in which they likewiſe cenſured many propoſitions of *Queſnel's* book. The *Problem* was ordered to be burnt by the parliament of *Paris*, and ſeveral pieces appeared in juſtification of the moral reflections. *Queſnel*, being perſecuted at *Bruſſels*, retired in 1704 into *Holland*; however, after his departure from the *Spaniſh* territories, a ſentence was publiſhed againſt him by the archbiſhop of *Mechlin*, and his enemies printed ſeveral treatiſes againſt him, under the titles of *Father* Queſnel *a heretic*, *Father* Queſnel *a mover of ſedition*. At laſt, in 1708, they obtained a decree of the pope, condemning his book (2).

(2) *Le Grand Diction. Hiſtor. de Moreri.*

# The HISTORY of VENICE.

## CHAP. I.

### Of the Form of Government, and preſent State of the Republic of VENICE.

### SECT. I.

*Of the preſent State and Form of Government at* VENICE, *including all the different Councils and Departments of the Republic.*

PREVIOUS to our hiſtory, it may not be diſagreeable to the reader, that we give a general account of the origin, ſituation, dominions, commerce, and policy of this ancient, wiſe, and once powerful republic. a

*Origin of Venice.*

Little indeed can be affirmed, with any degree of certainty, concerning the origin of *Venice*, few records having eſcaped the ravages of time, and of thoſe barbarous nations who over-ran the *Roman* empire. Nothing but what is conjectural, perplexed, and obſcure, can be gleaned from ancient authors. They differ from each other, ſometimes from themſelves, and too often give us the ſuggeſtions of their own imagination inſtead of facts. *Polybius* is of opinion, that the *Venetians* are deſcended from the ancient *Veneti*, a people of *Vannes* in *Bretagne*, conquered by *Julius Cæſar*, and ſold for ſlaves; by which means a great number of them were ſent into *Italy*. But no great weight can be laid on a notion founded upon no better authority than a certain ſimilitude of manners and dreſs between both nations; eſpecially as the whole is rendered improbable by the circumſtance of their having been enſlaved: it was not the practice of the *Romans* to eſtabliſh colonies of ſlaves within the bowels of *Italy*, and in the heart of the empire. *Cornelius Nepos* goes higher, deriving their origin from the *Henetians*, a nation bordering on *Paphlagonia*. In this he agrees with *Livy* and *Cato*, who ſcruple not to affirm, that the *Venetians* are the lineal progeny of thoſe *Henetians*, who, after the death of their leader *Pilemon*, put themſelves under the conduct of *Antenor*, and accompanied him into *Italy*. It is thought [a], that diſpoſſeſſing the *Euganeans*, the former inhabitants of the *Adriatic* coaſt, they ſettled about *Padua* and *Aquileia*, extending themſelves over *Breſcia*, *Friuli*, and all that tract of land bounded by the *Po* and *Adda*, the lake *la Garda*, anciently *Benac*, the *Alps*, and the *Adriatic*: *Pliny* comprehends under the province of *Venetia* the Eaſt ſide of *Aquileia*. b c

*Building of the city.*

HISTORIANS are no leſs divided concerning the time and manner of building the city of *Venice*. What the earlieſt *Italian* writers relate has much the appearance of panegyric and hiſtorical flattery. *Jorandes* affirms, that *Attila* advancing to *Aquileia*, the capital of the province of *Venetia*, inveſted it, and after a ſiege of three months, during which the garriſon performed prodigies of valour, took it by aſſault, pillaged and laid the city in aſhes, putting all thoſe to the ſword who fell into his hands; intending, by this barbarous uſage, and ſavage ferocity, to ſtrike terror into the other cities, and frighten them into ſubmiſſion. Some later writers [b] are of opinion, that on this occaſion the inhabitants of the province of *Venetia*, and the miſerable remains of *Aquileia*, *Verona*, *Mantua*, *Trevigio*, and other cities deſtroyed by this barbarian, retired to the iſlands on their coaſt, and there laid the firſt foundation of the city of *Venice*, calling it after the name of the province. *Idatius* and *Jorandes* fix this memorable event about the end of the year 451, or the beginning of 452 of the Chriſtian æra. d

*Various opinions concerning it.*

MOST writers date the foundation of the city thirty-one years earlier [c]. They ſay, that after the removal of the ſeat of empire by *Conſtantine* into the Eaſt, *Italy* was afflicted with a ſeries of calamities, and perpetually harraſſed with the incurſions of barbarous nations:

[a] SABELLICUS. l. 1. decad. 1. BLOND. FLAV. Rer. Venet. l. 1. SANSOVINO, p. 2. [b] Univer. Hiſt. vol. 16. [c] SABELLIC. BLOND. FLAV. FORLIVIENSIS, l. 1.

that

a that the *Huns*, led on by *Attila*, that ſcourge of humanity, after having defeated *Macrinus*, governor of *Pannonia* and *Macedonia*, was advancing towards *Italy*, deſtroying every thing with fire and ſword, leaving every where the veſtiges of a diſpoſition truly barbarous and brutal: that upon the news of his approach, the richeſt and moſt powerful families on the coaſt of the *Adriatic Sea*, ſtruck with the terror of his arms, retired with their moſt valuable effects into the little iſlands of the *Rialto*, as into a place of ſecurity: there they laid the foundations of a city which ſhould protect them againſt thoſe barbarians, and ſecure their religion, their liberty, their families, and wealth. Thus they ſuppoſe, that *Attila* penetrated twice into *Italy*; a fact that is diſputed by other writers.

THE ſituation of *Venice* is equally ſtrong, agreeable, and romantic. It is built upon a *Situation.*
b variety of ſmall iſlands on the *Rialto*, in the *Adriatic Sea*, or gulph of *Venice*, ſtanding in forty-five degrees, forty minutes North latitude. It is ſurrounded by lagunes or lakes communicating by ſix different paſſages with the ocean. Nor is the city more acceſſible on the ſide of the continent; ſince from all that tract of land bordering on the lagunes, only two paſſes can be entered even by ſmall boats. The waters are never frozen hard enough to ſupport the weight of cannon, carriages, and the other neceſſary appendages of an army.

THE natural advantages which *Venice* has in point of ſecurity, are however counterbalanced by ſome not inconſiderable inconveniences attending her ſituation. They reckon among theſe, the danger that in proceſs of time the lagunes will be filled up by the quantities of ſand carried down by the rivers, and of mud and ſlime thrown in by the tides; in
c which caſe the city would become defenceleſs, if not inſupportable, on account of noxious exhalations. To this may be added the incredible charge of building and repairing houſes, the very foundations of which are laid at a greater expence than in other countries whole edifices are reared. Upon the whole, nothing can be more noble and beautiful than to ſee one of the fineſt cities in the world riſing out of the waters, and appearing to float on the ocean, which contributes equally to its ornament, conveniency, and ſecurity. Its magnificent palaces, lofty towers, and houſes waſhed by the flood, form a moſt delightful and ſtriking ſpectacle: in a word, which ever way we approach this noble city, it ſhews itſelf equally peculiar and majeſtic. Travellers differ in their eſtimate of the number of the inhabitants. *Inhabitants.*
Some exaggerate them to 300,000; and others, with as little reaſon, diminiſh their num-
d bers to one third of that ſum: perhaps we ſhall be nearer the truth if we calculate at a medium.

As to the territories of the republic, they are ſtill conſiderable and extenſive, notwith- *Territories.*
ſtanding the loſs of the *Morea*, *Morlachia*, and the chief iſlands of the *Archipelago*. The *Venetian* dominions in *Italy* conſiſt of the *Dogado*, or *Venice proper*, the *Poleſino de Rovigo*, the *Pandoniano*, the *Veroneſe*, the *Cremaſco*, the *Bergomaſco*, the *Breſcian*, the *Treviſiana*, the *Belluneſe*, the *Vicentia*, the *Feltrino*, part of *Friuli*, and the *Cadorino*, a large and fruitful tract of country. The dutchy of *Venice* and province of *Padua*, in particular, are rich and populous: the latter, on account of its fertility, has been called the terreſtrial paradiſe. Beſides theſe thirteen *Italian* provinces, they likewiſe poſſeſs *Iſtria*, a peninſula bounded by *Carniola*
e on the Weſt, and ſurrounded by the *Adriatic Sea* on the South, North, and Eaſt. In *Morlachia* they hold the dominion of a few towns; and the whole ſea-coaſt of *Dalmatia*, except the territories of *Raguſa*; to which we may add ſome valuable iſlands on the coaſts of *Epirus* and *Dalmatia* [d].

THE trade of the republic has been much reduced for near two centuries, the greater part *Commerce.*
of it having fallen into the hands of the *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Dutch*. Formerly the *Venetians* engroſſed the whole commerce of *Aſia*, *Turkey* in *Europe*, and the iſlands of the *Archipelago*: but the diſcovery of *America*, and the commerce carried on in the *Eaſt Indies* by the *Cape* of *Good Hope*, has done them irreparable damage, and been more prejudicial to their ſtate, than all the expenſive and bloody wars carried on againſt the infidels.

f WITH reſpect to the conſtitution of *Venice*, it is juſtly applauded by all the beſt modern *Conſtitution.*
politicians. It has been affirmed by *Thuanus* and others [e], that, contrary to the nature of all other political and natural bodies, this republic will ever be exempted from decay and corruption, as long as ſhe adheres to her firſt and fundamental principles. The following reaſons have been aſſigned for the ſtability of the *Venetian* government, and the duration of liberty amidſt the many attempts of her potent neighbours and ambitious ſubjects.

HER firm attachment to her general principles; it being a maxim of the *Venetian* government, that innovation and change produce greater abuſes than thoſe inconveniencies they were intended to remedy. Hence her decrees are irrevocable.

[d] ATLAS Geograph. DESDIER. part. 2. SALMON's Modern State of Italy, vol. 10. OCEANA, p. 56.

[e] Hiſtor. ſui. temporis

THE

THE prudent and wiſe manner in which ſhe has ballanced between the contending powers of *Europe*, throwing herſelf always into the lighter ſcale, in order to preſerve a juſt political ballance. a

THE knowledge, judgment, and experience of her ſenators, who are obliged to perform a kind of probation in the ſeveral inferior employments of the ſtate, before they are admitted to the higheſt council of the republic.

THE judicious and equitable diſtribution of rewards and puniſhments, as they are appointed by the laws. Here alone it is, that the ſmalleſt offence againſt the ſtate, or ſuſpicion of an attack upon the liberty of the people, is puniſhed with immediate death; while the induſtrious, uſeful, and ingenious citizen and mechanic, is ſure of being rewarded [f]. Here alone it is, that corruption and venality are crimes of as heinous a nature as treaſon; that even an attempt to purchaſe a place under the government, or a voice in the ſenate, is made capital; that the nobility, officers, and gentlemen are forbid, under the ſevereſt penalties, to accept of preſents from foreign ſtates; and even the ambaſſadors obliged to account, to the full value for any gifts and favours conferred upon them by the courts where they reſide. b

WE may add, the extraordinary ſecrecy enjoined in all ſtate affairs [g]; and the ſevere and rigid laws againſt the betrayers of public truſt, and revealers of the myſteries of the cabinet.

THE reſtraints with which the laws have clogged the prerogatives of the ſovereign, who is in fact little more than preſident of the ſupreme council of the nation, with the badges rather of rank than of power; and the bounds preſcribed to the wealth and ambition of the ſubject [h]. c

THE excluſion from all places of profit or civil power [i] of the clergy and every member of the church, and confining their authority wholly to eccleſiaſtical affairs. Among the cauſes of ſtability of this republic, we may likewiſe reckon the patriotic diſpoſition and ſincere love of their country and conſtitution, obſervable even in the *Venetians* of meaner rank; the addreſs and policy of her ambaſſadors; the great riches of her bank; and, in ſhort, the very model and form of the conſtitution and government; of which it may be neceſſary to give a deſcription, as far as we are aſſiſted by the imperfect accounts of writers.

THE *Venetian* republic is a mixed government, compounded of monarchy, ariſtocracy, and a kind of democracy. The *Venetians* boaſt that their conſtitution has continued above 1300 years; though from their hiſtory it appears to have undergone various changes and revolutions. Moſt hiſtorians are of opinion, that the city was originally under the government of the conſuls and magiſtrates of *Padua*; but as they increaſed in wealth and numbers, that a deputy from each diſtrict or iſland, in whom was lodged the legiſlative power, was elected. It does not appear at this diſtance of time, whether this change was effected by force, or by the conſent of the *Paduans*; all we know is, that it happened about the thirty-third year of the city. It might probably be effected when *Attila* entered *Italy*, and deſtroyed *Aquileia*, *Verona*, *Mantua*, and other cities, by which means *Venice* received a great increaſe of inhabitants. Thus the conſular power was aboliſhed, and the tribunitian eſtabliſhed; a form that remained for near three hundred years, until the city fell under deſpotic ſway [k], and the power of a ſovereign, who for many years ruled with almoſt unlimited authority. We ſhall have occaſion to remark, in the courſe of our hiſtory, the means uſed to retrench his power, to limit the prerogative of the doge, and reduce the government to that mixed nature of which it now conſiſts. At preſent we ſhall content ourſelves with deſcribing the particular members which conſtitute the republic, and regulate the ſtate. d e

*Doges.*

IT is obſervable, that from the time the republic was firſt governed by a ſovereign, every alteration and change of the conſtitution ſerved to limit and retrench his authority [l]. The *Venetians* are perfectly ſatisfied, that the liberty of the people is incompatible with the intereſts of the prince, who aſſumes a power ſuperior to the laws; he is therefore not only ſubjected without reſerve, but clogged by particular reſtrictions, which would ſeem to render his condition inferior to that of a private ſenator. Diſpatches are made in his name, and the letters of foreign courts addreſſed to him; but he delivers them unopened to the ſenate, and reports their anſwer to the ambaſſadors. To keep him in continual remembrance that his power is ſubordinate to the ſenate and council, they forbear the examination of all propoſitions made by the miniſters of other ſtates, until the doge and his counſellors have withdrawn. His anſwers to foreign miniſters muſt be general; if they ſhould prove diſpleaſing to the ſenate, he is ſure to meet with rough checks and ſenſible mortifications [m]. Nor is it in theſe audiences only the doge muſt ſquare his conduct to the narrow bounds of his authority; it is likewiſe in particulars where his paſſions, his humanity, and happineſs are concerned. He can neither marry, viſit, or ſtir out of the city without leave. f g

[f] PARUTI, l. 6. SABELL. dec. 3. [g] PARUTI. ibid. SABELL. ibid. [h] PARUT. SABELL. paſſim, FLAV. FORLIV. paſſim. [i] BODIN, lib. 2. DESDIER, part 2. [k] SABELL. l. 1. d. 1. SABELL. ibid. FLAV. BLOND. FORLIV. l. 1. d. 1. [l] DESDIER, p. 2. BURNET, p. 26. [m] HOWEL, p. 56.

a If he ſets foot on the continent, his authority ceaſes: and indeed, ſolitude and dependance would appear to be the diſtinguiſhing and eſſential qualities of his function. It is true, the doge is addreſſed with the reſpect paid to a ſovereign prince; he is attended with the enſigns and badges of royalty; and in ſhort, enjoys the whole pomp, pageantry, and, *circumſtance* of power, without the authority.

THE great council is compoſed of all the *Venetian* nobility, who have attained the age of twenty-five years. It frames laws, chooſes ſenators, confirms the elections of the ſenate, nominates to all public employments, the podeſtates, procurators, governors, &c. It reforms all public abuſes and errors, holds the ſupreme legiſlative power, and is the firſt tribunal, the baſis and ſupport of the government. The doge is preſident of this council; b but its decrees and reſolves are valid without his preſence; his name, however, is uſed out of form and compliment. Upon the whole, the great council would ſeem to be a kind of mixture of the peers and commons of *Great Britain*. The individuals enjoy the rights and privileges of the former, while the power of the latter is lodged in the body collective [n]. *The great council.*

THE ſenate, or *pregadi*, is that part of the conſtitution where the executive power reſides. All reſolutions upon peace and war, treaties and alliances, are taken here. All laws made in the great council receive the ſanction of the ſenate before they paſs into act; and it has the power of ſending ambaſſadors, and the diſpoſal of many inferior offices, civil and military. Originally it conſiſted of ſixty ſenators, called *ordinary*; ſince an addition of ſixty more has been made [o], theſe laſt are called *extraordinary*, and compoſe a *junto*, c *la guinta*. The opinions are taken by ballot; and to prevent confuſion, only the members who immediately compoſe it, are ſuffered to vote, although the great council, the ſeignory, the forty judges of criminal courts, have admittance, and the liberty of ſpeaking for or againſt the opinions propoſed. As the ſixty extraordinary ſenators are annually choſen in the great council, and are either changed or continued as their conduct deſerves, it attaches them inviolably to their duty, and prevents their abuſing the authority lodged in their hands. The profound ſecrecy of an aſſembly, compoſed of ſo great a multitude, is very extraordinary: this the republic has brought about, by the inquiſition of ſtate, the excluſion of all ſtrangers, eccleſiaſtics, and even of their own relations, and neareſt connexions [p]. *The ſenate.*

d THE ſeignory, or council of ten, conſiſts of the doge, ſix members of the great council, and the three chief judges of the higheſt court of judicature. Next to the inquiſition of ſtate, this is the moſt formidable tribunal of the republic [q]. The council of ten receives all accuſations and informations againſt perſons ſuſpected of deſigns againſt the government. Three of their number compoſe the inquiſition of ſtate. They impriſon, condemn, and execute arbitrarily, without hearing the priſoner's defence, either in perſon or by his advocates. They are the guardians of the public tranquility; watch over the welfare of the city; compoſe quarrels, and ſuppreſs tumults; keep a ſtrict eye over factious, turbulent, and ambitious ſpirits; regulate the coin, weights, meaſures, and markets; and are equally the terror of the nobility and commons, the prince and the ſubject, and as odious as they are formidable. e The executions and judgments of the tribunal of three, or ſtate inquiſition, are equally expeditious and ſecret. To avoid public clamours againſt their ſeverity, the offender is in the night thrown into the ſea, upon the bare evidence of their ſpies, or any two witneſſes ſuborned for the purpoſe. But this injuſtice and cruelty has been ſomewhat remedied within this laſt century. An unguarded word, the moſt trifling inſinuation, or indirect reflection upon the government; the being ſeen with fire-arms, and other frivolous indiſcretions, were formerly deemed crimes againſt the ſtate, and of ſo heinous a nature as to merit immediate death or baniſhment. Yet has this formidable tribunal been one cauſe of the long duration of *Venetian* liberty, if a people groaning under the tyranny of ſo mercileſs and arbitrary a triumvirate, can be ſaid to enjoy liberty. *The ſeignory.* *State inquiſition.*

f THE council called the *ſavi*, or ſages, conſiſt of ſixteen perſons; ſix called the *ſavi grande*, take cognizance of all the affairs relative to the fleets and armies of the republic; five others confine themſelves more particularly to land affairs; and the remaining five are employed in the care of the marine, trade, and commerce. The former of theſe are called *ſavi de terra firma*, and the latter *ſavi de gli ordini*, choſen out of the moſt experienced perſons of the city [r]. *Savi.*

FROM theſe ariſes another order or board, conſiſting of the *doge*, the *ſeignory*, and the *ſavi*, in conjunction; and this college is reputed the moſt uſeful council of the ſtate. They hear all letters ſent to or received by the ſenate, read by the ſecretary [s]; they give audience to foreign miniſters and agents, and take cognizance of all foreign and domeſtic complaints. g Thus all matters of ſtate, unleſs they require extraordinary ſecrecy and diſpatch, are delibe- *College of the ſeignory and ſavi.*

[n] DESD. ut ſupra: FOUGASS. p. 56, 57. [o] SABELL. FLAV. l. 1. d. 2. [p] DESD. p. 2.
[q] BODIN, l. 2. PAUL. JOV. l. 1. CASSIODORUS RAVEN. p. 22. [r] DESDIER. [s] Ibid.

rated by the *ſavi* and ſeignory in their ſeveral departments; by the *college* compoſed of the union of both; by the *ſenate*; and laſtly, by the great *council*. Hence it is that the reſolves of the republic are deliberate, prudent, and perpetual; and that her caution and wiſdom have been the admiration of ages. It muſt, however, be acknowleged, that what they ſtile the baſis of government, and prop of the conſtitution, the ſtate inquiſition, and its horrid train of ſpies, emiſſaries, and informers, wears an ugly aſpect, and contradicts the practice of the moſt civilized nations, and beſt regulated ſtates. It may have diſcovered attempts, and fruſtrated conſpiracies againſt the government; but ſurely nothing can reconcile a man, born under the influence of liberty, and nurſed in the lap of freedom, to ſo horrid, cruel, and arbitrary a juriſdiction. Informers have ever been eſteemed the peſts of ſociety, and inſtruments of tyranny; and they were the deteſtation of *Greece* and *Rome*, as long as liberty remained. But *Venice* gives them the protection of her laws, and penſions from the government, upon the moſt infamous and pernicious footing; their informations are received in a ſecret manner, thrown into a ſtone appropriated for that purpoſe, and anonymous. Thus the excellencies of the *Venetian* conſtitution are weighed down by faults of ſo groſs and enormous a nature, as one would think leſs tolerable than the moſt deſpotic and abſolute monarchy. a b

*Church.* OF all the eccleſiaſtics in *Europe*, thoſe of *Venice* alone are excluded the councils and public employments of the ſtate. The republic has laid it down as a principle, that ſhe ſhould have an abſolute ſway over her ſubjects of every condition and degree. The interdiction of *Paul* V. is a noble inſtance of her adherence to this maxim. The pope is deemed a mere temporal prince, and the patriarch a cypher at *Venice*. The republic is ſupreme in all cauſes, and over all perſons, eccleſiaſtical and civil, within her dominions. The government of the church is divided between the patriarchs of *Venice* and *Aquileia*: the province of the former is confined to the city; of the latter to the continent, who is more independent and better ſupported by the ſpiritual authority of the pope, than his brother prelate. He is appointed by the ſenate, who oblige him to chuſe a noble *Venetian* for his coadjutor. As the patriarchs are not permitted to nominate to the cures or benefices of the city, or duchy of *Venice*, ſo their credit is no greater than their authority; the prieſts and religious decline their juriſdiction even in eccleſiaſtical affairs, in favour of other tribunals under the influence of the ſenate. In ſhort, the ſeverity of the republic not two centuries ago to the *Jeſuits*, has ever ſince humbled the ambition of the clergy, and kept them in a ſervile awe and ſlaviſh dependance on the civil power. c d

## SECT. II.

### *Of the firſt Eſtabliſhment of Government at* Venice; *the abolition of the Conſular, and firſt Inſtitution of the Tribunitian Power; the firſt Wars carried on by the City; its Progreſs to Conſequence and Grandeur; and the Alteration made in the Conſtitution by electing a Doge in the Room of the Tribunes.*

A. D. 421. THE hiſtorians of the earlier periods of the republic ſeem to have ſupplied by fiction what was wanting upon authority; and to have filled up the chaſm in annals and records from the fertility of their own invention. They are profuſe of their encomiums upon the regularity, order, ſtrict piety, and morals of this infant city, but extremely ſparing of facts. If we credit them [a], the great delicacy and ſcrupulous exactneſs in the choice of members compoſing this little community, is beyond example: the pureſt religion, the moſt unblemiſhed morals, rigid virtue and integrity, together with a certain degree of wealth and quality, were the indiſputable qualifications of thoſe admitted to the privileges of the city. e

*The firſt eſtabliſhment of government.*

*CASSIODORUS* [b] relates, that one would have taken this multitude of people rather for a numerous ſeminary of philoſophers living at their eaſe, cultivating the duties of religion and virtue, and enjoying a perfect tranquility, than for the concourſe of a diſtreſſed, clamorous, and diſorderly rabble. They contended not in luxury, oſtentation, and expence; but in moderation, chaſtity, and virtue. Riches, honours, ambition, and the train of evils which conſtitute the great concern of the reſt of mankind, had no charms for the *Venetians*: rich and poor lived upon a familiar equality. Property was common to all, and entirely devoted to the occaſions of the public. Merit was the only diſtinction; that alone was eſteemed true nobility which was acquired by virtue. Induſtry and frugality were commended, as they were uſeful to the community; virtue and piety, as they ennobled the man by the practice of what became a rational creature. Upon theſe their conferences turned, and upon theſe alone their quarrels, if any, aroſe. Power and authority were conferred on modeſt merit; the voluptuous, the preſuming, and worldly-minded, were excluded from f g

[a] BLOND. FLAV. de geſtis Venet. SABELLIC. l. 1. d. 1. [b] Apud SABELLIC. SANSOVINO, ibid.

public

a public truſt and credit. Such is the picture drawn by the earlieſt writers of this happy ſtate, to which perhaps we may venture to accede, under certain reſtrictions.

UNDER ſuch happy auſpices did this republic receive her firſt laws, ordinances, and regulations; in ſuch practices and ſtudies did ſhe paſs her amiable infancy. A total chaſm appears in hiſtory from the ſixth year of the city until the abolition of the conſular, and eſtabliſhment of the tribunitian power, twenty-five years after. *Aquileia*, *Verona*, and many of the cities and provinces upon or near the ſea-coaſt, having been deſtroyed about this time, *Venice* received a great increaſe of inhabitants. The miſerable remains who had eſcaped the rage of the conquerors, fled to it in crowds, and ſo augmented the number of citizens, that *Venice* was conſiderably enlarged, a great number of iſlands taken into its b compaſs, and the diſtricts and ſeveral wards multiplied [c]. Upon this a new diviſion of the city was made, each ward enjoying its own peculiar rights and immunities, at the ſame time that it compoſed one whole. Hence the conſular government was thought inconvenient. Either ſome wards muſt enjoy privileges ſuperior to the reſt, by the conſuls choſen out of them, or a conſul muſt be elected from each; which, on account of their number, as well as the dignity annexed to the function, would create an expence to the public altogether inſupportable. To obviate every difficulty, a ſcheme was propoſed for new-modelling the government. A general aſſembly of the nation was convened; and, after ſome warm debates, and keen altercations, the following propoſals were at length aſſented to, and ratified by a majority, viz. That [d] a tribune ſhould be yearly appointed by c each diſtrict or iſland compoſing the ſtate: that they ſhould have power to take cognizance in all cauſes, over all perſons, and to decide all controverſies ariſing within their ſeveral juriſdictions: that they ſhould impriſon, condemn, and acquit within the limits of their ward; but that an appeal, in dubious caſes, or where the parties complained of injuſtice, might be made to the ſuperior aſſemby of the nation: that this great aſſembly or council ſhould conſiſt of all the perſons poſſeſſing a certain property, and of a certain degree of quality within the city: that it ſhould be ſupreme in all judicial caſes: that it ſhould poſſeſs the legiſlative and executive authority, with a power of entruſting what part of the latter it thought fit, to the tribunes, or other magiſtrates by them appointed: and that it ſhould have the power of nominating to all places, offices, and public truſts, that of chuſing the tribunes alone ex-d cepted. Such was the plan of government which ſucceeded the conſular, and continued, with little variation, the ſpace of near three hundred years, until the power of the tribunes was ſunk in the authority of a duke or *doge*.

*Change of government.*

*Tribunes elected.*

AFTER the deſtruction of *Padua* by the *Lombards*, the *Venetians* were not only become a free and commercial people, but a ſtate of conſiderable importance on the continent; the maſters of a fleet, and body of land-forces. Their firſt diſputes were with the *Lombards*, who having ſeized upon *Friuli*, the province of *Venetia*, and almoſt all the territories of the infant republic, confined the dominion of *Venice* within a ſmall compaſs. We know nothing of the iſſue of this quarrel.

*The firſt wars carried on by* Venice.

HISTORIANS make the firſt mention of the *Venetian* fleet about this period [e]. The *Iſ-*e *trians* and *Dalmatians* had made ſome deſcents upon the ſkirts of the city of *Venice*, plundering ſeveral houſes, and uſing violence on the inhabitants. They had likewiſe diſturbed their commerce, and committed depredations upon the merchants trading to the iſlands of the *Archipelago*, and maritime cities of *Italy*. The *Venetians* [f] fitted out a ſmall ſquadron, and immediately ſailed in purſuit of the enemy, without any formal declaration of war. Having come up with the pirates, they attacked and defeated them, deſtroying a great number of their ſhips, obliging them to ſue for peace, to give hoſtages for their conduct, and make reparation for the damages the republic had ſuffered.

NOT long after, an inſult was offered to the republic by the *Tergeſtines*, the inhabitants of *Trieſte*, who landing ſuddenly, carried off a number of the citizens. [g] *Pietro Candiano*, a f leading man at that time, was appointed to revenge this unprovoked affront. His diligence was ſo great, that the ſame day two ſhips of war were equipped, and under ſail to ſeek the enemy, with whom he came up in the evening. He gave immediate orders for the attack, defeated the enemy, retook his countrymen, and carried the *Tergeſtines* priſoners into *Venice*. ——Theſe are the firſt inſtances we have of the proweſs, ſpirit, and reſolution of this republic.

A DEGREE of conſideration and eſteem among the neighbouring powers was acquired by theſe firſt exploits. Their reputation preſerved the *Venetians* for ſome time unmoleſted, and ſuffered them to purſue the arts of peace, to beautify their city, frame laws, eſtabliſh good order and diſcipline among the ſeveral degrees of inhabitants; to proſecute their trade,

Venice *acquires eſteem and conſequence.*

[c] BONITEN. Comment. l. 1. [d] SABELLIC. l. 1. d. 1. DESDIER. p. 2. BONITEN. Comment. l. 1.
[e] SABELLIC. l. 1. d. 1. BONITEN. Com. PAUL. DIACON. [f] SABELL. l. 1. d. 1. FOUGASS. l. 1. d. 1.
BLOND. FLAV. de geſt. Venet. [g] SABELL. l. 1. d. 1. BONITEN, l. 1. BLOND. Hiſt. p. 298.

commerce,

commerce, manufactures, and every ſpecies of induſtry; by means of which they, in a ſhort a
time, attained to a high pitch of affluence and power.

About this time the republic entered into treaty with the brave *Narſes*, lieutenant of *Juſtinian*, who had been ſent to reſcue *Italy* from the uſurpation of the *Goths*. The *Venetians* made no ſecret of this alliance: they publicly aſſiſted him with arms, money, and ſhipping, and every thing elſe ſtipulated or required. *Totila*, who commanded the *Goths*, was encamped upon the banks of the river *Adice* [h]. In order to come up with him, without fatiguing his troops by a laborious, long, and difficult march, *Narſes* reſolved to tranſport his army by ſea to *Ravenna*; this the *Venetian* fleet executed, coaſting along the *Italian* ſide of the gulph, and landing the troops ſafe without the loſs of a ſingle ſhip. The ſoundings were perfectly known to them, having by this time acquired a conſiderable ſkill and b
experience in maritime affairs. We are not informed what ſhare they bore in the action, or whether any of their forces were preſent; all we know is, that *Narſes* having gained a complete victory, expreſſed his ſenſe of the obligations he lay under to the *Venetians*, by ſeveral rich preſents, high marks of diſtinction, and particularly by building two fine churches, dedicated to the ſaints *Theodore* and *Germinian*; the oldeſt public buildings, beſides St. *Mark*'s and St. *Peter*'s, in *Venice*. Theſe are all the particulars with which hiſtorians have favoured us, of the public tranſactions of the *Venetians* for the ſpace of two hundred and ſeventy-two years. Nor have they been more particular concerning her domeſtic conduct. It is true, indeed, that a new-founded ſtate, ſtudious of raiſing herſelf by her induſtry, commerce, frugality, and prudence, little connected with other nations, ſolitary by ſituation as c
well as from inclination, and chiefly bent upon cultivating peace, and reaping the fruits of tranquility, is capable of furniſhing but few of thoſe events which are thought worthy of being tranſmitted to poſterity. They now indeed begin to be more minute; and exhibit a particular detail of that great revolution which brought the republic into the hands of one man, after having aboliſhed the power of the tribunes. We are told, that the magiſtrates uſing their power wantonly, aſſuming an authority ſuperior to the laws, puniſhing offences committed rather againſt their own perſons, than againſt the ſtate, had become odious to the people; that their private diſſentions had ſpread the ſeeds of diſcord, and excited a ferment over the whole city, ſo as wholly to alienate the minds of the public from the eſtabliſhed government; that the attempts of the *Forlians*, a little ſtate in the neighbourhood upon the d
continent, who had endeavoured to draw ſome advantage from the civil broils of *Venice*, encreaſed the general diſlike to the power of the tribunes. To theſe cauſes may be added, the depredations committed by the *Lombards*, with many other grievances, which, on account of their domeſtic quarrels, they were unable to repel. In this ſituation a general council was demanded by the unanimons voice of the public, that the ſtate of affairs might be canvaſſed and the conſtitution new modelled.

*Change of government.*

The aſſembly of the nation having met, the biſhop of *Grada* was choſen to preſide, attended by a numerous body of the ſuperior clergy; from which we may obſerve, that eccleſiaſtics had not as yet been excluded from the government. Nothing but complaints, murmurs, and revilings againſt the tribunes could be heard. They were accuſed of extor- e
tion, cruelty, murder, and tyranny. It was aſſerted, that the republic muſt fall; their liberties be annihilated; their wives and children expoſed to the unbridled luſt, and their property to the rapacious avarice of thoſe mercileſs tyrants, unleſs an end was put to their authority, by introducing another form of government. After various ſpeeches, debates, and propoſals,
A. D. 697. the aſſembly proceeded to buſineſs. Numberleſs defects in their preſent conſtitution were remarked. They obſerved, that a power of convoking the great council was lodged in no part of the ſtate; that the various opinions and claſhing intereſts of ſo numerous an aſſembly, without a head, was attended with diſcord and animoſity; that having no one to direct their proceedings, they were ſlow, irreſolute, and without vigour in their meaſures; that the public affairs were conducted rather according to the paſſions and intereſt of factions, f
than the occaſions of the ſtate; and that the executive power was neceſſarily transfered to the tribunes, who were often ignorant, of mean extraction, and low fortune [i]. Hence aroſe the abuſe of their authority; ignorance is ever the foundation of conceit; meanneſs of inſolence; and poverty begets oppreſſion and avarice. They likewiſe remarked, that unanimity and concord could never exiſt in a ſtate, where the chief members were unconnected; that the tribunes, being excluded from a ſeat in the aſſembly, muſt of courſe be ignorant of the ſenſe and ſpirit of many of the laws committed to their care; that as they formed no regular council among themſelves, the diſtribution of juſtice muſt vary in the ſeveral diſtricts of the city; the laws be local; one part of the nation groaning under bondage, while

[h] Sabell. ibid. Blond. Flav. de geſt. Venet. Idem in Hiſt. [i] Sabell. Blond. ut ſupra.

a the other enjoyed the ſweets of liberty; and the happineſs of the people depending upon the humour, diſpoſition, or caprice of a few petty magiſtaates [l]. The reſult was, to aboliſh the tribunitian power, and in its ſtead to elect a *duke* or doge, in whom ſhould be veſted the ſupreme authority. He was to repreſent the honour and majeſty of the ſtate; to have reſpect and diſtinction paid him ſuperior to what the tribunes, or even the conſuls enjoyed; he was to aſſemble and preſide at the great council; to have a caſting vote in all diſputed points; to nominate to all offices, places, and preferments; and laſtly, to enjoy the ſame ſupremacy in the church as in the ſtate [m].

*PAULATIO*, of *Heraclea*, is ſuppoſed to have procured the election to fall upon himſelf, by his dexterity, addreſs, and intrigues. He was a man of fine talents, ſpecious eloquence, Paulatio, *the firſt doge.*
b handſome and intrepid. His generoſity had made him popular, and his experience in public buſineſs neceſſary in the aſſembly. He never countenanced thoſe factions which diſturbed the tranquility of the republic, though it is imagined that when diſcord ran high, he applied to his own purpoſes the diviſions which he could not heal. In ſhort, his cool prudence, his inſinuating manner, and artful conduct, had ſo greatly influenced the aſſembly, that he was elected ſovereign by the unanimous concurrence of the council, to the great joy of the people, who were extravagant in the demonſtrations of their ſatisfaction.

## *PAULATIO*, Doge I.

THE new doge began his adminiſtration with reforming abuſes, inſpecting the conduct A. D. 697.
c of the late magiſtrates, framing laws with the ſanction of the general council, putting the fleets into a reſpectable condition, adorning the city, and extending commerce, encouraging induſtry, and rewarding merit; in ſhort, by every action which could render his perſon beloved, or his people happy. He formed an alliance with *Luitprand* duke of *Forli*: ſome ſay he conquered him. He extended the limits of his native city *Heraclea*, now under the dominion of the *Venetian* republic, from the river *Pavia* to the rivulet called *Pavicola*. By his mere authority and intereſt he induced the *Equilines* (ſuppoſed to be the ſame with the *Jeſulans*) to acknowlege the ſovereignty of the republic [n]. To ſum up all, he made the nation happy, powerful, and wealthy. After a reign of twenty years and ſix months he died univerſally regretted and beloved. He was the firſt, and was one of the beſt princes *Ve-*
d *nice* ever ſaw. His ambition terminated in the good of the public, inſomuch that he neglected the intereſts of his own family, to give his whole attention to the aggrandizement of the country over which he was ſovereign.

## *MARCELLO*, Doge II.

*MARCELLO* of *Heraclea*, or as *Sanſovino* calls him, *M. Tegaliano* ſucceeded *Paulatio* in A. D. 717. Marcello, *doge* II.
the dogeſhip. All that hiſtory relates of him is, that he was wiſe, prudent, and warlike. Writers have not informed us of his exploits, nor of the tranſactions of the republic during his adminiſtration. Some indeed affirm, that no ſuch perſon ever exiſted, or at leaſt acted in quality of doge; but *Sanſovino* [o] and *Sabellicus* [p] relate, that he reigned nine years, and died
e with the reputation of an able politician and brave ſoldier. Indeed the writers of the firſt 400 years of the republic, are rather biographers than hiſtorians; they entirely ſlip over the affairs of the public, excepting where the doges are immediately concerned. This it is that renders every account we have hitherto ſeen of this early period lame, barren, and defective.

## *HYPATO*, Doge III.

AT the death of *Marcello*, the great council met for the election of a new doge, when Hypato, *doge* III.
*Horleo Hypato*, commonly ſtiled *Orſo*, was preferred to the other candidates. As he was a great warrior and politician, the council looked upon him as the perſon beſt qualified to
f conduct the ſtate at a critical juncture, when all their prudence and fortitude were required. The *Lombards*, having ſeized upon *Ravenna*, and depoſed the *exarch*, were become formi- A. D. 726.
dable to all the provinces upon the coaſt of the *Adriatic* [q]. The doge was hardly ſettled in his new government, when the fugitive exarch came to implore his aſſiſtance to reinſtate him in his authority, and reſcue the city out of the hands of the *Lombards*. *Horleo Hypato*, *The* Venetians *extend their politics.*
ſenſible that no time ought to be loſt in giving a check to this enterpriſing people; and willing at the ſame time to do honour to the requeſt of pope *Gregory* the third, who warmly eſpouſed the exarch, prepared a fleet and army, with all poſſible expedition, to oppoſe the barbarians. All things being in readineſs, he landed his army, and laid ſiege to *Ravenna*; took and reſtored it to the former inhabitants, who immediately replaced their

[l] BONITEN. COM. [m] SANSOV. delle Vit. de Principi, l. 13. SABELL. l. 1. d. 1. [n] SABELLIC. l. 1. d. 1. [o] Chron. Venet. [p] L. 1. d. 1. [q] SANSOV. del. v. p. SABELL. l. 1. d. 1. BLOND. FLAV. Hiſt. p. 362.

baniſhed exarch. What the *Venetians* had hitherto done was by way of retaliation, or in a ſelf-defence: with *Narſes* they acted as auxiliaries; but now extending their politics, they became principals, and conducted a war with which they had nothing to do, without any other aſſiſtance than the ſpiritual endeavours of the pope; which would have afforded but a ſlight protection to the exarch againſt the power of the *Lombards* [p].

*Civil diviſions.*

ABOUT this time the affairs of the republic were diſturbed by ſome diviſions in the church. *Calixtus* biſhop of *Aquileia*, diſdaining to acknowlege the ſuperiority and juriſdiction of the new ſee of *Grada*, raiſed a little army, and over-running the whole territory of *Grada* and the adjacent provinces, he every where committed devaſtations, which in a *Goth*, *Hun*, or *Lombard*, would have been termed ſavage; but in a catholic prieſt were thought pious, and deſerving canonization, notwithſtanding the whole diſpute turned upon a ridiculous point of precedency: however, by means of the pope's mediation, the affair was at length terminated to the ſatisfaction of all parties [q]. b

NOTWITHSTANDING the other valuable qualities of the doge, he had a fierceneſs and haughty inſolence, which not only rendered him diſagreeable, but frequently intolerable. The *Heracleans* having by ſome trivial fault incurred his diſpleaſure, he entered their country in a hoſtile manner, laying every place waſte in his progreſs. At length, meeting with a body of their troops, a battle was fought, in which both parties behaved with incredible valour: the field was long diſputed, and victory hovered in ſuſpence, when a random blow put an end to the doge's life, and ſecured their liberty to the *Heracleans*.

*Inter-regnum.* A. D. 737.

AFTER the death of *Hypato*, a kind of inter-regnum for the ſpace of a year enſued. *Sabellicus* relates, that warm debates, and violent heats reigned in the aſſembly; that the people were divided about a ſucceſſor; and that a majority appeared for a change of government; which was effected, contrary to the inclinations of the moſt conſiderable families. c

*A new form of government.*

The plan propoſed and carried into execution was, that a maſter of the horſe ſhould be choſen every year, into whoſe hands was transferred the authority of the doge: the ſhort duration of his power, would, it was thought, be a ſufficient check againſt the abuſe of it; eſpecially as his conduct underwent a ſevere ſcrutiny at the expiration of his office [r]. The firſt perſon appointed to this authority was *Dominico Leo*, a man of ſome ſway and intereſt in the city: he was ſucceeded by *Felix Cornicula* for the next year; who quitting the reins

*A maſter of the horſe choſen.*

at the time appointed by law, had *Deodato*, ſon to *Hypato*, elected in his room [s]. He was d recalled from baniſhment three years after his father's death, and paſſed through nine months of his office, at which period he died, univerſally eſteemed. *Juliano Cepari* was next choſen, of whom we know nothing more than his having ruled for a year. Then was elected *Fabritio Ciani*, or, according to others, *Giovanni Fabritio*, the fourth and laſt *maſter of the horſe*, or *general of the forces* [t]: he was depoſed before the year expired, had his eyes put out, and was confined for life, though for what fault we are not informed.

THUS ended the authority of the new governors: an authority laid aſide with as little reaſon as it had been aſſumed, and equally ſhort in its duration, as ſudden in its eſtabliſhment.

e

## SECT. III.

*The Form of Government again changed, and the Doges reſtored*; Venice *engaged in divers foreign Wars, and particularly with* Pepin *King of* France, *who laid ſiege to the City, and was forced by the Bravery of the* Venetians *to relinquiſh the Enterprize.*

### *THEODATO*, Doge IV.

A. D. 742.

THE minds of the people were eagerly bent upon the reſtitution of the ducal government. Whether this proceeded from the natural inconſtancy peculiar to ſtates ſurrounded by the ſea, and divided by this ſtrong barrier from the reſt of the world, or whether f the inclinations of mankind diſpoſe them to obey regal authority with a chearfulneſs in proportion to the diſtance it is exalted above them, we will not determine: certain we are, that confuſion and anarchy muſt have enſued, had not the people been gratified with reſtoring that very authority they reviled as tyrannical and oppreſſive but a few years before. In ſhort,

Theodato *the 4th doge.*

a doge was elected, the choice falling upon *Theodato*, the ſecond ſon of doge *Hypato*, and the brother of *Guiliano Hypato*, maſter of the horſe [u]. *Theodato* was recalled from baniſhment, in which he had lived ever ſince the death of his father, to take upon him the ſupreme go-

*Of ſervice to the* Heracleans.

vernment. His firſt public tranſaction was to curb the ambition of the *Lombards*, and procure juſtice to the *Heracleans*; this he effected without bloodſhed, by the mere weight of g

[p] SABELL. ibid. BLOND. de geſtis Ven. Etiam in Hiſt. p. 374. [q] SABELL. l. 1. d. 1. [r] SANSOV. del. v. p. l. 13. SABELL. l. 1. d. 1. BLOND de geſt Ven. [s] SANSOV. Chron. Veneto. SABELL. l. 1. d. 1. [t] SABELL. ibid. [u] SABELL. l. 2. d. 1. SANSOV. del. v. p. l. 13.

his

his influence and authority. *Theodato* next repaired the caſtle of *Brundulla*, ſtanding at the mouth of the bay leading to *Chioggia*. This fort is exceeding ſtrong, both by nature and art: what were *Theodato*'s motives to add to the fortifications we know not; this is certain, that *Galla* made uſe of it as a pretext to cover his own villainous intentions. He omitted no opportunity of inſinuating the ſuſpicious, dangerous, and dark deſigns of the doge; that he intended no leſs than to render himſelf independent and abſolute; that beſides his haughty carriage to the nobility, and fawning obſequiouſneſs to the common people, beſides the ſtrong body-guard he always maintained, and the ſtate he aſſumed, this laſt action, his fortifying with all poſſible art, and keeping a ſtrong garriſon in a caſtle of no uſe to the republic, was an undeniable proof of his ambitious views. Having thus wrought upon the paſſions of
b the leading men, he obtained a body of troops, with which marching ſecretly to *Brundulla*, while the doge was there, he unexpectedly entered the caſtle, ſeized, blinded, and depoſed *Theodato:* then returning to *Venice*, he had the addreſs to procure himſelf to be elected in his ſtead. Thus ended the power of the unhappy *Theodato*, after he had governed the republic for thirteen years [b]. He was a man of a ſpeculative turn, much addicted to ſtudy and retirement, of few words, and a reſerved carriage: the misfortunes of the firſt part of his life had confirmed his natural propenſity to ſolitude; yet when he appeared in public, no man paid a greater attention to the magnificence, munificence, and majeſty of a prince. *Depoſed.*

## *GALLA*, Doge V.

c Some writers affirm, that *Galla* never was lawfully elected; but ſeizing the authority, maintained himſelf in it by his influence over the troops given him to depoſe *Theodato* [c]. This circumſtance is not improbable, if we conſider his character, and the ſhort duration of his power. He was maſter of deep diſſimulation, an inſinuating manner, and ſpecious appearance; he could cloak the blackeſt vices under the appearance of virtue, and maſk his ambition with the direct ſemblance of patriotiſm. But when his cunning was inſufficient to effect his purpoſes, he was equally vigorous in his public, as he had been artful in his ſecret practices, ſacrificing honour, honeſty, and reputation, to his intereſt and the love of power. After a reign of one year and two months, he was depoſed and blinded (a piece of policy the *Venetians* would ſeem to have borrowed from the Eaſtern nations) leaving behind
d him the character of a bad man, an ambitious, turbulent, and tyrannical prince. A. D. 755. Galla, *doge* V.

## *DOMENCO MONEGARIO*, Doge VI.

After the expulſion of *Galla* the general council appointed *Domenco Monegario* his ſucceſſor. What could induce them to this choice is not eaſily imagined, as we are told that his judgment [d] was ſo weak, and his temper ſo impetuous, as to render it neceſſary to direct the one and controul the other by the authority of certain tribunes. This was his known character before he was elected to govern the republic; upon his acceſſion he ſhewed himſelf a monſter of iniquity [e]. He was cruel, covetous, and lewd beyond example; inſomuch that the republic, finding the virtues of the tribunes an unequal balance to his vices, inflicted the ſame puniſhment on him as they had done on his predeceſſor (A). A. D. 756. Domenco Monegario, *doge* VI. *Tribunes oppoſe him.*

e

## *MAURITIO GALBAIO*, Doge VII.

The cruelty of the late adminiſtration did not deter the council from electing *Mauritio Galbaio*, who was permitted to aſſociate his ſon *Giovanni* with him in the government. About the beginning of *Mauritio*'s dogeſhip, the *Heracleans* and *Jeſulans* abandoned their dwellings, and ſought protection of *Charlemagne*, who ſettled them in *Malamoc* until their affairs could be reinſtated [f]: the occaſion of their flight proceeded from the diſcovery of ſome conſpiracies which *Fortunato*, biſhop of *Grada*, had formed againſt the republic. The *Heracleans* and *Jeſulans* were deeply concerned in the plot, and fearing the reſentment of the doge whom they intended to depoſe, thought to ſcreen themſelves under the ſanction of
f *Charlemagne*'s power; the *Venetians*, however, bravely attacked them, driving them out of *Malamoc*, without regarding the emperor's protection. *Charlemagne* was ſo incenſed, that he ordered *Pepin* to declare war againſt the republic. *Pepin* immediately publiſhed a declaration againſt the *Venetians*; but he had not entered their territories when news was brought to him, that *Aſtulphus*, king of the *Lombards*, was committing the moſt horrid cruelties in the pope's dominions, and deſtroying every thing with fire and ſword; this for a while ſuſpended, but did not altogether divert the blow intended. *Pepin* was no ſooner at liberty to A. D. 764. Mauritio, *doge* VII. *War with* Pepin.

[b] Blond. Flav. Hiſt. 391. Sansov. del. v. p. 214. [c] Sabel. l. 2. d. 1. Sansov. del. vit. de princip. l. 13. p. Blond de geſt. V. Sansov. vit. l. 13. [d] Sabel. ibid. [e] Sansov. l. 2. d. 1. Sabel. l. 2. d. 1. Blond. Flav. Hiſt. p. 395. [f] Sansov. ibid.

(A) According to *Sabellicus*, *Bonitentius*, *Blondus Flavius*, and ſome other writers, *Domenco Monegario* continued but five years in the dogeſhip; but *Sanſovino*, in his chronological tables, has prolonged his power to the eighth year.

turn

turn his arms againſt the republic, than he purſued the war ſo ſucceſsfully, as to deprive a
them of almoſt all their dominions upon the continent: he deſtroyed *Heraclea*, and laid
waſte the country of the *Jeſulans*; an extraordinary method of aſſiſting thoſe who had de-
manded his ſuccour. We are for this reaſon inclined to diſtruſt this account of the origin
of the war; and the more, as ſome anachroniſms in it render the whole improbable: the
moſt ſpecious cauſe is, that the *Venetians* had incurred the diſpleaſure of *Pepin*, by the aſ-
ſiſtance they lent *Aſtulphus*, with whom they were in alliance. *Bonitentius* relates, that *Pe-*
*pin*'s ſucceſs was not great, and the impreſſion he made on the frontiers, which *Mauritio*
bravely defended, inconſiderable. We are farther told, that before he came to a deciſive
engagement with the *Venetians*, he was called off from the war by the revolt of *Aſtulphus*:
Venice *declares itſelf a free ſtate.* certain it is, that the *Venetians* had about this time declared themſelves a free, independent b
ſtate, neither acknowleging the ſuperiority of the Eaſtern or Weſtern empires, nor even the
ſpiritual juriſdiction of the pope, but under certain reſtrictions [g]. This circumſtance then
might be an additional cauſe of *Pepin*'s reſentment, and have drawn upon the *Venetians* the
war. Soon after the concluſion of this affair *Mauritio* died; and with him was extinct for
Mauritio *dies.* a time, the happineſs of the republic: his wiſdom had conducted them ſafely through the
moſt perilous and critical conjucture the ſtate ever beheld, and his valour gained him the
eſteem of *Pepin*, then the greateſt potentate of the Weſt [h]. He was humane, affable, and
courteous; he poſſeſſed all thoſe talents and qualities which could gain him the eſteem or
love of the people (B).

## *GIOVANNI*, Doge VIII. c

THE republic had reaſon to lament the loſs of this amiable prince: his ſon *Giovanni*, the very
A. D. 773. reverſe of the father's character, ſucceeded. *Giovanni* had been his father *Mauritio*'s colleague;
Giovanni, *doge* VIII. *ſucceeds.* and now ſucceeding to the whole authority, he begun his adminiſtration with harraſſing *Gio-*
*vanni de Trieſte*, biſhop of *Grada*, a prelate of virtue and piety. We are left in the dark in rela-
tion to the cauſe of this cruel uſage; probably whim, caprice, and his diſlike to a man
of fair reputation, might be the ſole occaſion-----*Invidia virtus plectatur* [i]. Whatever it was,
the biſhop met with the moſt barbarous and inhuman uſage; he was taken, and, after a
ſhort confinement, thrown headlong from a high tower. The ſucceeding biſhop formed a
ſtrong party in *Venice* againſt the doge, either to depoſe or to murder him; but the plot was
diſcovered juſt as it was on the point of execution, and the biſhop and other conſpirators d
forced to ſave themſelves by flight. The leading men in this plot were *Demetrio Marmani*,
*Foſcaro de Georges*, and *Obelerio*, at that time tribunes [k]: they concealed themſelves in *Tre-*
*viſo*, but the biſhop went directly to the court of *Pepin*, and threw himſelf upon that prince's
protection. *Pepin* had been ſtiled king of *Italy* by the pope; in conſequence of which he
always eſpouſed the cauſe of the church, without enquiring into its merit. He reſolved
to ſupport the biſhop; but before hoſtilities were commenced, *Giovanni* and his ſon *Mau-*
*ritio*, whom he had made his colleague, were depoſed for their barbarity and inſolence; and
*Obelerio Antenoreo*, one of the tribunes, elected doge. In this period it was that *Olivula* was
erected into an epiſcopal ſee, (the firſt we have any mention of in *Venice*) having the iſlands e
*Lupria* and *Dorſedura* within its juriſdiction; the antient family of the *Scapari* at this time
built the church of *Moſes*, the fineſt piece of architecture *Venice* had ſeen; *Sergius* a pri-
vate ſtranger, who had been ſuddenly and miraculouſly cured of an inveterate diſeaſe, founded
and adorned the building called St. *Michael*'s church, in gratitude to that ſaint for his re-
covery. Theſe, and ſuch other *important* facts, do the hiſtorians of early ages relate [l].

## *OBELERIO*, Doge IX.

A. D. 804. *OBELERIO* was one of the tribunes who conſpired againſt *Giovanni*: he had taken
Obelerio, *doge* IX. refuge in *Treviſo*, where he reſided till the expulſion of the doge and his ſon. Upon his
acceſſion he requeſted the permiſſion of the aſſembly to devolve ſome part of the govern-
ment upon his brother *Beato*, modeſtly declaring, that he was unable to ſupport the f
whole burden [m]. *Beato* was ſent to *Conſtantinople*, probably to ſtrengthen the republic
againſt the approaching ſtorm from *Pepin*, by the friendſhip of *Nicephorus*: he was
kindly received by the *Greek* emperor, and treated with the reſpect due to a crowned
head. During his abſence *Valentin*, the youngeſt brother, was appointed to aſſiſt *Obelerio*:
but here we find ſo many contradictions as it would be impoſſible to reconcile; ſuch a va-
riety of diſcording opinions among authors, that we are at a loſs which of them to follow.
*Sabellicus* relates, that *Obelerio* being depoſed by his brother *Beato*, fled to *Charlemagne* for

[g] BLOND. de g. V. [h] SANSOV. del. vit. de princip. l. 13. [i] Ibid. SABELL. l. 2. d. 1. [k] SANSOV. ibid. BLOND. de g. V. [l] BONIT. Com. l. 1. [m] SANSOV. d. p.

(B) The year of his death is not agreed upon by hiſtorians. *Bonitentius* in his commentaries ſays, that he governed nine years; *Sabellicus*, *Sanſovino*, and others think the time leſs.

a protection; that the emperor ſent orders to *Pepin* to march immediately into *Italy* againſt the *Venetians* and *Beato*, who had uſurped the whole authority [b]: others ſay, that *Pepin* had entered the frontiers of the republic before the emperor's commands arrived, in order to reſtore the biſhop of *Grada*. *Sabellicus* farther relates, that *Pepin* having ſeized all the dominions of the republic upon the continent, was preparing to lay ſiege to *Venice*, when his fleet was entirely diſperſed and ruined by a ſtorm.

In a war that broke out between *Pepin* and the *Greek* emperor *Nicephorus*, the doge undertook to mediate a peace; but ſhewing a biaſs to the intereſt of *Nicephorus*, the treaty was abruptly broke off [c]. *Pepin* was ſo incenſed at *Obelerio*'s partiality, that he determined to carry the war into the *Venetian* dominions, and deſtroy the very being of the republic.

*Pepin lays ſiege to Venice.*

b After having laid waſte the province of *Venetia*, he led his army directly to *Venice*, blocking the city up at the ſame time by his fleet. The *Venetians* were not diſheartened at the number of their enemies, the reputation of *Pepin*, or the civil diviſions among themſelves; their animoſities were laid aſide, and a ſtrict union formed againſt the common enemy: the chief command was given to *Valentin* [d], as *Obelerio* was ſuppoſed too nearly allied to *Pepin*, to fight with that good-will and chearfulneſs the ſervice of his country required. The *Venetians*, notwithſtanding the moſt obſtinate defence, the moſt vigorous ſallies, and their ſelling every inch of ground at an incredible expence of blood, were at length reduced to that part of the city ſouth of the *Rialto*; this ſtream, and their own bravery, being now their only defence. While *Pepin* was preparing to lay a bridge over the canal, they reſolved,

c as a laſt effort, to attack *Pepin*'s fleet, and to vanquiſh or die in defence of their liberty. Embarking all the troops they could ſpare, they bore down, with the advantage of the wind and tide, upon the enemy, and began the attack with ſuch fury, as obliged the *French* admiral to give way. The lightneſs of their ſhips, and their knowledge of the ſoundings, gave the *Venetians* every advantage they could wiſh: the enemy's fleet was run aground, and the greater part of their troops periſhed in attempting to eſcape; the ſhips were all, to a few, either taken or deſtroyed. During this action at ſea, *Pepin* reſolved to aſſault the city by land, not doubting but the garriſon was ſo weakened by the number of forces they had ſent on board the fleet, as to be able to make but a ſlight reſiſtance. Having for this purpoſe thrown a bridge over the *Rialto*, he was marching his troops acroſs it when he

d found himſelf attacked on every ſide by the *Venetians* from their boats, and others who had poſted themſelves on the bridge. The battle was long, bloody, and doubtful, until the *Venetians* employed all their power to break down the bridge; which at laſt yielding to their obſtinate endeavours, a prodigious ſlaughter of the *French* enſued: however, they fought like men in deſpair, ſeeing no hopes of ſafety but in victory; but all communication being cut off with the troops on ſhore, they were to a man either killed or drowned. The number of ſlain was ſo great, that the ſpace between the *Rialto* and *Malamoc* was covered with dead bodies, and has ever ſince gone by a name expreſſive of the prodigious ſlaughter [e]. *Pepin* was ſo ſtruck with the intrepidity of the *Venetians*, that he raiſed the ſiege, abandoned the enterprize, and concluded a peace with the republic: he afterwards came to *Venice* to

e intercede for *Obelerio*, that he might be reſtored, which the *Venetians* granted, more out of reſpect to the requeſt of ſo great a prince, than love to the unhappy *Obelerio* [f]. The people had a notion that *Obelerio* had encouraged *Pepin* to declare war upon the republic, and that a correſpondence between them was carried on during the ſiege; *Pepin* was therefore no ſooner withdrawn, than the populace ſeizing upon *Obelerio*, tore his body in pieces, and ſcattered his limbs and bowels about the city. His wife ſhared the ſame fate; for as ſhe was the ſiſter of *Pepin*, it was not doubted but her influence was the cauſe of her huſband's perfidy. Thus ended the bloody war with *Pepin*, which coſt the doge his life, after he had governed jointly with his brothers for the ſpace of five years. *Obelerio* had ſome excellent qualities; his heart was tender and humane; his averſion to blood made him he-

*The doge put to death.*

f ſitate and tamper in ſuch a manner, as drew upon him the imputation of treachery [g]: it is poſſible too that the eaſineſs of his temper, his affection for his wife, and even ſubjection to her violent paſſions, might have led him into an unjuſtifiable correſpondence with *Pepin*; but we have no proof that he ever betrayed his country, or committed any other crime deſerving the rigour of his puniſhment.

## *ANGELO PARTICIPATIO*, Doge X.

*OBELERIO* was ſucceeded by *Angelo Participatio*, the tenth doge; if we include *Valentin*, who commanded during the ſiege, the eleventh. *Sanſovino* omits him in his table [a]: we have followed this writer's authority, as his chronology is the moſt regular, beſt con-

A. D. 809. Angelo Participatio, *doge* X.

[b] L. 2. d. 1. Sansov. del. v. p. [c] Foug. p. 16. Sansov. l. 13. [d] Sabell. l. 2. d. 1. [e] Sansov. vit. princip. l. 13. p. 216. [f] Sabell. l. 2. d. 1. [g] Sansov. del. v. p. l. 13. [a] Chronico. Venet.

nected, and conſiſtent with facts. *Participatio* was deſcended from an ancient family of *Heraclea*, as appears by an inſcription upon a monument erected to commemorate his having repaired, beautified, and adorned the place of his nativity, hence called *Villa-nova*. In his adminiſtration the city of *Venice* was enlarged by an addition of ſixty of the ſurrounding iſlands, connected with bridges, and taken into the liberties of the capital [b]; the *Rialto* was aſſigned for the conſtant reſidence of the princes; and a palace of elegant ſtructure reared for the abode of the doge. a

*ANGELO* having aſſociated *Giovanni*, his eldeſt ſon, with him in the government, he ſent *Juſtiniano*, the younger, upon an ambaſſy to *Leo* emperor of the Eaſt; where he acquitted himſelf with great dexterity and addreſs, diſtinguiſhing himſelf by his ſound judgment, and accurate knowlege of mankind. He was ſo incenſed at the preference ſhewn *Giovanni*, that he obſtinately refuſed to viſit his father upon his return; and perſiſted in his reſolution, until *Giovanni* was depoſed and baniſhed: after which *Juſtiniano* was appointed his father's colleague [c]. b

About this time a plot formed againſt the doge was diſcovered: *Giovanni Tolonico*, *Bono Bragadino*, and other chiefs of the conſpiracy were put to death; ſome of inferior rank baniſhed, and ſlight corporal puniſhments inflicted upon ſeveral others. This affair being terminated, the *Venetians* found themſelves involved in a quarrel with *Ulric* biſhop of *Aquileia*, aſſiſted by the *Forlians*. *Ulric* had reſented the ſee of *Aquileia*'s being ſubjected to the juriſdiction of the biſhop of *Grada*: in order to revenge himſelf, he raiſed an army, entered into treaty with the *Forlians*, and marched into the biſhopric of *Grada* in a hoſtile manner. He likewiſe fitted out a fleet to moleſt his brother prelate by ſea; but the *Venetians* coming up with the latter, burnt, ſunk, and deſtroyed the ſquadron, taking *Ulric* and all his principal officers priſoners: then landing their forces, they not only diſperſed the biſhop's army, but took ſeveral towns upon the coaſt, and laid waſte the whole province of *Friuli*. At their return they ſet *Ulric* and the other priſoners at liberty, on condition he would annually ſend to *Venice* twelve wild boars, a bull, and twelve loaves, in acknowlegement of his ſubjection [d]: we are told that a feſtival, in commemoration of this victory and tribute, is ſtill obſerved. Theſe are all the tranſactions, public and private, which occur during the government of *Angelo Participatio*. c

## *JUSTINIANO*, Doge XI. d

Juſtiniano, *doge* XI.

*JUSTINIANO*, at his father's death, came into poſſeſſion of the whole government. His firſt public act was to ſend a fleet to the aſſiſtance of the emperor *Michael* [e], againſt the *Saracens*, who were by this time become a formidable and dangerous people to the Chriſtian powers. Thus we ſee, that the *Venetians* were among the firſt Chriſtians who endeavoured to give a check to the progreſs of the infidels: we ſhall ſoon find them taking the lead, and fighting the moſt ſpirited and dreadful battles.

All that hiſtorians farther relate of *Juſtiniano* and the republic, during his government, conſiſts of miracles, legends, and fables of ſuperſtition and ignorance: this indeed may be collected from them, that he was a wiſe prince, who purſued peace and the happineſs of his people; cheriſhed trade and induſtry, and cultivated the duties of religion, virtue, and humanity. He died two years after he had taken upon him the ſupreme authority, being ſucceeded by his brother *Giovanni*. e

## *GIOVANNI I*, Doge XII.

A. D. 829. Giovanni Participatio, *doge* XII.

*GIOVANNI* was hardly eſtabliſhed in his authority when an impoſtor ſtarted up, who perſonated *Obelerio*, and pretended he had been unjuſtly depoſed. Arriving in the iſland of *Carlia* (now *Voggio*) he was well received by many of the principal inhabitants, who eſpouſed his cauſe, either from a perſuaſion that he was the real *Obelerio*, or from private motives. In a little time he muſtered a conſiderable army, and contracting an alliance with the *Narentines*, a piratical ſtate, was preparing to attack the city, when *Giovanni* ſurpriſed him with a powerful fleet, and obliged him to fly to *Malamoc*. The inhabitants of this iſland, in attempting to ſcreen the pretended *Obelerio*, brought ruin upon themſelves; for *Giovanni* attacked and defeated them, burnt the city, ſeized upon the impoſtor, and cut off his head: before he returned with his fleet, he puniſhed the *Narentines* for the aſſiſtance they afforded the pretended *Obelerio*, the diſturbances given the republic, and for ſeveral depredations committed on the *Venetian* merchants [f]. f

Soon after, *Giovanni* was forced to quit the city by a powerful faction, headed by *Caroſio*, who on the doge's departure ſeized upon the palace, and uſurped the ſupreme authority; but his ſway was of ſhort duration; he was depoſed by ſome of the chiefs of his own faction,

[b] Sabell. l. 3. d. 1. [c] Sabell. l. 3. d. 1. Sansov del. vit. La Briaercic. l. 13. [d] Sansov. ibid.
[e] Sabell. l. 3. d. 1. Sansov. l. 13. p. 217. Boniten. l. 1. [f] Sabell. l. 3. Blond de geſt. Venet.

and

a and *Giovanni* recalled by thoſe very perſons who had conſpired againſt him but a few weeks before. His whole life was checquered with a variety of good and bad fortune: firſt he was appointed his father's colleague, then depoſed by his brother; ſoon after recalled by the people; next obliged to fly from a faction; ſuddenly again recalled by the ſame faction; and laſtly depoſed, his hair ſhaved, and himſelf conſtrained to end his days in a monaſtery.

## *PIERO TRADONICO*, Doge XIII.

*PIERO TRADONICO*, a native of the ancient city *Pola*, was elected doge in the room of *Giovanni Participatio*, and was ſcarce eſtabliſhed in his authority, when *Theodoſius* (perhaps *Theophilus*) lieutenant to the emperor *Michael*, came in perſon to *Venice*, to conclude an alli- A. D. 839. Piero Tradonico, *doge* XIII.
b ance offenſive and defenſive againſt the *Saracens*, who had ſeized ſome of the iſlands of the *Archipelago*, and were then ravaging *Italy* [g]. The *Venetians* readily acceded to his propoſals, and immediately equipped a fleet of ſixty gallies, with orders to join the *Grecian* fleet with all expedition, and ſeek the enemy. *Sala*, the *Saracen* general, was then beſieging *Tarentum*, which he quitted on advice that the combined fleet was approaching, and retired to *Crotona*; here he made a ſtand, and was ſoon attacked by the *Grecian* admiral. The battle was long and bloody; but juſt as the *Venetians* had broke the enemy's line, and victory was inclining to the confederates, the *Grecian* admiral bore away with all the ſail he could make, leaving the *Venetians* to ſhift for themſelves. They were ſoon ſurrounded and oppreſſed by the ſuperior number [h] of the *Saracen* fleet; but preferring death to an inglorious flight, they fought
c until ſcarce a ſhip remained to carry the report of their misfortunes to *Venice*. The news of this defeat threw the republic into the utmoſt conſternation and perplexity; they doubted not but the *Saracens* would immediately lay ſiege to the city, for which it was but badly prepared, having loſt the braveſt of their forces in the late unfortunate engagement: however, the fears of the republic were ſoon happily removed, by certain intelligence that the *Saracens* were gone to *Ancona*, which place they pillaged and deſtroyed.

The piratical *Narentines* were elated with the misfortunes of the republic; and thinking her low condition a proper opportunity for revenging the late diſgrace, they begun to rob, plunder, and lay waſte the coaſt of *Dalmatia*, carrying their incurſions to the gates of the city *Caorli* [i]. The *Venetians* were little diſpoſed to enter upon a new war; yet thinking it
d beneath the dignity of the republic tamely to bear with the inſolence of thoſe robbers, they fitted out a fleet, which ſoon reduced the *Narentines* to ſubmiſſion, and obliged them to repair the damage. Before the *Venetians* had recovered the great loſs ſuſtained by the defeat from A. D. 849.
the *Saracens*, civil commotions aroſe to complete their miſery: the whole ſtate was divided into two violent factions, each ſupported by the nobleſt and moſt powerful families in *Venice*. On the one ſide were the *Juſtiniani*, the *Polani*, and the *Baſſei*; on the other, the *Selioni*, the *Sevoli*, and the *Barbolani*; who carried their animoſity ſo far, that not a day paſſed without frays, bloodſhed, and murder: at laſt the *Barbolani* were driven out of the city, which in ſome meaſure appeaſed the fury of the combatants. They were ſoon after reſtored, at the interceſſion of *Lodovico* II. and then again the tumults were renewed, in one
e of which the doge was murdered. *Sabellicus* relates, that he was for a long time bravely defended by his ſervants, who, after he was killed, retreated into the palace, and ſtood a ſiege for thirty days, until famine at length compelled them to ſurrender [k]. It was death to ſeize upon the palace, deemed the property of the republic; yet in conſideration of their brave zeal for ſo good a maſter, they were pardoned and rewarded. A ſtrict ſcrutiny was then made into the occaſion of the doge's murder: ſome of the conſpirators were hanged, others drowned, and a great number baniſhed. Thus died *Piero Tradonico*, after he had governed the republic with great reputation for the ſpace of twenty nine years. All the hiſtorians agree in giving him the higheſt praiſes; they call him temperate, pious, juſt, a warrior, and a ſtateſman: the misfortunes of the city they attribute to the pride, wealth, and ambi-
f tion of the nobility. A tribunal was appointed to inquire into the cauſes of the civil diviſions; it conſiſted of the biſhop of *Equiline*, the dean of *Grada*, and *Domincio Baſſoni*, men of great prudence and caution. Their impartiality and integrity were ſo univerſally acknowleged, that both parties acquieſcing in their judgment, peace, concord, and happineſs, were in a little time reſtored.

## *ORSO PARTICIPATIO*, Doge XIV.

The aſſembly then proceeded to the election of a new doge, when the majority declared A. D. 864. Orſo Participatio, *doge* XIV.
in favour of *Orſo Participatio*. He begun his adminiſtration with endeavouring to preſerve the public tranquility; but the ambition and warlike diſpoſition of the *Saracens* fruſtrated his
g deſign. They made a ſudden incurſion into *Dalmatia*, plundered and deſtroyed the country; then ravaging the coaſt of *Iſtria*, they laid ſiege to *Grada* with a powerful fleet and army.

[g] Sansov. l. 13. p. 219. [h] Sabell. l. 3. d. 1. [i] Blond. de g. Ven. Etiam in Hiſt. p. 397. [k] Sansov. del. v. de princip. l. 13. Sabell. l. 3. d. 1.

The

The republic saw, that spirit and resolution must be exerted. A fleet was equipped, and a
the doge came so suddenly upon the enemy, that breaking up the siege, they retired precipitately with the loss of a great number of men and vessels: we are told that, upon this occasion, *Giovanni*, the doge's son, gave so many proofs of his courage, conduct, and other military qualities, that he was raised to the dignity of colleague to his father. *Bonitentius* mentions another defeat sustained by the *Saracens* before *Tarentum*; likewise a victory obtained over the *Narentines*, who had broke through the former peace, and laid waste the country of *Istria*. *Sabellicus* passes over the former, as not deserving credit; but it seems to be incontestably proved by an inscription quoted by *Sansovino* (A). *Orso* now turned his attention to domestic affairs; he made up the quarrel between the prelates of *Grada* and *Tourcelles*; he assigned that part of the city called *dorse dura*, which was naked and desolate, b
for the residence of his squires; he composed all differences subsisting between the republic
A. D. 831. and the *Forlians*, or people of *Friuli*; he brought about a perfect harmony between the sees of *Aquileia* and *Grada*. After a happy, wise, and prosperous reign of seventeen years, *Orso* died, the darling of the people, the terror of the *Saracens*, and scourge of the *Narentines*. He found the republic low, he left it flourishing; divided into factions, filled with tumults and civil broils, he restored tranquility, peace, and harmony; the treasury exhausted, the marine ruined, and the public commerce destroyed, he rendered the state rich, powerful, and respected by all its neighbours.

## *GIOVANNI PARTICIPATIO*, Doge XV.

c

Giovanni Participatio, *doge* XV.

*ORSO* was succeeded by his son *Giovanni*; *Sabellicus* calls him his brother. The new doge, at the request of the assembly, sent his brother *Badoario* to pope *John*, to solicit the investiture of *Commachio*, and that it might for ever be annexed to the *Venetian* dominions. *Marini*, the earl of *Commachio*, having notice of this ambassy, lay in wait for *Badoario*, wounded and made him prisoner, obliging him to purchase his liberty by a promise, in the name of the republic, that the design should be relinquished [m]. *Badoario* dying soon after his return to *Venice*, the republic declared war against the earl, besieged *Commachio*, and used with the utmost severity the persons concerned in the conspiracy against the ambassador. *Giovanni* falling dangerously ill, he devolved the government upon his brother *Orso*, who soon voluntarily resigned the trust: upon this *Giovanni*, having recovered his health, again re- d
sumed the management of the state; but soon after, being seized with a slow lingering malady, formally abdicated his authority (B). *Giovanni Participatio* was both a soldier and politician; but he had an insolence and pride of disposition, which rendered his government odious to the people.

## *PIETRO CANDIANO*, Doge XVI.

A. D. 887. Pietro Candiano, *doge* XVI.

*PIETRO CANDIANO* was appointed doge by the universal consent of the assembly: to him *Giovanni* resigned the trust, coming publicly with the state of a doge to the council, and returning to his own house as a private person [n]. The people were so taken with the modesty, and yet dignity of his manner, and the grace with which he divested himself of e
power, that, forgetting their former dislike to his government, they all cried out, that no one but *Giovanni* was worthy to rule: however, he persisted in his resolution, and *Candiano* was confirmed in the supreme magistracy. The incursions of the *Narentines*, who had been so lately chastised, rendered it necessary to equip a fleet. *Candiano* taking upon himself the command of a small squadron of seven gallies, came up with the pirates, and maintained a hot engagement for several hours, notwithstanding their great superiority: at last the enemy, finding that victory depended upon the doge's life, who was every where present animating his men, bore down with their stoutest ships upon *Candiano*'s galley. The dispute was obstinate; but the doge being slain, the men surrendered themselves to the *Narentines* [b]. The f
assembly was inconsolable at this loss, and the people tumultuous; nor could any thing appease them besides a promise from *Giovanni* that he would resume the government, if a doge was not immediately elected to their satisfaction [c]. The council nominated *Pietro Tribuno*, a person equally esteemed for his public and private virtues: the people were contented, and
A. D. 888. regularity and order restored.

[m] Sansov. del. v. de principi. l. 13. p. 221. [a] Sabell. l. 3. d. 1. [b] Blond. Flav. Hist. 348. Sabellic. l. 3. d. 1. [c] Sansov. del. v. p. l. 13.

(A) *Furentes Dalmatos compescui, Saracenosque Italiam vexantes apud Tarentum fæliciter profligavi*. p. 220.

(B) *Sansovino* relates this fact of *Candiano*; but all the historians besides attribute it to *Giovanni*. What confirms their authority is, that *Sansovino* himself allows of *Candiano*'s being slain in the field, which is improbable if he resigned the dogeship.

## *PIETRO TRIBUNO*, Doge XVII.

Soon after *Tribuno*'s acceſſion, the republic was thrown into the utmoſt conſternation by a report that a powerful army of *Hunns*, who had broke into *Italy*, was marching towards *Venice*. The *Hunns*, having defeated *Berengarius*, entered *Italy*, putting every *Roman* they met to the ſword, burning the villages, deſtroying the harveſts and vintages, ſlaughtering the cattle; in ſhort, laying every place waſte and deſolate, without remorſe or humanity. Induced by the wealth of the *Venetian* republic, they reſolved to ſack and pillage the city. Marching through the maritime provinces, they burnt *Villa Nova*, *Jeſuloa*, and *Chioggio*: after deſtroying every thing upon the coaſt, they prepared boats to attack the
b *Rialto*, which they imagined muſt yield to their prodigious numbers [d]. *Pietro Tribnno* omitted nothing which became a great general and a ſoldier: he placed ſtrong guards round the city, fortified the places moſt expoſed, equipped a fleet with incredible diſpatch, and diſturbed and harraſſed the enemy by perpetual ſallies. His activity, penetration, skill, and preſence of mind, were the aſtoniſhment of every one. He animated the troops by his example; was the foremoſt in every attack: in a word, was the life and ſoul of the whole ſtate.

Pietro Tribuno, *doge* XVII. A. D. 903.

The *Hunns* were preparing to make a general aſſault; and *Pietro*, after a ſhort and animating ſpeech, ordered the ſoldiers to be embarked, and immediately bore down upon the enemy near *Albiola*. The battle began with fury, and continued with obſtinacy for ſeveral days, neither ſide diſcovering any ſigns of wearineſs; the fleets ſeparated at night, the com-
c batants returning next day to the charge with freſh vigour: the *Venetians* every where oppoſed courage to numbers, and the doge performed prodigies of valour. At laſt *Tribuno*, fearing that the ſpirits of his men might ſink under the obſtinacy and multitude of the enemy, collected all his force, reſolving either to die or make an impreſſion upon their line. He was ſo bravely ſeconded by his troops, that the barbarians were broken and defeated, and nothing but ſlaughter and a general carnage enſued. The ſea was covered with dead bodies, and the *Venetians* fought, ſays the florid *Blondus*, upon heaps of the ſlain barbarians as upon dry land; the ſiege was raiſed, the *Hunns* driven out of *Italy*, and the reputation of *Venice* for arms became famous all over the world [e]. In this manner do their hiſtorians ſpeak; and truly we muſt allow, that never were valour, conduct, and perſeverance, more conſpicuous
d than upon this occaſion. The city was ill prepared for a ſiege when it was inveſted. Beſides the ſcarcity of proviſions, the weakneſs of the marine, and the low ſtate of the finances, which had been greatly exhauſted in the late wars againſt the *Saracens* and *Narentines*, a general languor, deſpondency, and depreſſion of ſpirits, prevailed among all degrees of the inhabitants, owing to the late loſſes and miſcarriages: but neceſſity, and the animating example of their valiant doge, overcame all difficulties, and inſpired every *Venetian* with ſentiments worthy of the freedom of their conſtitution, and wiſdom of their government. As ſoon as they were delivered from the barbarians, the doge applied himſelf to reward thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the ſiege; to relieve thoſe who had ſuffered by the death of their fathers, huſbands, or ſons; to repair the buildings that had been pulled down, or
e otherways damaged, by the barbarians; and to eſtabliſh, peace, order, and tranquility, through every part of the republic. While he was thus employed, an acute diſeaſe ſuddenly deprived the republic of her greateſt commander, her wiſeſt ſtateſman, and beſt governor.

## *URSO BODOAIRIO*, Doge XVIII.

The council of ſtate proceeded to the election of a ſucceſſor; their choice fell upon *Urſo Bodoairio*, commonly called *Urſo Participatio* the ſecond, a man of ſtrict morals, great piety, prudence, and juſtice; of a peaceable and quiet diſpoſition, equally ſtudious of his own eaſe and of the public tranquility. The republic ſent *Pietro*, the doge's ſon, on an ambaſſy to *Conſtantinople*, where he was well received, loaded with rich preſents, and honoured with the
f title of protoſpater of the empire: on his return he was attacked, plundered, and made priſoner by *Michael*, a petty prince of *Dalmatia* [f]. Some time after *Pietro* made his eſcape, and returned in great diſtreſs: but neither the hardſhips he ſuffered, the inſult upon the republic, nor the entreaties of his ſon, could prevail on the pacific temper of *Urſo* to declare war againſt the *Dalmatians*. After governing the ſtate for the ſpace of twenty years, with great moderation, *Bodoairio* reſigned his authority and retired to a monaſtery, where he finiſhed his days in the auſtere practice of the moſt rigid virtue [g].

A. D. 912. Urſo Bodoairi *doge* XVIII.

*His ſon made priſoner.*

*He reſigns.*

## *PIETRO CANDIANO* II. Doge XIX.

*PIETRO CANDIANO* the ſecond, was elected doge in the room of the abdicated prince. About this time the republic declared war againſt the *Commachians*, who had broke through the laſt treaty: it was carried on with ſo much vigour and ſucceſs, that the *Commachians*,

Pietro Candiano, *doge* XIX. A. D. 932.

[d] Sabell. l. 3. d. 1. Blond. Hiſt. l. 2. d. 2. [e] Blond. d. g. V. Sabell. l. 3. d. 1. Sansov. del. vit. de princip. l. 13. [f] Sabell. ibid. Blond. de g. V. [g] Sansov. de v. p.

finding they were unable to cope with ſo powerful an enemy, ſurrendered priſoners at diſ- a
cretion. The *Venetians* uſed their power with great moderation; they ſet the enemy at liberty, and reſtored them to all their former privileges. In this dogeſhip, *Iſtria* likewiſe was conquered and annexed to the dominions of the republic; ſoon after *Candiano* died, having governed the republic for ſeven years. He is ranked among the middling princes, having neither virtues nor vices in his character ſo diſtinguiſhing, as to merit particular regard.

## *PIETRO PARTICIPATIO*, Doge XX.

Pietro Participatio, *doge* XX.

THE adminiſtration of the ſucceeding prince, *Pietro Participatio*, was pacific. Nothing is recorded either of him or of the republic, but that he obtained from the emperor the privilege of coining money in his own name, with the arms of the ſtate on the reverſe [h]. Some b
hiſtorians affirm, that the republic aſſumed the right of coining money long before this æra, which indeed is probable, as they had declared themſelves a free people in the beginning of *Charlemagne*'s reign [i].

## *PIETRO CANDIANO* III. Doge XXI.

A. D. 942. Pietro Candiano, *doge* XXI.

*PARTICIPATIO* was ſucceeded by his ſon *Pietro Candiano*, the third of that name. He had been colleague to his father for the firſt year of his dogeſhip, but was baniſhed the city for his intolerable cruelty, pride, and inſolence. Experience and misfortune, however, reclaiming him, he was recalled and ſubſtituted by the common conſent in his father's room, of which the people had never cauſe to repent.

*CANDIANO* was ſcarce eſtabliſhed in his authority, when the peculations, frauds, and c
robberies of the *Narentines* obliged the republic to declare war againſt this people. They had in a manner blocked up *Venice*, ſo that a merchantman had no ſafety in going in or out of the harbour; nor in any part of the *Adriatic*, which was crowded with the ſhips of piratical ſtates [k]. Shame and revenge took poſſeſſion of every breaſt: a fleet was manned with all expedition, and ſent in queſt of the pirates; who, being diſtributed in ſingle ſhips, or ſmall ſquadrons, were unable to reſiſt ſo ſtrong an armament. they therefore ſubmitted themſelves to the clemency of the republic, and were pardoned on condition they would repair all the damage ſuſtained by the *Venetians*, pay an annual tribute, and give ſecurity for
A. D. 943. their future behaviour [l]. In the mean time violent tumults and ſeditions prevailed all over d
the city. The doge had taken for his colleague *Pietro*, his ſecond ſon, a young man of a factious, turbulent, and impetuous ſpirit [m]. Not ſatisfied with the preference to his elder brother given him, he was ambitious of governing alone; he animated the people to ſeditions, excited tumults, and encouraged inſolence and contempt of his father's authority: in ſhort, the profligate, the robber, and aſſaſſin, were not only protected, but encouraged by *Pietro*. The ſenate, dreading the conſequences of ſuch tumultuous riots, did all in their power to ſupport the old doge's authority, to quell ſeditions, and compoſe the minds of the people. At laſt in perſon, followed by the ſenate, *Candiano* addreſſed the multitude in terms ſo feeling and pathetic, that their rage was ſuddenly turned againſt *Pietro* and the other in-
Pietro *baniſhed.* cendiaries, who, at their remonſtrance, were baniſhed the city [n]. The clergy and people e
bound themſelves by a ſolemn oath never to recall them: an oath which we ſhall ſoon ſee was broke through. *Pietro*, after wandering about for ſome time, at length went to *Guido*, ſon and ſucceſſor of *Berengarius*; to him he applied himſelf ſo ſucceſsfully, that *Guido* furniſhed him with ſix large armed gallies to make war upon his father and country. Without remorſe or feeling he commenced hoſtilities, took, plundered, and deſtroyed all the *Venetian* ſhipping; and committed ſuch enormities as broke his good old father's heart. The miſ-
Candiano *dies.* fortunes of *Candiano*'s adminiſtration may be aſcribed ſolely to his parental affection, and particular fondneſs for the leaſt deſerving of his children.

## *PIETRO CANDIANO* IV. Doge XXII.

Pietro Candiano, *doge* XXII.

*CANDIANO* was ſcarce dead, when the affections of the people, ever inconſtant, were as f
violently bent upon recalling *Pietro*, as before they were on puniſhing him with death or baniſhment. He was at this time in arms againſt the republic; yet the people, unmindful of the oath they had voluntarily taken but a year before, diſpatched meſſengers to him, and conferred upon him the whole ſupreme authority, from a ſhare in which he had lately and deſervedly been depoſed. Not ſatisfied with the common honours beſtowed upon doges, they ſent three hundred ſhips and barges, filled with the nobility and chief citizens, to meet him [o]: but they ſoon received the juſt reward of their folly and perjury; nor did he long enjoy a dignity he owed more to the caprice of the people, than to his own merit.

[h] SANSOV. del. vit. de princip. [i] BLOND de g. V. [k] SABELL. l. 3. d. 1. [l] SABELL. l. 3. d. 1. BLOND. de g. V. [m] SABELL. ibid. [n] BLOND. ibid. [o] SANSOV. del. v. p.

a *CANDIANO* was not long poſſeſſed of the ſupreme authority, before he broke out into the moſt profligate, abandoned, and wanton wickedneſs: he was now an aſſemblage of every vice which can have place in the human heart; his cruelty, luſt, avarice, and brutality, were not to be equalled. The miſery of the republic was augmented by a dreadful fire which broke out, and, in the ſpace of a few hours, conſumed above three hundred houſes, an incredible number of inhabitants, and a prodigious quantity of effects of great value. A. D. 967.

BEFORE this accident the doge had levied an army, and marched againſt the inhabitants of *Uderza*, on pretence of their witholding certain lands belonging to his wife. He firſt plundered and laid waſte their country, then attacked their city, took and levelled it with the ground, uſing the citizens with the utmoſt inhumanity [p]: from thence he paſſed to *Fer-*
b *rara*; aſſaulted and took a city on the confines, treating it in the ſame manner he did *Uderza*. Upon his return to *Venice* his views roſe in proportion to his ſucceſs: he practiſed every exceſs of an abſolute and barbarous tyrant. That he might be able to proceed with impunity, he was conſtantly attended by a ſtrong body-guard, and a numerous garriſon in the palace: but no defence is ſufficient to protect a tyrant againſt the reſentment of an injured people. The *Venetians*, calling to mind their ancient liberty, ſuddenly fell upon the guard, diſperſed them, and ſacrificed the doge to their reſentment. Other hiſtorians relate (for they differ in particular circumſtances in every period), that the doge retreating to his palace, defended himſelf with great valour: that upon this the aſſailants ſet fire to the houſes neareſt the palace, not being able to approach it, which in a little time conſumed them,
c the palace, doge, and garriſon. This is probably the ſame fire which other hiſtorians affirm to have happened in the beginning of *Candiano*'s dogeſhip; but the accounts of this tranſaction are ſo various, that we muſt leave the reader to determine for himſelf. Upon this calamitous occaſion periſhed the beautiful churches of St. *Mark*, St. *Theodore*, and St. *Mary Jubenica*. *Put to death.* A. D. 976.

THE republic, ſays *Sabellicus*, having recovered her liberty, it was difficult to judge whether her joy at finding herſelf rid of a cruel tyrant, or ſorrow to ſee the ravages committed by the fire, were the greateſt: nothing but feaſting, mirth, and feſtivity, were to be ſeen on the one hand; while on the other, complaints, lamentations, and wailings, were poured forth. The council, fearing the conſequences of this diſtracted ſituation of things, haſtened to the election of a new doge. After their late ſufferings, it is not to be doubted but they
d uſed the utmoſt caution and circumſpection in the choice of a prince: they were happy in their endeavours, the election having been declared in favour of *Pietro Urſeolo*, a man equally diſtinguiſhed by his birth, his public and private virtues.

## *PIETRO URSEOLO*, Doge XXIII.

*URSEOLO* was with the utmoſt difficulty prevailed upon to accept the honours aſſigned him by the voice of the nation [q]: he pleaded conſcience, inability, and his diſlike to grandeur and buſineſs; but the more his modeſty declined the offers made him, the more earneſt were the people in their intreaties. At length, out of love and compaſſion for the public, he accepted that authority of which the leſs deſerving were ambitious from views of ſelf-in-
e tereſt. He begun his government with rebuilding the palace and St. *Mark*'s church at his own expence; he made large donations to the ſufferers by the late fire, and omitted nothing which could reſtore the city to its former ſplendor, or the citizens to their happineſs [r]. While he was thus employed, the *Saracens* broke into *Italy*, took and deſtroyed *Capua*, and were beſieging *Barri*, a town in the *Bergamaſco*. The inhabitants were greatly diſtreſſed by famine, when *Urſeolo* ſeaſonably arrived with a fleet to their relief: he contented himſelf with ſupplying the town with proviſions, and reinforcing the garriſon, until the arrival of the *Grecian* fleet. As ſoon as they had joined him, he fell upon the *Saracens* with ſuch reſolution and conduct, that he ſoon defeated and compelled them to raiſe the ſiege: it deſerves
f notice, that the emperor's lieutenant ſerved under *Urſeolo*. In the mean time the doge's conduct was ſo moderate, his manner ſo affable, his vigilance ſo ſtrict, and his juſtice ſo impartial, that every unprejudiced perſon acknowleged the wiſdom of his conduct: factions, however, were formed againſt him by the adherents and miniſters of the late unhappy *Candiano*. The biſhop of *Grada* had likewiſe nearly engaged the republic in a war with the emperor *Otho*; but the wiſdom of *Urſeolo* triumphed over every difficulty, and ſecured tranquility, peace, and happineſs to his people [s]. After a ſhort reign of two years, he reſigned the truſt he had managed with ſo much integrity, and ſet out on a pilgrimage to *Aquitaine* (C); after having with the utmoſt care regulated the affairs of the public in ſuch a manner, Pietro Urſeolo, *doge* XXIII. *The* Saracens *come into* Italy. A. D. 977.

[p] SABELL. l. 3. d. 1. BLOND. Hiſt. l. 2. d. 1. [q] SABELL. l. 1. d. 2. BLOND. Hiſt. l. 2. d. 2. [r] SANSOV. del. v. p. [s] BLOND. deg. V. SABELL. l. 7. d. 2. [t] SABELL. l. 1. d. 2.

(C) The doge had undertaken this pilgrimage at the inſtigation of one *Gueria*, a monk, who reſided for ſome time at *Venice*; he lived for ſome years in *Aquitaine* in a courſe of rigid devotion, quite unmindful of his former dignity. In ſuch acts of auſterity did the religion of thoſe days conſiſt; as if one of the firſt duties of a reaſonable creature was not to contribute all in his power to the good of ſociety.

manner, that his ſucceſſor might not be embarraſſed, and bequeathed his eſtate to the republic, telling the ſenate he ſhould have little occaſion for riches in exerciſing the duties of religion [t]. a

## *VITALIS*, Doge XXIV.

Vitalis, *doge* XXIV.

THE aſſembly met to appoint a ſucceſſor; *Vitalis*, ſon of *Candiano*, was the perſon fixed upon. Of him, or of the republic during the year he governed, we find nothing recorded, beſides his having obtained leave for his brother the biſhop of *Grada* to return to the city. About the end of the year he fell dangerouſly ill, and imagining he ſhould not recover, he vowed to live a monaſtic life the remainder of his days, which he unwillingly performed after the terrors of death were removed [u]. b

## *TRIBUNO MEMIO*, Doge XXV.

A. D. 979. Tribuno Memio, *doge* XXV.

A NEW election became neceſſary by the reſignation of *Vitalis*; accordingly the great council choſe *Tribuno Memio*, a man of profound wiſdom and experience. Civil diſcords aroſe in the very beginning of *Tribuno*'s government, which miſerably diſtracted the republic. The powerful families of *Moroſini* and *Caloprini* had carried their animoſity ſo high, that every day produced tumults, riots, and bloodſhed [x]. *Moroſini* was at length murdered by an oppoſite faction; and *Caloprini* forced to fly the city to avoid juſtice. He went directly to the court of the emperor *Otho*, and promiſed to deliver the city into his hands, if he would declare war againſt the republic: the emperor bearing a grudge to the *Venetians*, would willingly have complied with *Caloprini*'s propoſal, had he not found it inconvenient. In ſome meaſure he gratified this fugitive, by ſtrictly prohibiting all the ſubjects of the empire to carry on any ſort of trade, commerce, or intercourſe with the *Venetians*. As *Venice* was wholly ſupplied in corn, beef, and the other neceſſaries of life from *Italy* and the empire, this injunction ſoon produced a famine: however, the republic would not deſcend from its dignity by making conceſſions to the emperor; on the contrary, they razed to the ground the houſe of *Caloprini*, and baniſhed his whole family. Juſt as their neceſſities became extremely preſſing, they were happily relieved by the death of *Otho* [y], the ſucceeding emperor not chuſing to ſupport *Caloprini* againſt his country. Plenty and peace were hardly reſtored to *Venice* when *Tribuno Memio* died, or, as ſome hiſtorians affirm, was depoſed [z]: certain it is, that his government was not univerſally approved. A prince who takes part in factions muſt neceſſarily incur the diſlike of many of his ſubjects, and govern with a partiality that will infallibly render him odious, and his people unhappy. c d

## *PIETRO URSEOLO* II. Doge XXVI.

A. D. 991. Pietro Urſeolo, *doge* XXVI.

*PIETRO URSEOLO* the ſecond, was declared ſucceſſor to *Tribuno* by the council and people, a dignity which is ſaid to have been foretold him by his father. Under *Urſeolo* the republic aſcended rapidly to a high degree of wealth, power, and grandeur. The *Venetians* obtained liberty for their merchants to trade freely without duty or impoſt to all the ports of *Greece*, *Italy*, the empire, *Egypt*, *Syria*: the *Narentines* were again ſuppreſſed, *Nola* reduced, and with ſeveral cities of *Dalmatia* and *Iſtria*, annexed to the *Venetian* dominions: *Leſſina*, the rendezvous of pirates, was taken; *Spalatro* ſubdued and ſubjected to St. *Mark*'s. Thence the doge ſailed to *Corfou*, which he attacked and deſtroyed: he then ſteered for *Pharos*, (now *Leſnia*) and deſtroyed a ſtrong fort at the mouth of the haven, the town ſharing the ſame fate, after a gallant defence. The duke having cleared the ſeas of pirates, ſubjected *Iſtria*, *Dalmatia*, *Liburnia*, and the iſlands upon the coaſts, to the ſtate, returning triumphant, ſurrounded by the acclamations of his joyful people: upon this occaſion it was that the title of dukes of *Venice* and *Dalmatia* was conferred upon the doges [a]. Magiſtrates were immediately appointed to govern the conquered cities, and every other meaſure taken that could eſtabliſh their tranquility. Soon after *Urſeolo* died, having by will divided his eſtate into three parts; one he bequeathed to his relations, the other to the exchequer, and the third to the poor. He deſervedly bore the reputation of a great warrior and ſtateſman; but what particularly endeared him to the people was the goodneſs of his heart, which made him the friend, the father, and protector of indigent merit [b]. e f

*War with the* Narentines.

Pietro Urſeolo *dies.*

## *OTHO URSEOLO*, Doge XXVII..

A. D 1009: Otho Urſeolo, *doge* XXVII.

To repair in the beſt manner poſſible the loſs ſuſtained by the death of ſo valuable a prince, the council raiſed his ſon *Otho* to the ſupreme dignity. *Otho* ſo exactly followed the ſteps of his father, that the republic was ſcarce ſenſible of the change.

Two years after he had been created doge, he found it neceſſary to engage the republic in a war. The inhabitants of *Atri* had made incurſions into the *Venetian* territories, plun- g

[u] SANSOV. ibid. [x] SABELL. ibid. [y] SABELL. l. 1. d. 2. [z] FLAV. de geſt. Ven. Idem. Hiſt. l. 3. d. 2. [a] BLOND. l. 3. d. 2. SANSOV. del. v. de. p. DES. p. 2. [b] SANSOV. del. v. de p.

dering

a dering and deſtroying the frontier towns, and cruelly robbing the inhabitants of *Loretto* of their juſt rights and privileges. The *Venetians* endeavoured to obtain juſtice by negociation; but this being denied, they marched an army againſt the enemy, defeated them in a pitched battle near the town of *Loretto*, diſperſed their forces, and compelled them to ſue for peace, and make reſtitution [c].

*War with the* Atrians.

Soon after the republic had finiſhed this affair, ſhe found herſelf involved in another, and no leſs troubleſome quarrel. *Marcimirus*, prince of *Croatia*, had infeſted the boundaries of *Zara*, ſeized ſeveral towns, detaining the inhabitants priſoners, until they had ſworn allegiance to him, contrary to an expreſs treaty concluded a few years before with the republic. The inhabitants of *Zara* applying to the *Venetians* for aſſiſtance, were ſupported by a powerful

b armament, commanded by the doge in perſon. *Marcimirus* gave him battle, and was eaſily broken and defeated [d]. Hiſtorians do not inform us whether this war was carried on by ſea or land; they only relate, that *Otho* having vanquiſhed the enemy, ſcoured the coaſts of *Dalmatia*, *Liburnia*, and *Iſtria*, which his father had brought under the dominion of the republic. Soon after his return, a conſpiracy was formed againſt him, headed by *Dominico Flabenico*: he was ſeized, his beard ſhaved, depoſed, and baniſhed, fifteen years after he had aſſumed the ſupreme authority; *Sabellicus* ſays five, admitting which there muſt have been an inter-regnum of ten years; a conjecture ſupported by no authority. *Otho* was poſſeſſed of great abilities in the ſenate, the cabinet, and the field. He had a particular talent in watching incidents and turning them to the advantage of the ſtate; he was naturally inclined to

c war, but the general plan of his politics aimed at peace, and promoting arts, induſtry, and commerce: however, his character was not without blemiſh; he was vindictive, cruel, and jealous, except when his good ſenſe found it neceſſary to ſuppreſs his natural diſpoſition [e].

A. D. 1013. *War with the prince of* Croatia.

Otho *depoſed by conſpiracy*, A. D. 1026.

*His character.*

## *PIETRO CENTRANIGO*, Doge XXVIII.

No ſooner was *Otho* depoſed, than *Pietro Centranigo* elected doge. *Pietro* applied himſelf aſſiduouſly to compoſe the tumults occaſioned by the late conſpiracy; to eſtabliſh order, regularity, and peace through every part of the republic. When *Otho* was baniſhed, his brother *Urſo*, fearing he might fall a ſacrifice to the ſame faction, fled precipitately from his dioceſe of *Grada*, and concealed himſelf in *Venice* [f]. *Pepin*, patriarch of *Aquileia*, taking ad-

d vantage of his flight, and of the public diſturbances, ſeized upon *Grada*, pretending that he held it for *Urſo*, and appropriated the public money to his own uſe. *Centranigo* was preparing to force him to make reſtitution, when he was depoſed and confined to a monaſtery by a faction, after having governed with great humanity and prudence, for the ſpace of five years [g].

Pietro Centranigo, *doge* XXVIII.

*Depoſed.*

## *DOMINICO FLABENICO*, Doge XXIX.

After various tumults and diſorders in the ſtate, during an inter-regnum of one year, *Dominico Flabenico* was raiſed to the ſupreme authority with the univerſal aſſent of the people. He ſet out on his adminiſtration with a moſt vindictive, unjuſt, and unpopular action; aſſembling the people, he propoſed expelling the family of *Urſeolo* as perſons diſaffected

e to the free conſtitution of the republic, and ambitious of ruling arbitrarily. The multitude, unmindful of the juſt government, wiſe conduct, and great bravery of *Otho* and his father, determined to oblige the doge and ſecure their liberties, by which means one of the moſt noble, ancient, and worthy families in *Venice* received a wound, of which it never afterwards recovered [h]. In *Dominico*'s reign it was ordained, that no future prince ſhould aſſociate a colleague in the ſupreme power; a rule ever ſince unaltered [i]. Without performing one ſingle action he died of old age, and was ſucceeded by *Dominico Contorini*, called to the government by the general voice of the nation.

Dominico Flabenico, *doge* XXIX.

## *DOMINICO CONTARINI*, Doge XXX.

f The confuſions of the laſt reign had prevented the republic from puniſhing the perfidy of the prince of *Croatia*, who was not to be reſtrained by treaties, or the moſt ſolemn engagements, whenever his intereſt and ambition were concerned: he had now abſolutely ſubdued *Zara*, and over-run a great part of the country; many cities had likewiſe revolted to him, either out of fickleneſs, or diſlike to the *Venetian* government. To put a ſtop to theſe evils, the doge with a powerful fleet, ſet ſail to the coaſt of *Dalmatia*, landed his army, and inveſted *Zara* by ſea and land; the city did not hold out long; and the terror with which the ſurrender of this important place ſtruck the other cities, kept them faſt in their obedience and fidelity [k]. *Sanſovino* relates, that *Zara* had revolted to the king of *Hungary*, whoſe troops compoſed the garriſon at the time it was reduced by *Contarini*.

A. D. 1043. Dominico Contarini, *doge* XXX.

[c] Blond. Hiſt. l. 4. d. 2. [d] Sabell. ibid. [e] Sabell. l. 2. d. 2. [f] Blond. de g. V. del. v. p. [g] Sansov [h] Sabell. ibid. [i] Blond. Hiſt. p. 359. [k] Sabell. l. 3. d. 2.

## *DOMINICO SELVO*, Doge XXXI.

Contarini *dies.*

AFTER a happy reign of twenty-nine years, *Contarini* died, greatly admired for his wiſdom, valour, and conduct; and no leſs beloved on account of his courteſy, humanity, benevolence, and clemency [1]. His body was interred with great pomp; during which ceremony *Dominico Selvo*, who attended, was proclaimed doge, amidſt the acclamations of the people.

Dominico Selvo, *doge* XXXI.

This doge had the honour of giving the firſt check to the *Norman* power, at that time very formidable: they were attacked before *Durazzo* by the *Venetian* fleet, defeated, and forced to relinquiſh the ſiege. They returned ſoon after, and were a ſecond time attacked by *Selvo*, but with different fortune; he was now defeated in his turn, and his whole fleet taken and deſtroyed: although the doge had exhibited very extraordinary proofs of courage and conduct, he no ſooner arrived in *Venice*, than the people exaſperated at the loſs, depoſed him b without ever enquiring into his conduct.

## *VITALIS FALIERO*, Doge XXXII.

Vitalis Faliero, *doge* XXXII. A. D. 1084.

*VITALIS FALIERO* was choſen to ſucceed *Selvo*: his firſt propoſal in council was, that ambaſſadors ſhould be diſpatched to the emperor *Alexis*, to ſolicit the inveſtiture of *Dalmatia* and *Croatia*, countries which the republic held by the right of conqueſt. *Dominico Dandalo*, *Ciani Vitalis*, and *Andrea Michaeli*, were the perſons fixed upon to negociate this important affair: the emperor received them as they had reaſon, from the ſervices of the republic, to expect, granted their requeſt, by which thoſe provinces were inſeparably annexed to the *Venetian* dominions. *Faliero* died after a long reign diſtinguiſhed only by miracles c and fables, the offſpring of ſuperſtition and ignorance.

Dalmatia *annexed to the* Venetian *dominions.*

## *VITALIS MICHAELI*, Doge XXXIII.

Vitalis Michaeli, *doge* XXXIII.

HE was ſucceeded by *Vitalis Michaeli*, who greatly augmented the maritime power of *Venice*. In his time the croiſade was preached up in *Europe*: the republic was not proof againſt the contagion of enthuſiaſm; ſhe took part in the holy league, and equipped a fleet of two hundred veſſels. Before this armament put to ſea, a rupture with the republic of *Piſa* happened, owing to the mutual jealouſy of the rival ſtates: the *Venetians* firſt attacked and defeated the *Piſans* in a bloody ſea-action; after which the fleet ſteered for *Smyrna*, and from thence directed their courſe to *Aſcalon*, then beſieged by the chriſtians. To the intrepidity d of the *Venetians* may be attributed the conqueſt not only of *Aſcalon*, but of *Caipha*, and *Tiberias*: it is probable the doge would have purſued his good fortune, had he not been recalled to repel an invaſion of the *Normans* into *Dalmatia*. Here he was equally ſucceſsful; the *Normans* were every where defeated, and the doge returned loaded with booty and glory to *Venice*; ſoon after which he died, much eſteemed and regretted.

## *ORDELAPHO FALIERO*, Doge XXXIV.

Ordelapho Faliero, *doge* XXXIV.

*ORDELAPHO FALIERO* was elected to ſucceed *Vitalis*: he was ſcarce fixed in his authority when a great fleet was again ſent to the coaſt of *Africa*; *Sabellicus* calls the number ſixty, but *Blondus* makes it up one hundred. The *Venetians* aſſiſted *Baldwin* in the ſiege of e *Ptolemais*, or *Acon*, and were the chief inſtruments of its ſurrender; afterwards they laid ſiege to *Sydon* and *Faronica*, both which places they carried by aſſault. *Baldwin*, in recompence of her ſervices, preſented the republic with the city of *Acon*, which he endowed with extraordinary immunities and privileges; upon which the fleet returned home, doing nothing more for the remainder of the ſeaſon [a].

*War with the* Paduans.

THE beginning of the following year a controverſy aroſe between the republic and the *Paduans*, which terminated in a war: the latter, aſſiſted by ſome of the neighbouring ſtates, ventured a battle; but were defeated with the loſs of ſix hundred of their men. This affair happened at *Bebia*, juſt upon their confines, and ſo terrified the *Paduans*, that they ſolicited protection from the emperor *Henry* the fourth [b]. The emperor generouſly uſed his f influence to reconcile them and ſucceeded.

*Fire in* Venice.

THIS year two dreadful fires happened, which deſtroyed a great number of houſes, conſumed whole ſtreets, and laid waſte ſixteen of the iſlands on which the city ſtood: ſeveral of the moſt beautiful churches, and other buildings periſhed in the flames; but ſo great was the induſtry, wealth, and number of the inhabitants, that in a few months hardly any remains of the late deſolation were viſible. The city received new luſtre by the fire; and the churches, houſes, and buildings, ſeemed to riſe with additional grandeur and elegance out of their aſhes [c].

SCARCE had the republic recovered this calamity, when news arrived of the revolt of *Zara*: the citizens expelled their governor, and put themſelves under the protection of the king g

[1] SABELL. l. 3. d. 2. [a] SABELL. l. 5. d. 2 [b] BLOND. Hiſt. d. 3. l. 4. [c] SABELL. l. 6. d. 1.

of

of *Hungary*. This prince, puffed up with his late ſucceſs againſt the *Normans*, which by the way he chiefly owed to the *Venetians*, was ſo ungrateful and perfidious, as to ſeize upon ſeveral towns in *Dalmatia*, contrary to a ſolemn treaty; other cities, and among theſe *Zara*, voluntarily acknowledged his dominion, throwing off their allegiance to the republic [d]. The doge paſſed with a ſtrong ſquadron to *Dalmatia*, beſieged *Zara*, and ſoon obliged it to ſurrender. *Ordelapho* likewiſe defeated an army that had been ſent to the relief of the place, ſlew a great number, and took ſome hundreds priſoners. From hence he marched to *Siegua*, which had likewiſe revolted, drove out the *Hungarian* garriſon, and ſeverely chaſtiſed the inhabitants: the other towns ſubmitted of courſe, and once more acknowleged the juriſ-
b diction of the republic. The doge, not ſatisfied with recovering *Dalmatia*, croſſed the mountains into *Croatia*, and wholly ſubdued it; whence the republic aſſumed the title of lords of *Croatia* [e]. *War with the prince of* Croatia.

*ORDELAPHO* having ſettled the provinces, and left garriſons in the cities, returned to *Venice*, attended by a great number of priſoners of condition and rank, where he was joyfully received by the people. His ſtay was but ſhort; for another great army of *Hungarians* entering *Dalmatia*, made a rapid progreſs in the conqueſt of the province. The doge knowing the *Dalmatians* to be of an inconſtant fickle diſpoſition, thought that no time was to be loſt in oppoſing the enemy: fitting out, therefore, a fleet with the utmoſt expedition, he landed his troops and engaged the enemy. The conflict was violent, victory for a long
c time declaring for neither ſide: at laſt the doge, incenſed at the reſiſtance of an enemy ſo often conquered by the *Venetians*, broke in upon their ranks with a choſen body of troops, which would have certainly determined the battle favourably, had he not unhappily been mortally wounded. His death ſo diſpirited the *Venetians*, that diſperſing themſelves they quitted they field, leaving the wounded to the mercy of the *Hungarians*, who cruelly butchered all the priſoners, and ſo ſucceſsfully purſued the rear of the flying army, that a prodigious ſlaughter enſued. The whole city was greatly afflicted at the defeat of their army, and death of their prince, who ſo bravely aſſerted the rights of the republic: the people were clamorous for a peace, and the council irreſolute. It was at length determined to ſend ambaſſadors to the king of *Hungary*, to obtain a truce at leaſt upon the beſt terms poſſible: in the
d mean time the body of *Ordelapho* was brought to *Venice*, and honourably interred, being attended with all the nobility in deep mourning, and the reſt of the people, who loved his perſon as much as they admired his courage [f]. A. D. 689.

## *DOMENICO MICHELI*, Doge XXXV.

*DOMENICO MICHELI* ſucceeded to the government. Immediately after his acceſſion, the pope's nuncio arrived in *Venice*, and excited ſuch a ſpirit of enthuſiaſm in the people, that it was unanimouſly reſolved to ſend a fleet to aſſiſt the chriſtians in *Africa*. Such was the eagerneſs of the citizens to embark in this expedition, that they ſtrove whoſe names ſhould be firſt enrolled, and in a few days a fleet of ſixty gallies put to ſea, ſteering its courſe
e to *Dalmatia*. The doge having victualled the fleet, ſailed from thence to *Cyprus*, where hearing that the *Saracens* were beſieging *Joppa* he made the beſt ſail he could thither. The garriſon was reduced to the laſt extremity when the doge arrived, ſurpriſed, and defeated the enemy, made a prodigious ſlaughter, and obliged the *Saracens* precipitately to raiſe the ſiege [g]: the booty which the *Venetians* took upon this occaſion was immenſe, and ſufficiently reimburſed the expence of the expedition. After this victory the doge went to *Jeruſalem*, where he was kindly received, and complimented upon his conduct and late ſucceſs. Domenico Micheli, *doge* XXXV.

*TYRE* was next beſieged by the united forces of the republic and *Varimond* biſhop of *Jeruſalem*. It had been agreed, that when the cities of *Tyre* and *Aſcalon* were reduced, the *Venetians* ſhould ſhare two-thirds of the ſpoils and property taken. Accordingly the city
f was inveſted by ſea and land for two months: the garriſon made no overtures towards a capitulation; and feuds, jealouſies, and ſuſpicions, began to diſtract the councils of the beſiegers. The troops on ſhore complained, that all the fatigue, dangers, and hardſhips of the ſiege fell upon them, while the *Venetians* lying at eaſe in their ſhips, were to reap the chief advantages from their ſucceſs: theſe and other complaints being either redreſſed or ſilenced by the doge, peace and harmony were re-eſtabliſhed, and the ſiege proſecuted with ſo much vigour, that the garriſon was forced to ſurrender at diſcretion. The ſhare agreed upon was, without any diſpute, aſſigned to the *Venetians*, whoſe moderation as well as courage gained them great reputation. Tyre *beſieged*.

WHILE the *Venetians* were gathering laurels in *Syria*, *Caloiane Commenius*, ſon of the em-
g peror *Alexis*, jealous of the great reputation of the republic, reſolved to attack her, weakened by the abſence of the fleet and doge; but the *Venetians* having timely notice of his A. D. 1124.

[d] BLOND. de g. V. [e] SABELL. l. 6. d. 2. SANSOV. del v. p. [f] SABELL. l. 6. d. 2. BLOND. FLAV. : 1. d. 3. [g] BLOND. de g. V.

in-

intentions, recalled the doge. Stopping at *Rhodes* on his way home to refreſh and water the fleet, the inhabitants refuſed to furniſh him with the neceſſaries he demanded: incenſed at this denial, he attacked the city, took and levelled it with the ground. From thence he ſailed to *Chios*, which he likewiſe laid waſte and deſtroyed, carrying off the body of St. *Iſidore*, in thoſe days reputed a treaſure of ineſtimable value: then he ſeized upon *Samos*, *Lesbos*, *Andros*, and all the other iſlands of the *Archipelago*, belonging to the emperor. Setting ſail to *Dalmatia*, he recovered *Zara*, *Spolatra*, and *Trabu*, places which had revolted in the preceding adminiſtration: this glorious campaign ended, he conducted his fleet back to *Venice*, where he was joyfully received by the people [h]. From this time to his death, *Domenico* purſued pacific meaſures, and cultivated the arts, commerce, and induſtry. The republic had acquired great honour and wealth under him, and was advancing by large ſtrides, to that high pitch of glory, grandeur, and power, ſhe ſoon after attained. a b

## *PIETRO POLANI*, Doge XXXVI.

Pietro Polani, *doge* XXXVI.

*War with* Padua.

*DOMENICO MICHELI* was ſucceeded by *Pietro Polani*, his ſon-in-law. Soon after *Polani*'s acceſſion, the *Paduans*, unmindful of the conditions of the late peace, began to encroach upon the frontiers of the republic. The *Venetian* general on the continent highly reſented their perfidy, and, without conſulting his ſuperiors, attacked and defeated the *Paduan* army: the ſlaughter was great on both ſides, but the honour of the field remained to the *Venetians*. This ſingle battle diſpoſed both parties to peace, which accordingly was concluded, on condition that the *Paduans* baniſhed from their city the promoters of the war. Tranquility had no ſooner been reſtored to the republic, than it was again diſturbed by a requeſt from the emperor *Emanuel*, that the *Venetian* fleet might be ſent againſt *Roger* king of *Sicily*, and ſon of *Guiſcard* prince of the *Normans*. A powerful armament was equipped to aſſiſt the emperor, and *Polani* embarked in perſon in the expedition; but meeting with a terrible ſtorm that damaged the fleet, he put into *Caorli* to refit. Here the doge fell dangerouſly ill, and deſpairing of recovering ſoon enough to come up with the *Normans*, he committed the fleet to his brother *Giovanni*, with orders to proceed againſt the enemy. *Giovanni* taking and deſtroying ſeveral of *Roger*'s ſhips he met with in his cruize, ſailed to *Corfu*, which he reduced by force. On his way from thence he met the whole *Norman* fleet coming to the relief of the place. Immediately an action began: *Giovanni* attacked with great fury, and was received with equal valour; but the *Venetians* proving the more ſkilful mariners, got the windward of the enemy, ſoon broke the line, ſunk, took, and deſtroyed a number of their ſhips, and at laſt gained a complete victory with an inconſiderable loſs [i]. The empire being thus relieved, *Giovanni* returned with the fleet to *Venice*, a prodigious booty, and a great number of priſoners: but the doge's death, which happened a few days before, prevented the general expreſſions of joy for ſo glorious a victory. At the death of *Roger* king of *Sicily*, the republic entered into an alliance with *William* his ſucceſſor, who granted a variety of valuable privileges and immunities to the *Venetian* merchants trading to his dominions. Six ſhips of war were this year ſent out to clear the gulph of pirates, in which they were ſo ſucceſsful, that a boat loaded with gold, ſays *Blondus*, might eaſily paſs from one end of the *Adriatic* to the other. c d *The* Venetians *beat the* Sicilian *fleet*. e

## *DOMENICO MOROSINI*, Doge XXXVII.

Domenico Moroſini, *doge* XXXVII.

In the room of the late doge was elected *Domenico Moroſini*: in the beginning of his government a terrible fire broke out, which ſome aſcribe to chance, others to deſign, that conſumed a great part of the city. The republic ſpared no pains to diſcover the cauſe of this misfortune, but all their endeavours were to no purpoſe; the incendiaries, if any there were, could never be brought to juſtice [k].

About this time the *Polani*, and other inhabitants of *Iſtria* were committing ſeveral depredations and robberies on the high ſeas, which the republic thought it her duty to repreſs. Having for this purpoſe ſent the duke's ſon, attended by *Marino Gradonico*, the fleet beſieged *Pola*, and in a ſhort time took it by ſtorm, putting the chief pirates in irons, and pardoning the other inhabitants on their promiſing to ſend yearly to *Venice* two thouſand weight of oil for the uſe of St. *Mark*'s church [l]. Little beſides happened under this doge, who employed himſelf chiefly in religious and eccleſiaſtical affairs, building churches, founding monaſteries, removing the bodies of ſaints and martyrs, and other ſuch acts of what was then denominated piety. f

## *VITALIS MICHAELI* II, Doge XXXVIII.

Vitalis Michaeli, *doge* XXXVIII. A. D. 1156.

*MOROSINI* was ſucceeded by *Vitalis Michaeli* the ſecond, a man of prudence, valour, and experience: he perſuaded the republic to join *France* and *England*, in ſupporting the

[h] Sabel. l. 6. d. 1. [i] Blond. Hiſt. d. 3. l. 3. [k] Sabel. l. 7. d. 1. [l] Sabel. ibid.

a claim of *Alexander* the third to the ſee of *Rome*, in oppoſition to *Octavian*, backed by the emperor *Frederic*. The emperor was incenſed at the proceedings of the republic, and gave orders to the ſtates bordering upon the *Venetian* dominions to make incurſions, to plunder, deſtroy, and lay waſte every place belonging to the *Venetians*[m]. In conſequence, a number of petty ſtates, who envied her greatneſs, joined in a league offenſive and defenſive againſt *Venice*. *Verona*, *Padua*, and *Ferrara*, each of which had before felt the weight of her arms, now combined to deſtroy the republic: they joined forces, and began with attacking the frontier towns; among the reſt *La Mothe*, a place of ſome conſideration, which they diſmantled, after plundering and making priſoners the inhabitants: a new enemy likewiſe ſtarted up. *Ulric*, biſhop of *Aquileia*, laying hold of the troubles of the ſtate, had raiſed an army
b of *Forlians* and ſeized upon *Grada*, not with intention to keep it, but only to enrich and beautify his own cathedral with the ſpoi's of this ſee: however, the *Venetians* coming upon him, not only retook the plunder, but ſent the prelate and ſeveral of his inferior clergy priſoners to *Venice*[n].

*War with* Verona, Padua, *and* Ferrara.

*Biſhop of* Aquileia *taken.*

It would ſeem, that the ſucceſs of this republic was become the object of envy and hatred of all the other powers; for *Emanuel*, emperor of *Greece*, uſed his utmoſt addreſs to embroil the *Venetians* with their ally *William* king of *Sicily*; but the ſenate kept clear of this ſnare, and made ſpirited anſwers to the emperor's ambaſſadors. This enraged *Emanuel*: he made it a pretence for declaring war againſt the *Venetians*, and ſeizing upon the cities of *Spalatra*, *Trahu*, and *Raguſa*[o]. Soon after he ſent ambaſſadors to the *Venetians*, to aſſure
c them that his intention was not to detain thoſe places, which in the firſt heat of paſſion he had ſeized; that he had the greateſt affection for the republic, as well as gratitude for the many ſervices they had done his predeceſſors and the empire; that their merchants might trade without fear of moleſtation in all his ports; and that the *Venetians* might always rely upon his friendſhip, notwithſtanding the late differences. The *Venetian* merchants made themſelves happy with this inſtance of the emperor's generoſity; they fitted out large fleets, in order to repair the loſs ſuſtained by the late ſtop to their commerce; but they ſoon received the reward of their credulity: their ſhips no ſooner put into the ports of *Greece* than they were ſeized, the crews impriſoned, and the cargoes ſent to the emperor's warehouſes. A few who made their eſcape ſoon informed the republic of the perfidy of the *Greek* mon-
d arch[p]. A ſpirit of revenge fired every breaſt, and a fleet was equipped to retaliate the injury, and puniſh the treachery: this naval armament conſiſted of an hundred gallies and twenty ſhips of war, well manned and victualled, who were ſoon joined by twenty ſhips and gallies from *Iſtria* and *Dalmatia*, the whole commanded by the doge in perſon. His firſt exploit was againſt *Trahu*, which he beſieged, took, and demoliſhed, in order to ſtrike terror into the other towns that had thrown off the *Venetian* yoke, and acknowleged the dominion of *Emanuel*. Having ſubdued the rebellious cities of *Dalmatia*, he ſet ſail for *Negropont*: as he was preparing to enter upon hoſtilities, the governor demanded a truce; a conference enſued, in which the governor aſſured him that the emperor would prefer a diſadvantageous peace to a ſucceſsful war[q]: but his intention was only to gain time, as appeared
e by the reſult. The biſhop of *Equiline*, and *Manaſſes Bodoairio*, were diſpatched to *Emanuel*, from whom they could obtain nothing but fair ſpeeches and ſpecious promiſes, upon which they could have no dependance after the late violation of the moſt ſolemn oaths: ſometimes he would approve of their demands; again he would refer them to his council; then he would ſend ambaſſadors to *Vitalis*, with different terms: in ſhort, it was obvious that he intended nothing more than to protract the time; the biſhop and *Bodoairio*, therefore, took their leave and returned to the doge, whom they found at *Chios*, which iſland he had reduced during their abſence[r]. The emperor's intrigues ſucceeded ſo well, that the ſeaſon was ſpent in negociations, which terminated where they began: the doge, therefore, reſolved to winter at *Chios*, in order to be ready the following campaign; but a contagious diſtemper appear-
f ing among his troops, carried them off in great numbers. The report was, that the ſprings and wells in the iſland had been poiſoned by the emperor's order; and indeed ſo violent was the diſorder, and ſo great the havock among the troops, that there ſeemed room for ſuſpicion[s].

*Treachery of* Emanuel *the* Greek *emperor.*

Trahu *beſieged.*

The doge perceiving the contagion to encreaſe among his men, thought proper to return home; by which means the infection was received, and ſoon ſpread over *Venice*, ſweeping off daily incredible numbers of all ages, ſexes, and degrees. The people began to murmur and complain of the doge's conduct, which they aſcribed to deſign and treachery, rather than imprudence or inattention[t]. This was the temper of the city when the great council met: here it broke out with the utmoſt violence; nothing but upbraidings and revilings could be heard: the prince was called a monſter, traitor, and parricide; a wretch that had

[m] Sabel. l. 7. d. 1. [n] Ibid. Item Blond. Hiſt. d. 3. l. 3. [o] Sabel. l. 7. d. 1. [p] Ibid. [q] Sabel. l. 7. d. 1. [r] Sabel. ibid. [s] Sabel. ibid. Blond. Hiſt. l. 4. d. 3. [t] Sabel. ibid.

ſold his country to the blackeſt and moſt perfidious of all enemies, and who had even dipt his hands in the blood of that people he was bound by every law, human and divine, to protect. He was not permitted to make his defence; they ſuppoſed him guilty, and the cleareſt proofs and ſtrongeſt conviction could not alter their ſentiments, In ſhort, he fell a ſacrifice to the ſtrong paſſions, furious zeal, and blind prejudices of an incenſed multitude: his body was inſtantly mangled and torn in pieces, his name ſtigmatized with infamy, his houſe razed to the ground, and his innocent family baniſhed the city [u]. Thus, by an extraordinary fatality, periſhed *Vitalis Michaeli*, after he had governed for the ſpace of ſeventeen years, with moderation, prudence, courage, and conduct. His misfortunes would ſeem to ariſe from his own intregity and the treachery of his enemy. a

*VITALIS* was ſcarcely dead when the paſſions of the people ſubſided from rage into compaſſion; from reſentment into pity [w]. The edict which had baniſhed his family was revoked, and the favours which he was incapable of receiving liberally conferred on his wife, children, and domeſtics. Upon this occaſion was erected the ſeignory, or council of ten, to take cognizance of all tumults, riots, ſeditions, high crimes, and miſdemeanours [x]. b

## *SEBASTIANO ZIANI*, Doge XXXIX.

A. D. 1173. Sebaſtiano Ziani, *doge* XXXIX.

*SEBASTIANO ZIANI*, the ſucceeding doge, was no ſooner elected than he was involved in a war with *Frederic Barbaroſſa*. Pope *Alexander* had taken ſanctuary in *Venice*, to avoid the perſecution of *Barbaroſſa*, who had profeſſed an implacable hatred to him, for having refuſed to ſtand by the judgment the emperor gave in favour of *Octavian* his rival. The *Venetians* diſpatched ambaſſadors to the emperor, who anſwered them in a rage, "Go and tell "your prince and people, that *Frederic* the *Roman* emperor demands his enemy, who is pro- "tected by them. If they ſend him not inſtantly, bound hand and foot, he will overturn every "law, human and divine, to accompliſh his revenge: he will bring his army before their "city, and fix his victorious ſtandards in the market-place, which ſhall float in the blood "of its citizens [y]." The ambaſſadors returning with this terrible menace, it was agreed to equip a fleet with all expedition, and prepare for repelling the emperor's meditated vengeance. While the *Venetians* were thus employed, *Otho*, the emperor's ſon, entered the gulph with a ſtrong ſquadron of ſeventy-five gallies, and was making ſail to the city. The doge reſolved to oppoſe him with the few ſhips which were fit to put to ſea: the fleets met off the coaſt of *Iſtria*, and a dreadful battle enſued, the event of which was, that the doge conquered his enemy, took, ſunk, and deſtroyed forty-eight of his ſhips, and returned in triumph to *Venice*. From this time was continued the ceremony of marrying the ſea: the pope going out to meet the victorious doge, preſented him with a ring, ſaying, "Take, *Ziani*, this "ring, and give it to the ſea, as a teſtimony of your dominion over it. Let your ſucceſſors "annually perform the ſame ceremony, that poſterity may know your valour has purchaſed this prerogative, and ſubjected this element to you even as a huſband ſubjecteth "his wife [z]." c d

*OTHO* was taken priſoner in this battle; but he was permitted, on his parole, to viſit the imperial court of his father. This young prince had conceived the higheſt friendſhip for the republic, and eſteem for *Ziani*: he determined to ſerve them, by putting an end to a war which the ſtates could not long ſupport againſt the power of the emperor. On his arrival at court, he urged ſuch arguments as not only prevailed on *Barbaroſſa* to conclude peace with the republic, but to viſit a city ſo famed for commerce and naval power. His arrival at *Venice* was equally unexpected and agreeable: he was treated with all poſſible reſpect; and on his departure attended to *Ancona* by the doge, the whole ſenate, and body of nobility. At *Venice* he was reconciled to the pope, both agreeing to confer the higheſt honours and privileges on the doge and the republic. It was ſoon after this event that *Ziani*, on account of his age, reſigned the ducal diadem, retiring to ſpend his life in a monaſtery, after he had governed the republic with great reputation, ſpirit, prudence, and juſtice, for the ſpace of eight years (A). e f

*ORIO*

[u] Sabel. l. 1. d. 1. [w] Blond. Hiſt. l. 3. d. 3. [x] Sabel. l. 7. d. 1. [y] Sabel. l. 7. d. 1. Desd. p. 2. [z] Sabel. ibid. Blond. Flav. de geſt. V.

(A) Before he retired he gave a prodigious ſum of money in truſt to the procurators of St. *Mark*, as a perpetual fund for indigent orphans, widows, diſtreſſed tradeſmen, merchants, and all thoſe who were reduced by misfortunes, and not through extravagance, or neglect. He ſettled this endowment with a ſimplicity, modeſty, and reſerve becoming the true nature of charitable inſtitutions: here was no pomp, parade, or oſtentation; every thing was conducted with the utmoſt delicacy and ſecrecy; nor was the perſon relieved hurt by the manner of conferring the obligation. He was privately ſent for, and deſired to give a faithful account of his ſituation, circumſtances, and the cauſes which had reduced him, which, with his name, were entered in a weekly regiſter, and in a few days the ſum the procurators thought neceſſary was ſent to him. The truſtees made up their accounts annually, to be inſpected by the ſeignory, the ſavii, and the doge, to prevent the abuſe or embezzlement

## a ORIO MASTROPIETRO, Doge XL.

*ORIO MASTROPIETRO* was now raiſed to the ducal dignity. *Sabellicus* relates, that a council of four perſons was appointed to chuſe another council of forty, in which ſhould reſide the power of electing a doge; but no other hiſtorian takes notice of this regulation: it is probable therefore that *Sabellicus* means by this council the firſt riſe of the pregadi, or ſenate, or of the forty judges in criminal caſes; for we do not find one inſtance in hiſtory where a general aſſembly of the nobility was not called at the death or reſignation of a doge. Orio Maſtropietro, *doge* XL. *Origin of the pregadi, or ſenate.*

*MASTROPIETRO* was no ſooner fixed in the ſovereign authority than he ſtruck up a treaty with the *Piſans*, and ſettled all the differences between the ſtates, that he might be at b liberty to puniſh the treacherous city of *Zara*, which had a fourth time revolted, and received a *Hungarian* garriſon [a]. The inhabitants of this place had, at different times, put the republic to great charges to keep them in obedience; ſhe was now therefore determined to give them a deciſive blow: for this purpoſe a ſtrong ſquadron was equipped, many of the citizens contributing out of their private fortunes to the expence, and embarking themſelves in the expedition. The fleet ſoon arrived upon the coaſt of *Dalmatia*, reduced all the rebellious iſlands, and was preparing to lay ſiege to *Zara*, when the pope's nuncio arrived [b]. His buſineſs was to requeſt the *Venetians* to defer the puniſhment of the *Zaratins*, that they might once more be at liberty to embark in the holy war, and aſſiſt in ſtemming the conqueſts of *Saladine*, which, like a torrent, overwhelmed *Syria* and *Paleſtine*. *The pope demands a fleet to be ſent to* Syria.

c THE *Venetians*, unwilling to be wanting either in reſpect to his holineſs, or zeal for the church, raiſed the ſiege, and returned to *Venice* with the fleet, to victual it for a longer voyage, and receive a reinforcement of men and ſhips. The expedition uſed was ſo great, that, in conjunction with the *Piſan* fleet, they were beſieging *Acon* long before the arrival of the other Chriſtian princes; which city, after a tedious and bloody ſiege, they ſubdued. The fleet was ſcarce arrived when the doge reſigned his authority, having reigned fourteen years; during which he maintained that character of wiſdom, integrity, and virtue, for which he had been diſtinguiſhed in a private ſtation [c]. A. D. 1188. Orio Maſtropietro *reſigns.*

## *HENRICO DANDOLO*, Doge XLI.

d THE aſſembly met (the council of forty, ſays *Sabellicus*) for the election of a new doge, when their choice fell upon *Henrico Dandolo*, under whom the republic arrived at a high pitch of reputation, power, and grandeur. The *Piſans*, who envied the riſing dignity of *Venice*, ſeized every occaſion of coming to a rupture. While they jointly carried on the ſiege of *Acon*, numberleſs little feuds, jealouſies, and differences had ariſen among the ſoldiers. The *Piſan* fleet returning home from *Syria*, ſurpriſed, took, and plundered the city *Pola*, then tributary to the *Venetians*, leaving in it a garriſon. The republic, not caring to put up with an affront ſo flagrant, fitted out ſix ſhips of war and ſix gallies, which were immediately ſent to retake *Pola*: in this they not only ſucceeded, but in the deſtruction of a great number of *Piſan* ſhips lying in the harbour [d]. Soon after the *Venetians* intercepted, ſunk, e took, and deſtroyed a rich homeward-bound *Turkey* fleet. About this time it was the doge prohibited the merchants of *Verona* to enter the ports of the *Venetian* dominions, or to carry on any kind of trade, intercourſe, or commerce, with the republic. The *Veroneſe* had plundered ſome *Venetian* traders in the river *Adice*; and though the violence received no countenance from the government, yet as no compenſation was made to the ſufferers, the doge thought this breach of the law of nations deſerved to be reſented. His ſpirited conduct ſoon brought the *Veroneſe* to make acknowlegements and ſatisfaction for the injury done; upon which their merchants were reſtored to their uſual immunities [e]. A. D. 1192. Henrico Dandolo, *doge* XLI. *War with the* Piſans. A. D. 1193. *Trade with* Verona *prohibited.*

THE republic at the ſame time ſent a ſtrong ſquadron againſt the combined fleets of *Piſa* and *Brunduſium*. It was commanded by *Giovanni Baſilio*, and *Thomaſo Phalerio*, two of- f ficers of experience and valour: they ſoon humbled the pride of the confederates, having not only deſtroyed all their ſhipping at ſea, but ſtruck terror into the whole coaſt of *Brunduſium*, and even into the city. The *Brunduſians* made a ſeparate peace, which ſoon reduced the *Piſans*, unable to carry on the war alone, to the neceſſity of accepting ſuch terms as the republic choſe to impoſe [f]. *Peace with the* Piſans.

IN conſequence of a treaty with *Alexis* and *Baldwin* earl of *Flanders*, ſixty gallies, twenty ſhips of war, and a great number of tranſports, were immediately equipped againſt the *Iſ-* A. D. 1201.

[a] SABEL. l. 8. d. 1. [b] BLOND. l. 5. d. 3. SABEL. ibid. [c] SANSOV. p. 232. [d] SABEL. l. 8. d. 1. BLOND. de geſt V. [e] SABEL. l. 8. d. 1. BLOND. l. 3. d. 2. [f] Ibid.

ment of the charity. However, in proceſs of time, this noble inſtitution, like all other public endowments, was proſtituted to the baſe purpoſes of the truſtees, nobility, and whoever had weight, intereſt, and influence to make the proper application, without regard to merit or want (1).

(1) *Sanſovino, lib.* 13. *p.* 231.

*trians.* So heartily did the republic engage in this enterprize, that the doge, notwithſtanding a defect in his ſight almoſt to blindneſs, embarked with a choice body of troops [g]. The enemy, confounded with ſo formidable an armament, ſent to demand peace upon any terms, and to acknowlege the ſovereignty of the republic: the revolted cities likewiſe returned to their duty, *Zara* alone remaining obſtinate: this place, therefore, the fleet attacked, though the city was defended by ſtrong walls and a numerous *Hungarian* garriſon, well provided. In the end, the perſeverance of the beſieged was forced to yield to the bravery of the *Venetians*; the city was diſmantled, deprived of its privileges, the *Hungarians* made priſoners, and many of the principal inhabitants put to death [h]. a

THE ſeaſon in the mean while was ſpent without any thing effected for the relief of the old emperor, the original purport of the treaty. The princes propoſed wintering in *Dalmatia*, and deferring the expedition to *Greece* until the following ſummer: but their intention was altered by the tears, intreaty, and eloquence of young *Alexis*: he pathetically lamented his father's blindneſs, impriſonment, ſlavery, and his own baniſhment, by the cruelty of his uncle: he called upon the friendſhip his father inviolably preſerved for the republic; their faith, alliance, and compaſſion. His eloquence was ſo moving, his judgment ſo ripe, and his promiſes ſo large, that the princes determined upon affording him immediate aſſiſtance, and accordingly ſailed for *Greece*. *Conſtantinople* was inveſted and taken, the uſurper forced to fly, the old *Alexis* reſtored, and tranquility ſeemingly eſtabliſhed: but *Alexis* ſoon dying, his ſon was elected in his room, who was a few days after depoſed and murdered by his own ſubjects, *Myrtillus*, a man of obſcure birth, raiſed by the favour of old *Alexis*, aſſuming the imperial dignity [i]. The *French* and *Venetians* were encamped without the city. *Myrtillus*'s firſt care, therefore, was to drive them out of his dominions: for this purpoſe he attempted to ſurprize the camp; but being repulſed, ſhut himſelf up in *Conſtantinople*, determined to ſtand a ſiege. The allies aſſaulted it with ſo much vigour, ſpirit, and intrepidity, that the uſurper, unable to withſtand them, made his eſcape, leaving the city to the mercy of the conquerors: however, the citizens defended it for ſome time after his flight; but, after a ſiege of eighty days, were forced to ſurrender. b

Conſtantinople *taken by the* French *and* Venetians.

A. D. 1203.

UPON this *Baldwin* was elected emperor, and all the chief offices of the empire filled up with *Venetians*, as a recompence for their ſervices: *Thomaſo Moroſini*, in particular, was appointed patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, the doge protoſpater, and many other favours were conferred upon the republic [k]. The allies entered *Thrace* early in the ſpring, and ſubdued it; then followed the conqueſt of *Candia*, and other iſlands in the *Archipelago*, which were given to the *Venetians*: in ſhort, before the end of the campaign, the whole empire was ſubjected to *Baldwin*, and very conſiderable acquiſitions made by the republic. c

Baldwin *made emperor.*

DURING this expedition to *Greece*, the *Zaratines* again revolted, made inroads and incurſions into the *Venetian* territories, drawing off ſeveral other cities from their allegiance. *Rayniero Dandolo*, the doge's ſon, was ſent with a fleet againſt them: after divers battles and ſieges they were conquered. *Dandolo* took ſeveral children of diſtinction as hoſtages, raiſed a heavy contribution, and obliged them to pay a yearly tribute to the republic. About the ſame time the doge and his ſon returned to *Venice*, loaded with rich booty, and dignified by laurels and victories [l]. Old *Dandolo* ſoon after died, having acquired the reputation of a wiſe, active, and brave prince: he raiſed the republic to a degree of ſplendor and conſequence to which it had never before arrived, and laid the foundation of that greatneſs to which the *Venetians* ſoon attained [m]. He was ſucceeded by *Pietro Ziani*, ſon to the doge of that name. d

Zaratines *revolt.*

e

## *PIETRO ZIANI*, Doge XLII.

A. D. 1205. Pietro Ziani, *doge* XLII.

IN the beginning of *Ziani*'s government ambaſſadors came from *Conſtantinople* to ſolicit the doge and ſenate, that the *Venetians* reſiding in *Greece* might be allowed to chuſe a prætor, ſubordinate to the republic, but with a ſupreme power over the *Venetians* reſiding upon the Eaſtern continent. The ſubjects of the republic were ſo numerous and powerful in *Conſtantinople*, and all the other parts of the empire, that it was thought neceſſary to grant their requeſt, finding it would be inconvenient either to ſubject them to the laws of the empire, or remit every judicial caſe to *Venice*. In order to form a chain of territory, they were permitted to conquer all the iſlands of the *Archipelago*, which had not yet acknowleged the ſovereignty of the republic, and to include them in their own juriſdiction, under certain limitations and reſtrictions. For this purpoſe the *Greek Venetians* fitted out a fleet, every man of a certain property ſupporting the expence of one or more ſhips, and reaping a proportionable ſhare of the conqueſts. They ſoon reduced *Naxos*, *Pharos*, *Molos*, *Herma*, and *Andros*, with ſeveral other iſlands; afterwards they attacked and took *Negropont*, *Euripa*, *Tenos*, *Micona*, *Sciros*, *Philocotion*, and *Lemnos*, leaving colonies in each [n]. f

*The* Venetians *ſubdue the* Greek *iſlands.*

[g] BLOND. l. 3. d. 2. SANSOV. delle vit. di. p. [h] SABEL. l. 8. d. 1. BLOND. ibid. BLOND. ut ſupra. DANIEL Hiſt. de France, vol. i. [i] SABEL. BLOND. and DANIEL. uti ſupra. [k] SANSOV. del. v. [l] BONITEN. Comment. p. 63. [m] SANSOV. del. vit. di Dan. SABEL. l. 8. d. 1. [n] SABEL. ibid. BLOND. de g. V.

WHILST

a WHILST private adventurers were acquiring wealth, and extending the dominion of the republic, the doge and great fleet were not idle. He was scarce got out of the gulph when he met with *Leo Vitrano*, a famous *Genoese* pirate, who had infested the seas, making plunder of ships of whatever nation fell in his way: him the doge fought, defeated, carried prisoner to *Corfu*, where he was hanged *in terrorem*. After recovering *Corfu*, he directed his course first to *Modona*, and then to *Corona*, two cities famous for harbouring robbers, thieves, and pirates: these he entirely demolished, rooting out the infernal nest [o]. Leo Vitrano *put to death.*

SOON after another small squadron of the republic fell in with the grand *Genoese* fleet, at that time scouring the seas, and committing depredations unbecoming a civilized state and regularly planned government. *Giovanni Trevisano*, who commanded the *Venetian* fleet, b consisting of nine gallies, attacked the *Genoese*, and, after a bloody and obstinate engagement, obliged them to sheer off, with the loss of twelve of their ships [p]. A. D. 1206. Genoese *defeated.*

THE following year a dissention arose with the *Paduans*, at certain games instituted by the *Trevisans*, to which the gentry of all the neighbouring states assembled: the quarrel, which arose from a trifling accident, soon produced serious consequences, and ended in a war, in which the *Paduans* were worsted, and obliged to sue for peace. This the *Venetians* granted at the intercession of the patriarch of *Aquileia*; but it was of short duration: for another war soon broke out, which terminated equally to the ignominy of the *Paduans* and the glory of the *Venetians* [q].

THE island of *Candia* became now a bone of contention between the rival republics of c *Venice* and *Genoa*. It had not been well settled under the *Venetian* government, when the *Genoese*, envying the prosperity of their sister commonwealth, began to excite the *Candians* to revolt, and shake off the dominion of the republic: to this the *Greeks* were well disposed; and, upon the promise of powerful succours from *Genoa*, some of their chief men appeared in arms. They began with attacking the forts defended by *Venetian* garrisons, forming magazines, and equipping a fleet: but, tho' the rebels were powerfully supported, they could not long withstand the force of the *Venetians*; the island was wholly subdued, and divided among the nobility, on condition that they should maintain it at their own expence, acknowlege the sovereignty of the mother country, pay a yearly tribute, and, when called upon, fit out a certain number of ships to join the *Venetian* admiral [r]. *First war in* Candia. A. D. 1207.

d THIS tranquility did not last long; for the *Venetian* governor was murdered, and the very person he had called in to his assistance, gone over to the rebels, and now at the head of their forces: his name was *Marco Sanuto*, a man of considerable property in the neighbouring islands. His intention was no less than to become sovereign of *Candia*, independent of his country; though *Sabellicus* says, that he carried his rebellion no farther than the death of the governor, his inveterate enemy, which seems improbable from the continuance of the war longer. After various marches, counter-marches, feints, skirmishes, and sieges on both sides, at last *Gritti*, the *Venetian* general, was surprised and defeated by the rebels: he made his escape from the battle, and died a few days after of grief and shame, for having been vanquished by a handful of irregular undisciplined militia [s]. *Second war in* Candia. A. D. 1209.

e THE engagement produced a truce, and that a treaty, which lasted during the dogeship of *Ziani*, who resigned his authority, after having governed for twenty-four years. *Ziani*'s character differed widely from that of his father, who defeated *Otho*: he was reserved and close in his conversation; parsimonious, and even penurious in his conduct; cautious to timidity in his disposition, at a time when the republic required spirit and intrepidity in her prince: yet he died with the reputation of a good, mild, and even successful governor, tho' we find the state engaged in quelling rebellions, composing tumults, and quieting civil broils for the greater part of his administration [t].

## *JIACOMO THIEPOLO*, Doge XLIII.

f *JIACOMO THIEPOLO*, governor of *Candia*, was elected doge in his room: he gave his first attention to the affairs of this island, where new insurrections appeared. The disaffected *Greeks*, not thinking themselves able to cope with the republic, sent to *John Vattasus*, governor of *Lesbos*, proprietor of considerable territories on the continent, and of several islands in the *Archipelago*, offering him the dominion of *Candia*, if he would expel the *Venetians*. *Vattasus*, induced by those promises, arrived at *Candia* with thirty gallies, and a considerable body of forces: he besieged two or three towns, which he took after an obstinate defence, and great slaughter of his troops. He was preparing to sit down before the capital, when *Gradonico*, the governor, surprised his camp, and forced him to retreat with precipitation. Finding greater difficulties in the conquest of the island than the rebels had represented, he resolved to abandon the enterprize, and leave them to the punishment of their rashness. Up- Jiacomo Thiepolo, *doge* XLIII.

[o] SANSOV. del. v. p. BONITEN. Com. p. 64. [p] BLOND. de g. V. [q] BLOND. ibid. SABEL. l. 8. d. 1.
[r] SABEL. BLOND. ibid. BONITEN. Commen. ibid. [s] SABEL. l. 8. d. 1. [t] SANSOV. del. v. di. p.

on this the chiefs of the malcontents ſent propoſals to *Gradonico*, which being accepted, a they returned to their allegiance: one of the conditions was, that they ſhould pay yearly five hundred pounds weight of fine wax for the uſe of St. *Mark*'s church [u].

*GRADONICO* dying, the provedatori took upon them the government, until another governor ſhould be appointed: his death produced another rebellion, fomented by *Vattaſus*, and ſupported by a fleet he ſent with ammunition, ſtores, and a body of troops. The rebels had not made any conſiderable progreſs when the new governor arrived, and reſolved to give them battle before their numbers were encreaſed. He landed his troops at ſome diſtance from the enemy's camp, with directions to attack it as ſoon as they perceived his fleet engaged, thus propoſing to make the action general and deciſive. After they had fought all day, the governor, having received a wound, ordered a retreat to be ſounded, that his troops b might return next morning with freſh vigour to the charge; but the rebels, and *Vattaſus*'s admiral, not caring to engage a ſecond time, with troops who had ſhewn a reſolution of either conquering or dying, removed before day-light to a more advantageous ſtation, in order to make propoſals of accommodation. The terms offered were accepted conditionally, that they either ſurrendered or put to death *Emanuel Dracentopolus*, and his brother *Conſtantine*, two perſons of the firſt rank in the iſland, and the promoters of the rebellion [w].

*Revolt of* Candia.

*VATTASUS*, and ſome other neighbouring princes, having entered into an alliance againſt the Eaſtern empire, at that time in a declining condition, *John* king of *Jeruſalem*, governor of *Conſtantinople*, applied for aſſiſtance to the *Venetians*, by means of their prætor, or conſul, at *Conſtantinople*. *Zeno* the prætor gave immediate notice to the doge and council of the c danger with which the empire was threatened, of its weak ſituation, the low condition of its finances, the power of the enemy, and the dependance it had upon the republic for protection and ſhelter againſt the impending ſtorm. Orders for levying an army, and equipping a fleet, were immediately iſſued; but, in deſpite of the expedition uſed, the enemy were before the walls of *Conſtantinople*, laying cloſe ſiege, before the arrival of the *Venetians*. *Leonardo Quirini*, and *Marco Guſſoni*, captain-general and admiral of the *Venetian* armament, made all the ſail poſſible to ſuccour the city: their arrival was ſeaſonable, the beſieged were reduced to the laſt extremity. The ſignal was given for attacking the enemy's fleet, and executed with ſuch courage and conduct, that in a few hours it was totally defeated, with a prodigious loſs and ſlaughter: then the victorious *Venetians* entered the city, where they d were received with the utmoſt joy and gladneſs: the ſpirits of the citizens were raiſed, and the utmoſt confidence inſpired into every breaſt. Their ſtay was but ſhort; for as ſoon as the troops, had refreſhed themſelves, they were ordered to embark and return to *Venice* (A).

A. D. 1234. Conſtantinople *beſieged.*

POPE *Gregory* was at this time oppreſſed by *Frederic*, who committed the moſt ſhocking and inhuman barbarities in the eccleſiaſtical territories: he requeſted aſſiſtance of the *Venetians* againſt that mercileſs tyrant, and had a fleet, conſiſting of forty ſail, and a body of troops ſent to his aſſiſtance, under the ſame *Quirini* and *Guſſoni*. Before they ſailed news arrived that the doge's ſon, who ſerved in the pope's army, was taken priſoner and put to death by *Frederic*. This inflamed the troops with a violent deſire of revenge: however, no general action happened, until the *Genoeſe* demanded their aſſiſtance againſt *Frederic* and the e *Piſans*, who had an hundred gallies at ſea [x].

*Treaty with the* Genoeſe.

THE alliance of the two republics was brought about by pope *Gregory* the ninth, who was ſenſible that he could not keep too ſtrict an union among the *Italian* powers, to ſtrengthen him againſt his ſworn enemy the emperor. In this treaty it was ſtipulated, that neither republic ſhould form an alliance, declare war, or furniſh aid or ſupport to any other power whatever, without conſent of the contracting parties; and that the whole force and power of either ſhould be ready to aſſiſt and ſuccour which ever of the parties was attacked. Excommunications and dreadful anathemas were thundered by the pope againſt the breach of this league, ſo uſeful to the ſupport of the holy ſee againſt the emperor [y]. The *Venetian* fleet was immediately diſpatched to the ſuccour of their allies; but ſoon recalled to the re- f lief of *Conſtantinople*, beſieged a ſecond time by *Vattaſus*: before their arrival the ſiege was raiſed, and the enemy defeated by a brisk ſally which *Giovanni* the prætor made at the head of the *Venetian* inhabitants. The fleet then returned to join the *Genoeſe*; but neither were hearty in the alliance: a jealouſy and rivalſhip reigned between thoſe proud republics, which ſoon afterwards terminated in a bloody war, in ſpite of the pope's endeavours to maintain the alliance. Their feuds prevented any thing being carried on with vigour againſt the *Piſans*: however, the junction of the fleets had this good effect, that neither the *Piſans* nor

[u] SABEL. l. 8. d. 1. [w] SABEL. ibid. BLOND. d. g. V. BONITEN. Comment. [x] SABEL. l. 8. d. 1.
[y] SABEL. ibid. BLOND. de g. V.

(A) *Sanſovino* places the war with the emperor *Frederic* before the firſt ſiege of *Conſtantinople* by *Vattaſus*; but in this he is contradicted by *Blondus* and *Sabellicus*, who, from a number of circumſtances, ſeem right in placing it between the two wars carried on by that prince againſt the *Grecian* empire.

the

a the emperor durſt attempt an attack upon ſo formidable an armament. While *Jiacomo* was carrying on the war on the continent againſt the emperor's lieutenant, *Padua* had been cruelly enſlaved by the imperialiſts, who committed the moſt inhuman barbarities wherever they paſſed. The *Venetian* did all in his power to bring them to a general action; but for ſeveral campaigns nothing happened beſides plundering, burning, and deſtroying towns and villages: at laſt the doge died before a deciſive ſtroke was ſtruck; and the breach with the *Genoeſe* grew ſo wide, that the *Venetians* found it neceſſary to drop the pope's quarrel, to attend to their own affairs [z]. A. D. 1249.

*SANSOVINO* mentions an inſcription upon his tomb, which would ſeem to point out ſome reformation of the laws, and change of the conſtitution under him (B): but no other b writer countenances this ſuggeſtion. Hiſtory indeed is ſilent as to the conduct of *Thiepolo*; yet we may collect that he was a mild, good, and pacific prince, though the numerous and extended connections of the republic engaged her in frequent wars during his adminiſtration.

## *MARINO MOROSINI*, Doge XLIV.

*MARINO MOROSINI* was the next doge elected: his government was ſhort, but warlike. This year *Philippo Fontano*, biſhop of *Ravenna*, came to *Venice* in quality of legate from pope *Alexander*, preaching up eternal felicity to thoſe who would take arms againſt the emperor's lieutenant in *Italy* [a]. An implicit faith in the pope's word compoſed the religion of thoſe times; we need not therefore doubt of the legate's ſucceſs in raiſing recruits by means of ſo c large a premium. Many of the nobility and chief citizens entered into the legate's ſervice, who was no leſs a temporal than a ſpiritual ſoldier: the republic furniſhed *Fontano* not only with troops, but with arms, money, and proviſions; ſo careful were the *Venetians* of their ſalvation. The legate was pretty ſucceſsful againſt the emperor's lieutenant; he took *Padua*, and ſeveral other cities, when his army was greatly weakened by the departure of the *Venetians*, recalled on account of the war which had now broke out with great fury with the *Genoeſe* [b]. Marino Morosini, *doge* XLIV.

RELIGION likewiſe was the cauſe of this rupture, and of much bloodſhed. The *Venetians* and *Genoeſe* both pretended an excluſive right to a certain church in the city of *Acon*, taken from the *Saracens*; the former founded their claim upon the compact with *Baldwin*, d the latter on the deciſion of *Philip* of *Montfort*, governor of the city: both were obſtinate, and the diſpute ſoon came to blows. It was now to be finally decided by the ſword: the pope laboured all in his power to reconcile them; but their animoſity was carried ſo high, that nothing but the ruin of one of the parties could prove ſatisfactory. They entered upon hoſtilities with that rancour, virulence, and malice, peculiar to all wars carried on upon account of religion. The fleets met near *Ptolemais*; both were powerful, and they engaged with great fury: the battle was bloody and long, until by a ſtroke of military ſkill in the *Venetian* admiral, the *Genoeſe* were broke and diſperſed, many of their ſhips, and about two thouſand priſoners taken. Nor did this victory ſatiate the revenge of the *Venetians*; they expelled all the *Genoeſe* from *Acon*, demoliſhed their houſes and churches, leaving not the e ſmalleſt veſtige remaining of their having ever inhabited the city: they likewiſe employed as ſlaves in their gallies all the priſoners taken in the late battle, nor could the influence of the pope procure their releaſe, until he began to thunder out dreadful maledictions. This war is mentioned by *Sabellicus* under the dogeſhip of *Moroſini*; but *Sanſovino* and *Blondus* place it under his ſucceſſor. It is probable that as *Moroſini*'s ſway was ſhort, that it might have begun with him, and continued during the firſt years of *Zeno*: certain it is, that *Moroſini* died ſoon after the departure of the legate *Fontano* from *Venice*; but whether before or after this engagement in *Syria*, we cannot poſitively affirm. All authors allow that he governed between three and four years; that the republic was happy and flouriſhing under him; that he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in his private capacity, when a young man, no leſs f in the field, than he did afterwards in his old age, in the cabinet; and that the qualities of his head could only be ſurpaſſed by thoſe of his heart. *War with* Genoa. Genoeſe *defeated.* A. D. 1252.

## *RINIERO ZENO*, Doge XLV.

AT the acceſſion of *Riniero Zeno*, elected ſucceſſor to *Moroſini*, the republic ſent *Gilberto Dandolo* with a ſquadron of thirty gallies to *Greece*: he ſoon had the good fortune to fall in with the combined fleets of *Greece* and *Genoa*, which he attacked with ſo much reſolution, that the *Greeks* ſoon gave way, and the *Genoeſe* being left alone, ſurrendered, few or none of them having been able to eſcape [c]. They however, ſoon replaced this loſs by another ſquadron, more powerful than the former, and the *Venetian* admiral had likewiſe received an Riniero Zeno, *doge* XLV.

[z] SABEL. l. 8. d. 1. [a] BLOND. l. 4. d. 2. SABEL. ibid. [b] BLOND. de g. V. SABEL. uti ſupra. BLOND. de g. V. Etiam. Hiſt. l. 8. d. 1. [c] SABEL. BLOND. ibid. BONITEN. Comment.

(B) *Armis recupero Jadram, legeſque reformo, p.* 233.

addition

addition of fifteen gallies: the *Genoeſe*, commanded by the famous *Michael Doria*, ſought out the *Venetian* admiral *Dandolo*, who was no leſs eager to come to an engagement. They ſoon met, and a battle was fought with the utmoſt reſolution, conduct, and obſtinacy: hatred, revenge, and glory animated both; a rivalſhip ſubſiſted between the commanders as well as the ſtates. The honour of each country depending upon the ability and courage of thoſe two admirals, nothing was omitted, nothing left undone, which great and skilful officers ought to direct, or ſoldiers perform: but fortune did not ſecond the great qualities and merit of *Doria*. After one of the bloodieſt actions related in hiſtory, his line was broke, but not his courage: he continued to defend himſelf with infinite intrepidity after the greateſt part of his fleet was taken, ſunk, or burnt: at laſt, overpowered with numbers, he fell into the hands of the *Venetians*, which gave them juſter cauſe of triumph than all their other conqueſts. This victory coſt the republic many of her beſt officers, with an incredible number of private men; but the public joy at having humbled a proud rival, ſuppreſſed all reflections on the loſs ſuſtained. It was the firſt fair trial of valour and skill the two republics had ever made, the event of which gave the *Venetians* that ſuperiority at ſea which they maintained for a ſeries of years. The conduct of the admirals was no leſs to be admired after than during the battle: the one bore his adverſity with that greatneſs of ſoul, that invincible ſpirit and reſolution, which made even the enemy acknowlege he deſerved victory: the other, his proſperity with a moderation, calmneſs, and generoſity, which obliged *Doria* to confeſs that he ought to conquer: in ſhort, thoſe two great men, who were inveterate enemies before fortune had declared herſelf, became the warmeſt friends as ſoon as their almoſt equal merit had proved to each how deſerving he was of the other's eſteem [d].

Doria *defeated.*

*His character.*

*PALEOLOGUS* imagining that the *Genoeſe* would not be able to recover this ſevere blow at *Trepani*, ſtruck up a ſeparate peace with the *Venetians*; like a true politician he regarded his own intereſt only, holding as nothing the moſt ſolemn treaties and engagements [e].

ALTHOUGH the war was conducted with great prudence, conduct, and ſucceſs, yet the people murmured: the vaſt fleets and armies became inſupportable; every thing was taxed high, even the neceſſaries of life; trade was at a ſtand, and induſtry entirely ſuppreſſed, on account of the number of citizens employed in the public ſervice, as well as the high price of proviſions and ſcarcity of money. The government finding it neceſſary to reinforce *Dandolo* with troops and ſhips to oppoſe a new fleet, equipped by the *Genoeſe*, had recourſe to a new tax upon the markets, which ſo incenſed the common people, that they aſſembled in a riotous manner about the palace, breathing vengeance againſt the doge and ſenate. *Riniero Zeno* thinking to awe them by his authority, or quiet them by his moderation, came out to harangue the people; but no ſooner had he appeared than the mob inſulted him with ſtones and dirt, and obliged him to retire: however, the nobility exerted themſelves with ſo much reſolution, vigour, and ſpirit, that the tumult was at laſt diſperſed, and the ringleaders impriſoned [f]. The impoſition was laid upon the markets, the reinforcement ſent to *Dandolo*, and the people ſoon ſatisfied of the neceſſity of this meaſure; for it had ſcarce joined the main fleet when they were attacked near *Rhodes* by the *Genoeſe*, impatient to revenge the late affront, and wipe off the diſgrace: but it was apparent that *Doria* did not command; the *Genoeſe* were broke and put in confuſion after the firſt charge, a complete victory was gained, and a great number of ſhips taken.

A. D. 1263. *A ſedition in* Venice.

*The* Genoeſe *again defeated.*

A SHORT time after *Dandolo* met with a fleet of the enemy's merchantmen returning home, richly laden; of theſe he made prize, ſending them home to *Venice*, to the great joy of the people, who now began to forget the oppreſſion with which they purchaſed ſo many victories, and ſo much glory [g]. Nor was the republic leſs ſucceſsful in *Syria*, from whence they had driven the *Genoeſe*, making themſelves maſters of *Ptolemais*, as well as of the ſea-coaſt: but *Riniero* did not long enjoy the fruits of theſe uninterrupted ſucceſſes; he was carried off by a ſudden illneſs, after governing the ſtate, with a rapid tide of proſperity for ſeventeen years. During his dogeſhip the republic attained to a very high pitch of power, conſequence, and reputation abroad, though not equally proſperous at home: the finances were low and exhauſted; induſtry and commerce gave way to martial atchievements, and public glory ſeemed to be eagerly deſired, while private œconomy and happineſs were univerſally neglected.

## *LORENZO THIEPOLO*, Doge XLVI.

A. D. 1268. Lorenzo Thiepolo, *doge* XLVI.

*ZENO* was no ſooner dead than the council met for the election of a new doge, when a majority of voices declared for *Lorenzo Thiepolo*, ſon to doge *Jiacomo* [h]. The Chriſtians in *Syria* being in the utmoſt diſtreſs, and daily loſing ground to the infidels, the pope and the kings of *France* and *Sicily* offered their mediation to accommodate matters between the *Vene-*

[d] AMELOT. l. 2. c. 4. SABEL. ibid. [e] BLOND. l. 4 d. 2. [f] SABEL. l. 8. d. 1. SANSOV. p. 234. [g] BLOND. de g. V. [h] SANSOV. p. 234.

a *tians* and *Genoeſe*: *Clement* the pope deſired, that if a peace could not be ſettled, that at leaſt the two republics would ſuſpend their animoſity, conclude a truce, and turn their arms againſt the Infidels. As *Venice* and *Genoa* were then the moſt powerful maritime ſtates in *Europe*, it was not poſſible for the other potentates to make any progreſs in the holy war without their aſſiſtance. After the conferences had been twice broken off, at length a truce was concluded at the interceſſion of *Philip* king of *France*, who was bent upon ſending aſſiſtance to the adventurers in *Syria*. Thus ended this war, after it had been carried on with the utmoſt heat, enmity, and rancour, for the ſpace of eleven years. *Peace with Genoa.*

BUT the *Venetians* had ſcarcely breathed after this war, when they found themſelves engaged in another with ſome of their neighbours. An impoſt had been laid by the republic
b upon all merchandize and ſhipping paſſing between the gulph of *Fana* and the mouth of the *Po*: this the *Venetians* had done with a view of filling their exhauſted treaſury, and likewiſe out of pique to ſome of the bordering ſtates, who had refuſed to ſend corn to the city during a late famine[i]. The *Bolognians*, who at that time poſſeſſed the extenſive province of *Romagnia*, began to grumble at this proceeding as an infringement of their liberties, and a prejudice to their commerce. Not caring to declare war before they had made every neceſſary preparation, they raiſed troops, and equipped a fleet in the moſt ſecret manner. As ſoon as their armaments were in forwardneſs they ſent ambaſſadors to *Venice*, to ſolicit at leaſt a mitigation of the duty impoſed upon the commerce paſſing through certain ſtreights, with orders that in caſe of refuſal they ſhould immediately come away and denounce war[k].
c The doge, however, readily penetrated their intention, and to counterplot them, ordered a certain number of gallies to go and ſeize upon the mouth of the *Po*, a ſtation of great importance. *War with the Bolognians.*

AT laſt, after ſkirmiſhing for near two years, both armies came to a general engagement: the *Venetians*, commanded by *Marco Gradonico*, were inferior in number to the enemy; but that deficiency they compenſated by diſcipline, courage, and a general: the battle was warm for the ſpace it laſted; but the *Venetians*, puſhing on with boldneſs, ſoon broke and routed the enemy, made great havock of the rear of the flying *Bolognians*, and took ſome thouſands of priſoners, which obliged them to ſue for peace[l]. Their propoſals were accepted, on condition that they deſtroyed the fort erected at the mouth of the *Po*, made reparation for the damages they ſuſtained by the war, and ſubmitted to the impoſt. *Bolognians defeated.*

d FOR a ſeries of years the *Venetians* had been engaged in continual wars, no intermiſſion, no reſt or breathing; whence we may juſtly infer, that the power of the republic had excited the jealouſy of her neighbours. Peace was but juſt eſtabliſhed with the *Bolognians*, when another little ſtate, the inhabitants of *Ancona*, had taken arms againſt her, in order to open to themſelves a free navigation. To preſerve the appearance of moderation, they firſt ſent ambaſſadors to the pope, requeſting his mediation and intereſt with the *Venetians* to remit the late impoſt: the pope, glad to be thought of conſequence, ordered the *Venetians* to ſend ambaſſadors to *Viterbo*, to hold a conference upon this ſubject. The ambaſſadors went, and managed the conference with ſo much addreſs, that his holineſs was entirely gained, and the complaints of the *Anconitans* left unredreſſed. So heartily did he eſpouſe the republic, that
e he procured the truce with *Genoa* to be prolonged for two years, to prevent her being embarraſſed with two wars at the ſame time[m]. During theſe negociations *Thiepolo* died, after he had been doge about ſix years, and was ſucceeded by *Jacomo Contarini*. A. D. 1273. *Diſpute with the Anconitans.*

## *JACOMO CONTARINI*, Doge XLVII.

THE new doge was but juſt elected when an accident had almoſt broke the truce with *Genoa*: a *Venetian* merchantman was ſeized by two gallies belonging to the *Genoeſe*; and as it was not doubted but it was done by the orders of the government, the doge and the republic began to prepare for war; however, they reſolved before hoſtilities commenced, to demand reſtitution by their envoy; and if this was refuſed, to retaliate. The envoy had no
f ſooner preſented his memorial, than the *Genoeſe* ordered the ſhip and cargo to be reſtored, and compenſation to be made for the loſs ſuſtained by the detention, together with every thing elſe the *Venetians* required[n]. Jacomo Contarini, *doge* XLVII.

In the mean time ſome diſturbances aroſe within the dominions of the republic. The *Iſtrians*, who had always been the moſt faithful of all the conquered provinces, were now ſuddenly in rebellion, and ſupported by the patriarch of *Aquileia*; but the patriarch and rebels were ſoon conquered by *Andrea Baſſeio* the *Venetian* admiral, and reduced to their obedience. Iſtrians *revolt.*

THE war with *Ancona* was for ſome time ſuppreſſed, but not extinguiſhed. It now broke out with great violence: the *Anconitans* took the opportunity of the republic's being engaged in *Iſtria*, to redreſs their grievances, by committing violence on the *Venetian* ſhipping, and refuſing to pay the duty required in the gulph of *Fana*[o]. A ſquadron of twenty-ſix ſail A. D. 1275.

[i] SABEL. l. 8. d. 1. BLOND. l. 4. d. 2. [k] SABEL. l. 8. d. 1. [l] SABEL. ibid. BLOND. ibid. BONITEN. Comment. l. 3. [m] BLOND. Hiſt. l. 4. d. 2. SABEL. l. 8 d. 1. [n] Ibid. BONITEN. Com. uti. ſupra. [o] BLOND. l. 4. d. 2. BONITEN. l. 2. ibid. l. 3.

*War with* Ancona.

was ſent by the doge to lay ſiege to *Ancona:* the *Venetian* admiral attacked the harbour; but being repulſed, the fleet was ſoon after diſperſed by a ſtorm, ſix gallies were loſt, and the reſt ſo damaged as to be unfit for ſervice until they were refitted. The *Venetians*, not diſpirited, ſent another fleet upon the ſame enterprize, which, by a ſtratagem of the enemy, proved equally unſucceſsful. Thus, in a ſhort ſpace, the *Venetians* had been twice defeated in their attempts, either by unforeſeen accidents or miſconduct: nothing, however, could make them lay aſide their deſign of humbling the *Anconitans*. Another fleet, more formidable than either of the former, was ordered to lay immediate ſiege to *Ancona*, which ſo terrified the inhabitants, that they diſpatched ſome of the chief citizens to pope *Nicholas*, juſt then elected, to requeſt his aſſiſtance againſt the oppreſſion of the *Venetians* [p]. At the ſame time the *Venetian* ambaſſadors came to *Rome*, to congratulate the pope upon his acceſſion, but were denied audience: the republic reſented the affront by recalling her ambaſſadors; but they had ſcarce quitted the city, when they were ſeized, and brought back by order of his holineſs, who again diſmiſſed them with a ſevere reprimand. The *Venetians*, however, paid A. D. 1277. very little regard to the pope's indignation; for the day after their ambaſſadors returned, a reinforcement was ſent to their fleet at *Ancona*, with expreſs orders to proceed in the ſiege with all poſſible vigour. When the *Anconitans* perceived that neither the pope's authority nor their own forces were ſufficient for their defence, they ſupplicated peace; which the republic obliged them to purchaſe at a very conſiderable price, to indemnify the expences of the war [q].

a b

## *GIOVANNI DANDOLO*, Doge XLVIII.

c

Giovanni Dandolo, *doge* XLVIII.

Two years after, the doge being unable, by reaſon of his great age, to attend public buſineſs reſigned his authority, and had for his ſucceſſor *Giovanni Dandolo*. The government of this prince began inauſpiciouſly, the city having been greatly damaged by the overflowing of the ſea, and a dreadful earthquake. A new war likewiſe broke out with the patriarch of *Aquileia* and the *Iſtrians*, which occaſioned a good deal of trouble to the *Venetians:* on the firſt arrival of the *Venetian* forces in *Iſtria*, the patriarch, finding himſelf too weak, and imagining it would be difficult to effect a junction with the *Iſtrians*, pretended to ſubmit upon the terms granted by the republic. Having thus deceived the *Venetians*, he ſoon found means to join count *Goritian* the *Iſtrian* general, and to draw over ſeveral cities which had hitherto remained firm in their duty: their numbers were in a little time encreaſed to an army of thirty thouſand men, a force which required all the vigour, caution, and ſtrength the republic was able to exert. A ſtrong armament was prepared with all poſſible A. D. 1280. diſpatch, which in a ſhort time beſieged *Trieſte*; but the vigour and numbers of the garriſon obliged the *Venetians* to relinquiſh the enterprize.

d

For the ſpace of two years hardly any thing, beſides fruitleſs attacks upon *Trieſte*, encampments, marches, and feints, occurred in *Iſtria*. The affairs of the republic in *Syria* ſucceeded little better; for *Tyre*, *Sydon*, and *Baruth*, were taken by the Infidels: not long after the *Venetians* were driven out of *Acon*, and all the chriſtians out of *Syria*. *Dandolo* A. D. 1286. was ſo affected with all theſe misfortunes, that he fell ſick, and died a ſacrifice to the public misfortunes, which, however, could not be charged to his miſconduct.

e

## *PIETRO GRADONICO*, Doge XLIX.

Pietro Gradonico, *doge* XLIX.

Upon the death of *Dandolo*, *Pietro Gradonico* was promoted to the dogeſhip: in the beginning of his reign the republic put an end to the war with the patriarch and the *Iſtrians*, with a view of employing all her power againſt the *Genoeſe*. We are not told by *Sanſovino*, the only hiſtorian who mentions it, the particular terms of this peace, or whether the *Iſtrians* ſubmitted to the *Venetian* government: we imagine, therefore, that a truce only was agreed upon, ſince we find hoſtilities again renewed in *Iſtria* a few years after.

A. D. 1289. The truce between the republics of *Venice* and *Genoa* being ſome time expired, neither made overtures it ſhould be renewed: the dominion of the ſea would ſeem to be the only cauſe of recommencing hoſtilities, ſince the city of *Acon*, the former bone of contention, was now out of the queſtion, both *Venetians* and *Genoeſe* being driven from thence by the Genoeſe war. Infidels. The *Venetian* fleet, conſiſting of ſixty gallies, commanded by *Rogero Moroſini*, firſt began to enter upon action: this admiral ſailed directly to *Pera*, a port much frequented by the *Genoeſe* merchants trading to *Greece*. This little fort he inveſted, took, and deſtroyed; afterwards doing the ſame to ſeveral ſmall ſettlements belonging to the enemy upon the ſame coaſts [r]. All this ſeaſon the *Genoeſe* conſumed in making preparations for the war, and in convoying their merchants to their different deſtinations. Early in the A. D. 1290. ſpring the *Venetians* ſent another ſquadron, under the command of *Giovanni Souranza*, to

f g

[p] Sabel. l. 9. d. 1. Sansov. del v. di p. [q] Blond. l. 5. d. 2. Sabel. l. 9. d. 1. [r] Blond. de g. V. etiam in Hiſtor. l. 5. d. 1.

the

a the city of *Capha* in the *Cherſoneſe*, which, after a tedious ſiege, he took and demoliſhed; but winter coming on before he could return, his fleet was blocked up by the froſt, and many of his crew periſhed with the cold and want of neceſſaries; a loſs which more than overbalanced the advantages ariſing from the plunder and deſtruction of *Capha*.

THE following year the *Genoeſe* fleet at length put to ſea, under *Lampadio Doria*, of the ſame family with the famous admiral of that name, conquered by *Dandolo:* it conſiſted of A. D. 1291. ſeventy gallies and ſhips of war, well manned and appointed, all fired with ſentiments of revenge, and determined to periſh or wipe away the diſgrace ſuſtained in the laſt great engagement. *Doria* ſteered his courſe to the gulph of *Venice*, with intention to lay ſiege to the city; but meeting the *Venetian* fleet, under *Andrea Dandolo*, at *Corfu*, an engage-
b ment enſued: the battle commenced with great fury, and was for ſeveral hours maintained with equal courage, and without any apparent advantage. Nothing beſides the dreadful ſhouts of the combatants, the ſhrieks of the dying, or complaints of the wounded, could be heard; nothing ſeen but dead and mangled bodies, ſhips burning, ſinking or broke to pieces; thus the fight continued with prodigious ſlaughter; both puſhed on by hatred, encouraged by the hope of victory, and animated by the conduct and harangues of their admirals. At *Venetians de-* laſt the *Venetians* were defeated, if that can be called a defeat where ſcarce a number of the *feated.* conquerors remained ſufficient to report the news of their victory: *Dandolo* was made priſoner, and not a ſhip belonging to the republic but was taken or deſtroyed. *Sabellicus* ſays, that four thouſand *Venetians* were made priſoners; but from the accounts of other hiſtorians
c not half that number remained alive on both ſides[s]. *Andrea Dandolo* was ſo much affected with the diſgrace of having yielded up that honour acquired in the laſt war, that in the agony of deſpair he daſhed out his brains againſt the ſide of the cabin where he was confined[t]: a conduct very different from *Doria*'s, but equally indicative of greatneſs of mind, delicacy of ſentiment, and public ſpirit.

*RICOALDO* of *Ferrara* relates, that the miſconduct of thirty *Venetian* gallies, who kept A. D. 1292. aloof, and ſlackened ſail during the engagement, occaſioned this defeat; and that upon returning home the chief officers met with that death in an ignominious way, which they ſo carefully avoided in a manner honourable to themſelves, and ſerviceable to their country. Certain it is, that the joy at *Genoa* for a victory ſo dearly purchaſed was not great, hardly
d a family in the city having eſcaped the loſs of a father, ſon, or brother. The grief at *Venice* was ſtill greater; for to the loſs of their fleet and army, they had the additional affliction of having been vanquiſhed: however, the *Venetians* did not deſpond; they fitted out another fleet, no leſs powerful than the former, every man in the city chearfully contributing towards the expence. Part of this armament was kept for the defence of the city and commerce; another part, conſiſting of twenty-five gallies, under the conduct of *Marco Baſſeio*, was ſent to protect the iſlands and towns in the *Ionian* and *Ægean* ſeas[u]. *Baſſeio* ſoon fell in with the *Genoeſe* fleet, who, elated with their late victory, bore down and engaged him. The *Venetians*, though inferior in number, fought bravely for ſome time, but were at laſt defeated, with the loſs of ſixteen gallies.

e THOUGH this calamity was much leſs than the former, the affliction of the republic was augmented: already oppreſſed with ſhame and misfortune, freſh diſgrace would have proved intolerable, if the intrepidity of the doge, who alone appeared undaunted and reſolute, had not ſtemmed the torrent of deſpair[w].

ALTHOUGH the victorious *Genoeſe* triumphed along the coaſts, made deſcents upon ſeveral of the *Venetian* maritime towns, and even took, plundered, and deſtroyed *Cidonia*, a city in *Candia*, yet the doge was determined once more to try the fortune of the republic. Another fleet was fitted out, and ſeveral battles fought with various ſucceſs, until both ſides exhauſted, ſpent, and unable longer to continue ſo ruinous a war, laid down their arms by mutual conſent. The want of ability, not of inclination to proſecute their animoſity, ended A. D. 1294:
f a quarrel which had brought both the republics to the brink of ruin[x].

BUT this bloody war was not the only danger with which *Venice* was environed: ſeditions, tumults, and conſpiracies at home equally threatened her deſtruction. One *Marino Buco-* *A conſpiracy.* *nio*, a man of no rank or power, but of a bold, enterpriſing, and ſeditious ſpirit, formed a deſign of murdering the doge, and ſeveral ſenators of the firſt merit and diſtinction: for this purpoſe he engaged a party of all the diſcontented, violent, factious, and deſperate men about the city. The plot was conducted with great ſecrecy and conduct; but juſt as it was ripe for execution, one of the conſpirators, from remorſe of conſcience, diſcovered it to the doge, who ordered *Buconio* to be ſeized and put to death: ſeveral of his accomplices ſhared the ſame fate, which ſtruck ſuch terror into the reſt, that they fled out of the city to avoid
g juſtice[y].

[s] BLOND de g. V. etiam in Hiſt. l. 8. d. 2: [t] SABEL. l. 10. d. 1. [u] BLOND. l. 5. d. 2. [w] SANSOV. p. 236. [x] SABEL. l. 1. d. 2. [y] SABEL. ibid. BLOND. l. 6. d. 2. BONITEN. Comment. SANSOV. del. v. p.

THIS

A. D. 1296. *Another conſpiracy.*

THIS plot was hardly ſuppreſſed when another more dangerous, not only to the perſon a
of the doge but to public liberty, was formed by *Baimonti Thiepolo* and others of the nobility: the ſcheme was laid to enter the palace, murder the doge, council, and ſenate; to aſſume the reins of authority; divide among the conſpirators the property and power of the deceaſed; and to rule with an arbitrary ſway, without reſtriction of oaths, or controul of councils and ſenates[z]. A multitude of the common people, either from the love of novelty, or the ſpeciouſneſs of their reaſoning, and force of money and promiſes, were gained. Upon the day fixed for the execution of their wicked purpoſe, ſecret notice of it was ſent by an unknown hand to the doge, who immediately communicated it to ſome of the ſenators in whom he could moſt confide. The ſenators were ſcarce aſſembled, with ſuch of their friends as the ſhort notice would ſuffer them to collect, when the conſpirators aſſaulted the b
palace: the alarm inſtantly ſpread over the city, and brought every man attached to the conſtitution to the aſſiſtance of the doge and ſenate. In the mean time the conſpirators had filled the ſpacious market place of St. *Mark*'s with their armed aſſociates. Here a furious battle began: on one ſide ſtood *Baimonti* and the conſpirators, endeavouring to deſtroy liberty, property, and the common rights of humanity; on the other, the doge and ſenate, bravely reſolved to periſh with their freedom. *Gradonico* animated his party by his ſpeech and example: they preſſed forward upon the conſpirators, who finding themſelves inferior in number, and diſappointed in their hopes of taking them unprepared, began to give way. *Juſtiniano* ſeaſonably coming up, with a freſh body of men he had collected together, attacked the conſpirators vigorouſly in the rear, broke them, and made prodigious ſlaughter[a]. c

A. D. 1299. *Baimonti* perceiving his party giving way, was the firſt to deſert, as he had been the foremoſt in promoting the villainous deſign: he endeavoured to eſcape, but was knocked down by a large ſtone a woman let fall upon his head from her window, and, before he could recover himſelf, was taken and cut in pieces by ſome of the doge's friends who purſued him: the reſt were almoſt all either taken or killed. The arms of *Baimonti* and his accomplices were erazed out of the public records, their houſes pulled down, eſtates confiſcated, and families for ever baniſhed the city and dominions of the republic. This happy delivery from oppreſſion, bondage, and death, is to this day yearly commemorated at *Venice*[b].

*Zara revolts.*

BUT the troubles of the republic did not end here; for the *Zaratines*, embracing the opportunity of her diſtreſſed condition, revolted and expelled *Moroſini* their governor. The d
doge equipped a fleet to reduce them to obedience, but died before any progreſs was made in the war. The adminiſtration of this excellent prince was one of the moſt unfortunate to the republic: it was indeed the ambition and martial turn of the *Venetians* which had at this time occaſioned their misfortunes, not accident or miſconduct.

## *MORINI GEORGI*, Doge L.

A. D. 1305. Morini Georgi, *doge* L.

*MORINI GEORGI*, ſurnamed *Santo*, or the *Holy*, was for his wiſdom appointed in the room of *Gradonico*. The ſenate wiſely preferred a governor of experience and prudence, to one poſſeſſed of more ſhining but leſs ſolid qualities; one whoſe age and temper would diſpoſe him to cultivate peace, induſtry, and commerce, which of late had been much neglect- e
ed: but though *Georgi*'s inclination led him to purſue pacific meaſures, the neceſſity of the ſtate obliged him to proſecute the war with the *Zaratines*.

*BELETTO* was ſent to *Dalmatia* in the laſt year of *Gradonico*'s dogeſhip; but the ſummer was ſpent before the walls of *Zara*, and no memorable action performed. *Georgi* ſent

A. D. 1307. *Dalmaſio*, a *Spaniard*, with a thouſand horſe to ſupport *Beletto*, to cut off convoys, and ſcour the country; but the *Zaratines* found means to tamper with this officer: however, *Zara*, diſtreſſed for proviſions, ſurrendered upon gentle and eaſy conditions. *Dalmaſio* made his eſcape to *Italy* in a ſmall bark he had hired, to prevent falling into the hands of the *Venetians*, and was ſhipwrecked in his paſſage.

BEFORE the news of the ſurrender of the city arrived at *Venice* the doge died, after hav- f
ing performed many acts of piety and charity, a year and eleven months after his election[c]. He was ſucceeded by *Giovanni Souranza*, choſen by the unanimous aſſent of the people.

## *GIOVANNI SOURANZA*, Doge LI.

A. D. 1310. Giovanni Souranza, *doge* LI.

UNDER *Souranza*'s dogeſhip a magiſtrate was appointed to preſide over trade and commerce: in few years the number was increaſed to three, which was the firſt riſe of a commercial board or council[d]. Nothing memorable happened during his government: ſome little diſputes indeed aroſe with the *Genoeſe*, but they were ſoon terminated without bloodſhed: a rebellion in *Candia* appeared, but was inſtantly ſuppreſſed; and the *Paduans*, by the aſſiſtance of the republic, were reſtored to their liberty, *Maſtin*, the tyrant, being driven g
out of the city.

[z] Authors cited before. [a] SABEL. ibid. BLOND. l. 6. d. 2. [b] BURNET's Travels. [c] SANSOV. delle v. p. [d] DESD. part. 2.

## *FRANCISCO DANDOLO*, Doge LII.

a *FRANCISCO DANDOLO* became ſo popular by his ſubmiſſion to the pope in a late ambaſſy, in which he was mean enough to appeaſe the pontiff's reſentment by ſuffering himſelf to be chained down to the foot of his table, that he was unanimouſly elected in the room of the deceaſed prince; and indeed his firm conduct and reſolution in quality of doge, would ſeem to wipe off the diſgrace he incurred by his ſervile tameneſs when ambaſſador. Two *Venetian* merchantmen were taken about this time by the *Genoeſe*; but the doge being otherwiſe employed, deferred his vengeance to a more convenient opportunity [e]. Franciſco Dandolo, *doge* LII.

THIS year the infidels, not ſatisfied with having driven the Chriſtians out of *Syria*, moleſted the coaſts of *Cyprus*, *Candia*, and *Rhodes*, and ſo infeſted the ſeas, that there was no ſecurity for merchants to trade in the *Levant*. This induced the republic to enter into an al- A. D. 1330.
b liance with the pope and the *French* king, to repel the attempts of the *Turks* in *Europe*, and recover *Syria*. It was ſtipulated, that the republic ſhould ſupply a hundred ſhips of war and gallies, beſides tranſports and ſtore-ſhips; but the *French* failing in their engagement, this mighty enterprize ended with the treaty [f]. The *Turks*, taking advantage of the irreſolution of the Chriſtians, made themſelves maſters of the ſea, putting an entire ſtop to every kind of commerce, which obliged the *Venetians* to ſend a fleet againſt them for the protection of their trade and iſlands. *Pietro Zeno* was appointed admiral: he purſued the infidels with ſo much ſucceſs, that he not only drove them out of the *Levant*, but defrayed the A. D. 1334.
charges of the expedition by the captures.

THE power of the people of *Eſcalla*, as hiſtorians call them, was become ſo great, that all
c the ſurrounding ſtates apprehended being over-run by that treacherous and ambitious people: beſides *Verona*, *Vicenza*, and *Breſcia*, which they poſſeſſed for ſome time, they had lately ſeized upon *Parma*, after having by fraud driven thence the family of the *Roſſi*. *Treviſo* likewiſe, according to *Sabellicus*, fell into their hands. About a century before they were no more than a ſingle family that had ſettled in *Lombardy*, which in time, by their ſtrong connexions, ambition, and intrigues, formed this powerful ſtate, that became an object of the jealouſy of all its neighbours [g]. *Maſtin*, the chief, thirſting to be revenged on the *Venetians* for driving him out of *Padua*, annoyed the commerce of the city. Thus the ſeeds of a war were laid, to prepare for which the *Venetians* raiſed forces, and made alliances
d with the *Roſſi*, and other princes of *Italy*, who dreaded and had ſuffered from the power of *Maſtin*. The *Venetians* never entered upon a war with greater alacrity: they really were not immediately concerned with *Maſtin*, having nothing to fear from him while they applied themſelves to commerce and maritime affairs: but they began early to give their attention to the ballance of power; a maxim in politics which has ſince proved the occaſion of numberleſs wars in Chriſtendom, and in no part of it more than in *Italy*.

THE league being concluded with the *Italian* ſtates, the doge and ſenate gave orders, that the name of every perſon in the city fit to bear arms ſhould be enrolled: the liſt A. D. 1335.
amounted to 80,000 [h] from twenty to ſixty years of age. Stimulated by an earneſt deſire to extinguiſh and root out tyranny, the action, ſays *Blondus*, was its own reward. Voluntiers
e flocked from *France*, *Germany*, and *England*, to ſerve in this war; inſomuch that the *Venetians* could have raiſed an army, which, with one blow, would have deſtroyed the tyrant; but it was not their policy to leave the event to the fate of one battle: they choſe to try the power and courage of their enemy firſt by ſlight ſkirmiſhes, both to accuſtom their troops to an enemy, and try their fortune. The republic choſe *Pietro Roſſi*, an implacable enemy to the tyrant *Maſtin*, to command their army. He was at this time cloſely beſieged by *Maſtin* in a little fort to which he eſcaped from *Parma*: but he ventured in diſguiſe through the enemy's camp, and arrived ſafe at *Florence*, where reſting but two days, his impatience to be in the field made him haſten, with a few troops of horſe, to the camp. The enemy, hearing of his arrival near *Lucca*, placed a ſtrong body in ambuſh to attack his rear, while he was
f oppoſed in front by another corps. *Roſſi*'s rear was ſoon put into diſorder, and the troops gave all up for loſt, when he arrived ſeaſonably to animate, rally, and ſupport them: he was every where preſent, giving his directions with a compoſure that inſpired his own men with irreſiſtible courage, and wholly diſcomfited the enemy. They were defeated, and purſued to the gates of *Lucca*, a great number of priſoners made, and a carnage and ſlaughter, which aſtoniſhed even thoſe acquainted with his valour.

IN the mean while the *Venetians* were not idle: *Gerrard Caminenſis* had with a detachment ſeized upon the city of *Uderza*; upon information of which *Maſtin* marched againſt him, attacked the garriſon left by *Gerrard*, but was repulſed. Next day, however, he found means to draw the beſieged into an ambuſcade, which ſucceeding, the city fell into his hands.

[e] SABEL. l. 2. d. 2. [f] Daniel. A. 2. [g] BLOND. Hiſt. l. 7. d. 2. [h] P. PARUTI. l. 1. p. 2. SABEL. l. 2. d. 2.

*ROSSI* had ſcarce joined the army when the count of *Colalta*, with a ſtrong corps, deſerted a
the enemy and came over to him; an example that was followed by the *Forlians*, ſome of
the inhabitants of the *Alps*, and a great number of *Germans* [l]. *Maſtin* finding the ſtrength
of the confederates, having experienced the valour of their leader, and knowing they were
immediately to enter upon action, ſent ambaſſadors to *Venice* with terms of peace, which
were rejected. Breaking up his camp he put ſtrong garriſons in *Lucca* and *Padua*, which
laſt his brother *Albert* had taken by ſurprize, ſince the commencement of the war: then he
ordered *Thomaſino*, governor of *Meſtra*, to tamper with the *Venetians*, as if he was willing to
deliver up the town to them upon certain conditions. The ſum agreed upon was delivered,
*The treachery of* Maſtin. and hoſtages given to *Roſſi* for the ſurrender of the town upon a certain day. *Maſtin* took
care to diſpoſe a ſtrong body of horſe and foot in the city, in ſuch a manner as to be able b
to ſeize upon the confederates as ſoon as they entered, which accordingly was executed, and
about three hundred priſoners made [k]. *Roſſi* then immediately marched againſt the enemy,
determined to revenge this treachery. Before he broke up his camp he made a ſhort ſpeech
to the ſoldiers, informed them of the baſe arts of the enemy and the captivity of their com-
rades, aſſured them of victory, recommended ſtrict diſcipline and obedience to their officers,
and laſtly reminded them that ſafety as well as honour depended upon courage. He was ad-
viſed to beſiege *Treviſo*, but declared his firſt purpoſe was to fight the enemy; if they were
defeated, towns might be taken at leiſure. The confederates arrived upon the banks of the
river *Brente* before *Albert*, *Maſtin*'s brother, had intelligence of their motions: his army was
equal in number to theirs, and his camp fortified on the left by the town of *Padua*, on the c
right by the marſhes and fenny grounds, and in front by the river; yet he did not care to
hazard the event of a battle, but decamped with great precipitation and joined his brother [l].
*Roſſi* continued to advance, and when he came ſufficiently near offered battle to *Maſtin*:
upon his declining it he ſent a herald to bid him defiance; but *Maſtin* was too well acquaint-
ed with the reputation of the general and valour of his troops to accept the challenge: he
even retired farther, and encamped in a more advantageous and ſtrong ſituation. *Roſſi*
*A fort built at* Bevolento. finding it impoſſible to bring him to a deciſive action, employed his army in building a fort
at *Bevolento*, a ſituation extremely commodious for harraſſing and checking the garriſon in
*Padua* [m]. The remainder of the campaign was conſumed in negociations and treaties, which
ended in nothing. d

DURING theſe tranſactions *Meſtra* was ſurrendered to *Roſſi*; many other towns revolted
from the enemy; *Viſconti* duke of *Milan*, and *Philip Gonzaga*, had already taken the field
againſt *Maſtin*. In ſhort, he was environed by falſe friends and profeſſed enemies, yet he
was not deſerted by his courage, deſerving of a better cauſe. He every where oppoſed cun-
ning, fraud, and intrigue, to the generous and open enmity of *Roſſi:* one while he laid the
country waſte through which the confederates muſt paſs; another time he advanced as if
with intention to fight; then again he would decamp precipitately, and leave a body of
troops in ambuſh: ſometimes he would endeavour to ſtarve *Roſſi*, by cutting off his convoys
of forage and proviſions; then by forced marches would he attack his rear. In ſhort, no-
thing was omitted which could annoy or harraſs; but he had to do with a general, vigilant, e
active, and experienced, perfectly acquainted with all his wiles and ſtratagems. At laſt *Maſ-
tin* was reduced to thoſe difficulties into which he endeavoured to bring the enemy: he had
ſo ruined and impoveriſhed the country, that it was unable to ſupport his army, and the
neighbouring princes being all in the oppoſite intereſt refuſed to ſupply him. Now he ſought
battle with the ſame eagerneſs with which before he avoided it, which *Roſſi* prudently de-
clined, knowing that victory would certainly attend his protracting the war. To heighten
his misfortunes the cities of *Feltre*, *Breſcia*, and *Bergamo*, fell into the hands of the confede-
rates; *Padua* revolted, and *Maſtin*'s army was daily diminiſhed by deſertion [n].

BUT the thread of ſucceſs which had hitherto attended the allies was interrupted by the
death of their general. The brave *Pietro Roſſi* was killed by an accidental ſhot: he was f
greatly lamented on account of his virtues and abilities. In honour of his memory his bro-
ther *Orlando Roſſi*, at that time beſieging *Lucca*, a brave and experienced officer, was choſen
in his room. As ſoon as he arrived at the camp he made an incurſion into the *Veroneſe*, de-
Maſtin *defeated.* ſtroying every thing with fire and ſword to the gates of *Verona*. *Maſtin* was at this time be-
ſieging *Montichia*, and, when he leaſt expected it, was ſurpriſed and defeated by *Orlando*,
who drove him from the ſiege, and made prodigious ſlaughter in his camp. *Maſtin* was
equally unſucceſsful in an attempt he ſoon after made upon the iſland *Longara*, which he at-
tacked with ſea and land forces: the garriſon ſallying out vigorouſly repulſed him with great
loſs, took ſeveral of his ſhips, and obliged him to abandon the enterprize. *Orlando* in the
mean time inveſted *Vicenza*, and ſo cloſely blocked it up, that the garriſon was ſtarved to g
a capitulation.

[l] BLOND. l. 1. d. 3. [k] BONITEN. l. 2. [l] SABEL. l. 2. d. 2. [m] Ibid. item BLOND. de g. V. BONITEN. Comment. l. 2. [n] SABEL. l. 2. BLOND. l. 7. d. 2. BONITEN. l. 3. item BLOND. de g. V.

TIRED

a TIRED out with losses the tyrant sued for peace upon any terms the republic would grant: the conditions imposed were, that *Feltre*, *Belluna*, and *Coneda* should remain to *Charles* of *Bohemia*; *Bergamo* and *Brescia*, to *Visconti*; *Trevisо*, with the castles and villages of the *Trevisan*, be for ever annexed to the *Venetian* dominions, together with those of *Bulde* and *Bassan*, with a free navigation on the river *Adice*; and lastly, that four cities, specified in the articles of peace, should be yielded up to the *Florentines* [o]. Thus was the ambition of *Mastin* curbed, his insolence subdued, his tyranny suppressed, and those cities and territories which he had acquired by rapine, fraud, and oppression, torn from the usurper and restored to the just proprietors. *Treaty concluded.*

*DANDOLO*, after governing the republic with great reputation at home and abroad for
b the space of ten years, died of a fever [p], greatly regretted and esteemed for his prudence, wisdom, and good fortune, which was in some measure the result of those qualities.

## *BARTOLOMEO GRADONICO*, Doge LIII.

*BARTOLOMEO GRADONICO* was next raised to the ducal throne by the general voice of the council, on account of his moderation, piety, and virtue. In the beginning of his dogeship the great hall, where the different councils have their departments, and sit upon their respective affairs, was built. Travellers inform us, that it remains to this day without any considerable alteration, or symptoms of decay [q]. Little occurs in this pacific reign besides prodigies, omens, and apparitions, a long detail of which is given us by *Blondus* and
c *Sabellicus*. This only they tell us, that *Edward* the third of *England* demanded the assistance of the republic against *Philip* of *France*, supported by the *Genoese*; but was refused, although he condescended to make this request in person: that a rebellion began to appear in *Candia*, which was nipt in the bud, and the ringleaders delivered up to punishment, by the force of the rewards offered to the betrayers; and that a famine prevailed in the city: but no particulars are we favoured with of any of these transactions. A. D. 1338. Bartolomeo Gradonico, *doge* LIII.

## *ANDREA DANDOLO*, Doge LIV.

*GRADONICO* was succeeded in his authority by *Andrea Dandolo*, a prince of a more active, vigilant, and warlike disposition; and at the same time penetrating, eloquent, open,
d liberal, and generous, insomuch that he was commonly called by a name expressive of those qualities [r]. A. D. 1343. Andrea Dandolo, *doge* LIV.

In the beginning of his dogeship the republic, in consequence of a league formed by the Christian powers against the infidels, sent sixteen gallies under *Pietro Zeno* to *Greece*. *Zeno* had the good fortune to meet with a number of *Turkish* vessels, which he sunk and burnt; afterwards he took *Smyrna* by assault, put the garrison to the sword, and fortified it with some addition to the walls, leaving a strong body of forces for its defence. He afterwards, in conjunction with the fleets of *Rhodes* and *Cyprus*, fought several bloody and successful battles with the enemy: at last the *Venetians*, with their allies, received a signal de-
e feat, most of them being taken, killed, or drowned; but whether this fatal accident happened while *Zeno* commanded, we are left to conjecture. Venetians *defeated by the* Turks.

In the second year of *Dandolo*'s government it was that the *Venetians* opened a commerce with the infidels at *Alexandria* and the other ports. *Souranza* and *Justiniano*, two rich citizens, by virtue of a dispensation from the pope, were the first who traded to the *Turkish Asiatic* dominions [s].

*ZARA*, ever inconstant, revolted a seventh time, and sent to *Lewis*, king of *Hungary*, to demand his protection, and to offer him the sovereignty of the city. *Simon Dandolo*, brother to the doge, and *Andrea Morosini*, were appointed to reduce it; but it cost the *Venetians* dear, their troops having been often defeated. *Lewis* of *Hungary* arrived with sixty thou-
f sand men to the relief of the city; but he was defeated, driven out of *Dalmatia*, and the city at last taken. *Sabellicus* informs us, that the slaughter of the king's troops was so great, that, by infecting the air with the putrid exhalations, it produced a pestilence. No other punishment was inflicted upon the rebellious city besides the perpetual banishment of the promoters of this revolt. Zara *revolts.*

*VENICE* was now so much increased, and her causes of litigation so great, that the government erected a court of six auditors, or judges. This was the original of the council of the savii, according to some historians. By order of the doge and senate, their first business was to digest and abridge the laws, which, it seems, were swelled to an enormous bulk: all the decrees of the senate were likewise compiled in one volume, and divided, for the sake of perspicuity, into chapters, books, and sections, with a general index, and table of contents. The prince added to this a volume of judicial acts and decrees of the great A. D. 1344.

[o] BONITEN. Comment. l. 3. SABEL. l. 3. d. 2. [p] SANSOV. p. 236. [q] BURNET, ADDISON, DESDIER.
[r] SANSOV. delle v. di p. [s] DESD. p. 2. AMELOT's Hist. b. 2. c. 4. SABEL. l. 3. d. 2.

council,

council, which he had compiled and digeſted with his own hand while he was procurator of St. *Mark*'s [t]. Thus *Dandolo* was no leſs attentive to the domeſtic and civil than to the foreign and military policy of the republic. a

ABOUT this time *Venice* was afflicted with a ſeries of unavoidable calamities; a terrible ſtorm deſtroyed great part of their fleet and merchant ſhips; an earthquake and high tide threw down and damaged a prodigious number of houſes and bridges in the city; and a plague ſwept off incredible numbers of the inhabitants. In conſequence, a decree of the
A. D. 1345. great council paſſed to naturalize all foreigners who would come and reſide in the city, which ſoon produced a happy effect, multitudes of people flocking from every quarter to enjoy the freedom and liberty of the *Venetian* conſtitution [u].

AMIDST all theſe misfortunes the *Iſtrians* revolted; but were ſoon ſubdued by the authority and ſpirit of *Parnatio Juſtiniano*. The authors of the revolt were ſent to *Venice*, from whence they were enjoined not to ſtir under pain of death. b

BEFORE the *Venetians* were well recovered from the late civil misfortunes and wars, new differences aroſe with the *Genoeſe*. Theſe laſt poſſeſſed ſeveral ſettlements in *Greece* from the time that *Paleologus* ſeized upon *Conſtantinople*, conſequently they carried on a conſiderable trade, with which they were apprehenſive the *Venetians* would interfere; they left no means
*War with* Genoa. untried to deprive the republic entirely of the *Levant* trade; they took, plundered, and robbed ſuch of the *Venetian* merchants as came in their way; and committed ſeveral other violences and infractions of the law of nations. The doge and ſenate of *Venice* ſent to demand ſatisfaction; and upon its being refuſed, equipped a fleet, and prepared for war: an embargo was laid upon all their ſhipping; gallies were ſent for to *Dalmatia*, *Candia*, and *Negropont*; and *Moroſini*, their admiral, recalled from *Raguſa*. c

IN a ſhort time a ſquadron of thirty-five ſhips and gallies was ready to put to ſea, under the conduct of *Marco Ruſino*. He had not been long in queſt of the enemy, when, by ſtreſs of weather, he was forced to put into *Cariſte*, where fourteen *Genoeſe* gallies rode at anchor, filled with rich merchandize, ammunition, proviſion, and every neceſſary for a fort they
Genoeſe *gallies taken and deſtroyed.* propoſed building at *Pera* [w]. *Ruſino* attacked them, took, ſunk, and burnt ten gallies; four made their eſcape under cover of a dark night, but were afterwards taken by *Moroſini*, admiral of the *Adriatic*, and carried into *Venice*. In the mean time, the *Genoeſe* fleet, com-
Negropont *ſurrendered to the* Genoeſe. manded by *Filippo Doria*, reduced *Negropont*, the governor and officers having baſely abandoned it before the attack began; for which they were recalled, and put to death [x]. d

THE republic had now entered into an alliance with the king of *Arragon*, who agreed to join them in perſon with a fleet againſt the *Genoeſe*. Some authors affirm, that *Dandolo* formed a treaty offenſive and defenſive with the *Greek* empire, from whom he received a conſiderable reinforcement [y]. *Piſani*, the *Venetian* admiral, ſoon came to an engagement with the *Genoeſe* ſtationed in the *Boſphorus*: the fight began in the evening, and continued with great fury for the whole night, without any apparent advantage or wearineſs on either ſide. All the horrors which the darkneſs of the night, the claſhing of ſhips, the clattering of arms, the ſhouts of combatants, and ſhrieks of the wounded could inſpire, contributed to render this action dreadful. Next day the battle ceaſed, rather from inability than want e of inclination to purſue it, each admiral claiming the victory. *Giovanni Delfino*, who was preſent, ſays, that the *Venetians* gained a complete victory, having taken twenty-eight of the enemy's gallies, with the loſs only of four: but the *Genoeſe* and other hiſtorians deny the aſſertion [z]. *Piſani* was blamed for attacking the enemy in ſo ſtrong a ſituation, for the diſpoſition of his attack, and for continuing it with obſtinacy through the night.

FROM this time forward a council of four experienced officers were appointed to attend, direct, and adviſe the admiral, in order to prevent any raſh reſolutions, which might prove
A. D. 1347. deſtructive of the fleet, and ruinous of the republic [z]. The command of the grand fleet was now given to *Ruſino*, who had ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the beginning of the war. He firſt ſteered his courſe with a ſquadron of thirty gallies to *Sardinia*; there he f joined the *Arragonian* fleet of forty ſail, commanded by *Barnardo Caſnari*; and immediately went to ſeek *Grimaldi*, the *Genoeſe* admiral, who was no leſs eager to engage. The two fleets met on the *Sardinian* coaſt: *Ruſino* ordered his ſhips to grapple with the enemy, and then had them chained to each other in ſuch a manner that he muſt conquer or die, it being impoſſible to eſcape. Thus a kind of land battle was fought upon the ſea, in which there
Genoeſe *defeated.* was no room for diſputing the victory, the whole *Genoeſe* fleet having been either taken or deſtroyed, *Grimaldi*'s ſhip alone eſcaping. When the news of this defeat arrived at *Genoa*, the whole city was in the greateſt conſternation, and the affliction was equal to what might be expected had *Genoa* itſelf fallen into the enemy's hands. In their deſpair the *Genoeſe* diſpatched ambaſſadors to *Viſconti*, duke of *Milan*, requeſting his protection and acceptance g

[t] SANSOV. del. v. p. [u] SABEL. l. 3. d. 2. BLOND. l. 7. d. 2. [w] BONITEN. Com. l. 3. [x] BLOND. FLAV. Hiſt. l. 7. d. 2. SABEL. l. 3. d. 2. [y] BONITEN. Com. l. 3. [z] DESDIER. p. 1. SABEL. l. 3. d. 2. BLOND. l. 7. d. 2. SABEL. et BLOND. ibid.

a of the ſovereignty of the *Genoeſe* dominions. *Viſconti* accepted the propoſal; and thus we ſee this potent republic, in conſequence of one ſevere ſtroke of fortune, ſurrendering up that power, wealth, reputation, and liberty, which ſhe acquired by induſtry, and for a ſeries of years maintained with courage, conduct, and her blood. A. D. 1348. *The* Genoeſe *put themſelves under the protection of* Viſconti.

THIS news ſoon arrived at *Venice*, and put the republic upon forming alliances able to ballance the great power of *Viſconti:* treaties were made with *Maſtin*, the *Carrarians*, and the *Florentines*, the *Venetian* cities, forts, and towns, on the continent, were ſtrongly fortified, garriſoned and put in a poſture of defence; their fleet was increaſed, and their forces augmented: we are likewiſe told, that the *Venetians* formed an alliance with *Charles* king of *Bohemia*. In ſhort, they omitted nothing which could enable them to cope with ſo power-
b ful an enemy [a]. *Viſconti*, perceiving the vigilance and ſpirit of the republic, endeavoured to accommodate the difference: his propoſals were ſuch as he thought the *Venetians* would gladly embrace, when they conſidered the late addition of ſtrength the *Genoeſe* had acquired from his alliance; but he was miſtaken. They were haughtily rejected, and his ambaſſadors told that it was the cuſtom with the *Venetians* to decide by the ſword, not by negociation [b]. A. D. 1304.

DURING this interval eight *Genoeſe* gallies entered the gulph and deſtroyed *Corfu*, and certain iſlands on the coaſt of *Dalmatia*. The republic diſpatched *Nicholas Piſani*, with fourteen gallies, in purſuit of them, who ſoon drove them out of the gulph. Next *Pagano Doria* entered the gulph with a ſtrong ſquadron, took a great number of *Venetian* ſhips, ſteered
c his courſe to *Iſtria*, deſtroyed *Parenſa*, and laid waſte the whole coaſt. *Piſani* being reinforced with twenty gallies, came up with him, engaged and defeated the *Genoeſe*, taking, ſinking, and burning a great number of his ſhips; but not before *Doria* had thrown the city of *Venice* into great terror and confuſion at his near approach [c]. Genoeſe *defeated.* A. D. 1352.

NOTHING memorable occurred the following year beſides *Dandolo's* death, which happened in the beginning of the year one thouſand three hundred and fifty-four. He was deſervedly reputed the greateſt ſtateſman, the greateſt ſcholar, the greateſt orator, and the fineſt gentleman of his time: he was likewiſe pious, juſt, and generous, qualities which particularly gained him the love and eſteem of the people [d]. *Marino Faliero* was now raiſed to the ducal chair.

d ## *MARINO FALIERO*, Doge LV.

HIS reign was productive of foreign and domeſtic evils: defeats, famine, and peſtilence, all conſpiring to humble the pride of this towering republic. While the aſſembly was buſied in chuſing a doge, three *Genoeſe* gallies were taken by the *Venetians* upon the coaſt of *Greece*; the laſt inſtance of the republic's good fortune in the war [e]. Soon after the *Venetian* fleet, commanded by *Piſani*, was defeated by *Doria: Piſani* rode at anchor at the iſland *Sapientia*, on the coaſt of the *Morea*, waiting for *Doria*. Some authors affirm that the *Genoeſe* came ſome days ſooner than they were expected, and took *Piſani* with the whole fleet by ſurprize; a circumſtance hardly credible [f]. Others are equally poſitive, that a long and bloody
e battle was fought, in which at length *Piſani* with five thouſand of his men were made priſoners, and above twenty gallies ſunk [g]. All authors agree, that the *Venetians* ſuſtained, upon this occaſion, an almoſt irreparable loſs; they differ only in the manner. The city would probably have been undone, if the victorious *Doria* had known as well how to purſue as to gain a victory. The *Venetians* were equally ſurpriſed and rejoiced when the news arrived that he was returned to *Genoa*, at a time they every hour expected him before their gates. It is probable that *Doria*'s weakneſs from the loſs he ſuſtained in the action, prevented his laying ſiege to *Venice:* he knew the bravery of the *Venetians*, and what they were capable of doing in defence of their wives, children, property, and liberty, againſt an enemy they implacably hated: theſe are the probable motives which actuated *Doria*'s conduct. Marino Faliero, *doge* LV. *The* Venetians *defeated.*

f THE *Venetians* ever ſhewed an admirable conſtancy in adverſity: they now levied troops, equipped a fleet, and, to prevent *Viſconti*'s ſending aſſiſtance to the *Genoeſe*, they engaged him in a war at home, having prevailed upon *Charles* of *Bohemia*, to march with a powerful army into the duke's dominions [h]; in the mean while they made a truce for four months with *Viſconti*, and exchanged priſoners with the *Genoeſe*. *Truce with* Viſconti.

*FALIERO*, who had been doge little more than nine months, was ſeized with a violent deſire of governing the republic abſolutely, without council, ſenate, or ſeignory, and of ſubverting the eſtabliſhed conſtitution [i]. He began his deſign by acts of popularity, and forming a ſtrong faction among the lower rank of people: he even went ſo far as to make entertainments for them, at which himſelf would preſide, taking occaſion to hint how impro-

[a] BLOND. FLAV. l. 8. d. 2. [b] SABEL. l. 3. d. 2. BLOND. Hiſt. l. 8. d. 2. Etiam de geſt. Venet. [c] SABEL. ibid. [d] SANSOV. del. v. di prin. p. 238. [e] SABEL. l. 3. d. 2. [f] BLOND. Hiſt. l. 8. d. 2. [g] SABEL. ibid. [h] SABEL. ibid. BLOND. Hiſt. l. 8. d. 2. [i] BONITEN. Comm. l. 32. SABEL. l. 3. d. 2.

Faliero's *conspiracy.*

per a popular government was where vigour and unanimity were required; how unfit to retrieve the desperate affairs of the state, which only could be done by entrusting the power in the hands of one man, equally attached to his country and capable of directing it. When he perceived that the people listened to him with attention, he began to drop hints of his intention to deliver them from the tyranny of the senate, to retrieve the honour and power of the state, and to assume a greater latitude of power and authority, than he now enjoyed, until he had restored their liberty; after which it should be left to their choice to continue him or not, as they found he deserved. His proposal was to murder the chief persons of the assembly, senate, and seignory, who had raised him to the dignity he possessed: this he laid before the people, after he had first provided his party with arms, and upon some pretence got a sufficient number together in the palace [k]. The first day of *April* was appointed for the execution of this infamous plot; a rumour was to be propagated that the enemy were at the walls, the great bell, the usual alarm, was to be tolled as a signal to the conspirators to join and begin the massacre. On the very day fixed for the performance of this dreadful tragedy, *Beltrand*, a conspirator, either through disgust or remorse, went to the house of *Nicholao Leon*, and made an ample discovery. *Leon* was so confounded with the horror of the action, that for some time he was unable to reply; at last, ordering *Beltrand* to be confined, he dispatched messengers to the chief senators, the seignory, and officers of the city, to come instantly to him. A resolution was taken to secure the doge and heads of the conspiracy, which was happily executed [l]. They were all put to death, and the doge's memory branded with particular marks of infamy: a veil was put over his picture (A), the senate having ordered that it should rank among the rest with this infamous distinction. A pension of one thousand ducats was settled upon the discoverer; and thus ended the reign of the ambitious, mad, and wicked *Marino Faliero* [m].

## SECT. III.

*Containing the Origin of the Inquisition of State; the Peace with* Genoa; *War with the King of* Hungary; *Revolt of* Candia, *and other Particulars.*

*State inquisition.*

WE have reason to suppose the inquisition of state owed its origin to this attempt to subvert the established plan of government, destroy liberty, and introduce tyranny. Some authors imagine its rise to be of a later date; but as they neither specify the time, nor particularize the manner, we are at liberty to form conjectures. It is probable that so bold an attempt would have made the senate extremely circumspect, jealous, and watchful of the conduct of their doges, embracing every probable method of retrenching their authority, and limiting their ambition. Certain we are, that the first intention of the inquisition was solely to guard against the encroachments of the prince, and protect the privileges of the people, although its authority has since been extended.

DURING the inter-regnum *Bernardo Justiniano* was sent with a squadron to scour the seas, and convoy a fleet of merchantmen from *Greece:* he was so diligent that he took a great number of *Genoese* ships, and if he had not been prevented by peace, would probably have recovered the late disgraces sustained by the republic. But this object, equally the interest and wish of both parties, was at last obtained, after the war had raged with the utmost violence for the space of five years. The prisoners on both sides were set at liberty, and nothing but rejoicings, mirth, and gladness filled the hearts of every *Venetian* and *Genoese*; not that their animosity was satiated, but their power was exhausted [n].

*Peace with* Genoa.

## *GIOVANNI GRADONICO,* Doge LVI.

A. D. 1355. Giovanni Gradonico, *doge* LVI.

*GIOVANNI GRADONICO* was chosen to succeed *Faliero*, after the republic had been for two months in the hands of a vice-doge. Of this prince nothing is recorded, his reign being short, and the republic blessed with profound tranquility. Some differences arose between *Lewis* king of *Hungary* and the republic, but they did not break out into open war during the life of this doge. *Lewis* complained of injustice in the last treaty concerning *Dalmatia*, and renewed his claim to cities he had then formally ceded: he demanded that the republic would at least acknowlege by a small tribute his superiority; but the *Venetian* ambassador refused to give any answer until he had received instructions from his master and the senate;

[k] BONITEN. ibid. BLOND. ibid. SABEL. l. 3. d. 2. [l] Aut. citat. [m] SABEL. l. 3. d. 2. BONITEN. Com. l. 3. BLOND. l. 8. d. 2. SABEL. l. 4. d. 2. [n] BLOND. SABEL. ibid.

(A) The inscriptions which *Sansovino* reports to be placed upon the monuments of the doges, we are apt to think were rather put under their pictures and busts: it was customary at *Venice* to erect these in the great hall, in compliment to their memory. These words, which he mentions to have been inscribed on *Marin*'s tomb, were far more probably wrote under his picture, busto, or statue.---*Temeritatis meæ pœnas lui.*

during

a during which interval the doge died, after having reigned one year and two months, including the regency of *Cornaro* [b].

## *GIOVANNI DELFINO*, Doge LVII.

*GIOVANNI DELFINO*, his ſucceſſor, poſitively rejected the king's propoſal, preferring war to ſervitude. Upon which *Lewis* marched an army into *Dalmatia*, ſo great that he at the ſame time beſieged *Zara*, *Scia*, *Spalatra*, *Nona*, and *Trabu*. The *Venetians*, amazed at his expedition, raiſed forces, and equipped a fleet with all poſſible diſpatch, with which they found means to reinforce the garriſons, and ſupply the cities with every neceſſary. Giovanni Delfino, *doge* LVII.

*Lewis*, finding that the war would be protracted by this method of proceeding, raiſed
b the ſieges, and ſent an army of ſixty thouſand men to ſupport *Franciſco Carrario* in *Italy*, with whom he had contracted an alliance [c]; knowing that the republic was not to be brought to terms while the war was carried on at ſo great a diſtance. He had beſides conſiderable A. D. 1356. reinforcements from the duke of *Auſtria*, the patriarch of *Aquileia*, who ſeized every opportunity of diſtreſſing the *Venetians*, and from the earl of *Colalta*. With this numerous army *Coniglian*, *Sacilla*, and ſome other places were inveſted, and no ſooner beſieged than taken [d].

The *Hungarians* afterwards ſate down before *Treviſo*, and laid cloſe ſiege to the city. The *Venetians* had provided for this by ſupplying the garriſon with large ſtore of ammunition, proviſion, and every other neceſſary: ſeveral aſſaults were made, and the enemy as often repulſed; nor had the king's menaces, that he would put the whole garriſon to the
c ſword if they did not ſurrender, any other effect than to animate the beſieged, and encreaſe their hatred to *Lewis*: at laſt, tired out with their obſtinacy, he turned the ſiege into a blockade, and retired into *Hungary* [e]. The *Venetians* were in the mean while buſy levying Lewis *retires into* Hungary. forces in *Germany* and in the city: as theſe auxiliaries were encamped upon the river *Brente*, near *Vicenza*, they were ſurpriſed and cut off before the *Venetians* could come to their relief [f]. Soon after a truce for five months was agreed upon, during which time peace was negociating.

The negociations producing no effect, hoſtilities recommenced at the expiration of the truce. *Spalatra* and *Trabu* fell into the king's hands, the republic being unable to *Several cities taken from the republic.* raiſe the ſieges, as their chief ſtrength was neceſſarily employed in *Italy*. *Zara* was taken
d by ſurprize; and of all the cities in *Dalmatia*, *Emona* alone remained to the *Venetians*: it had been for ſome months bravely and obſtinately defended by *Giovanni Juſtiniano*, one of A. D. 1356. the beſt officers of his age. The king loſt four times the number of the garriſon before the town, and was no nearer being maſter of it than when he made his firſt approaches [g]: however, the republic finding that *Dalmatia* muſt inevitably be loſt if they did not conclude peace, ſent ambaſſadors to *Lewis* with terms rather convenient than honourable. Their propoſals were accepted, by which the *Venetian* territories, from the gulph of *Fana* to *Durazzo*, the intire claim to *Dalmatia*, and ſome other diſtricts, were ceded to *Lewis*; he, on *Peace with* the other hand, giving up his conqueſts in *Iſtria*, *Italy*, and laying himſelf under an obli- Lewis. gation to prevent the *Dalmatians* from practiſing piracy, their common vocation [h].

e Not long after the concluſion of the peace *Delfino* died, from which it appears that this war continued above four years; a circumſtance which ſhews the immenſe wealth and commerce of the republic, that for a ſeries of years was engaged in continual wars. He reigned for five years, and was reputed a good, wiſe, and not unfortunate prince.

## *LORENZO CELSO*, Doge LVIII.

*DELFINO* no ſooner expired than twelve ſenators were diſpatched to congratulate *Lo-* A. D. 1361. *renzo Celſo*, elected by the aſſembly, on his acceſſion to the dogeſhip. *Celſo* was at that Lorenzo Celſo, *d.* LVIII. time in *Germany*, on his return from an embaſſy to the emperor *Charles* IV. His father declined complimenting him after his arrival, to prevent his ſtanding uncovered in his ſon's
f preſence, thinking it an indignity to the paternal authority to be ſubjected to the ducal [i]. The duke of *Auſtria* and king of *Cyprus* made him a viſit of congratulation; for in his ambaſſies *Lorenzo* had acquired the eſteem of a great number of foreign princes.

During their reſidence in *Venice* great commotions broke out in *Candia*. The ſenate, to Candia *revolts.* defray the expences of the late war, taxed all the natives of *Venice*, of a certain property in the iſland, and impoſed a ſtill heavier tax upon the original inhabitants. The *Venetians* were the firſt to take up arms againſt their country, which ſo encouraged the natives, that the rebellion became general, the governor, provedatori, and all the ſhips of the republic being ſeized.

The rebels choſe *Marco Gradonico*, ſurnamed *Bayardo*, for their general, an officer of experience and valour: they began with fortifying the moſt advantageous ſituations, laying A. D. 1363.

[b] Sansov. p. 236. [c] Sabel. l. 4. d. 2. Blond. de g. V. [d] Sabel. ibid. Blond. Hiſt. l. 9. d. 2. [e] Ibid. [f] Boniten. Commen. l. 3. [g] Blond. de g. V. [h] Sabel. l. 4. d. 2. [i] Blond. Hiſt. l. 9. d. 2. Sabel. ibid.

up magazines, equipping a fleet, and keeping ſtrict diſcipline among the troops: every thing was done which the duty of a good officer required, and that could ſecure the iſland in the independency it affected. The news ſoon arrived at *Venice*, which greatly embarraſſed the doge and ſenate, as the authors of the inſurrection were *Venetians* of diſtinction and family. After various debates and opinions, it was reſolved to ſend three of the ſenators to ſound the intentions of the rebels, offer propoſals, and if poſſible perſuade them to reaſon. The ambaſſadors uſed every argument which could ſoothe the paſſions, determine the judgment, or work upon the heart, but all to no purpoſe; they reſolved to be an independent free people [k]. Finding all their endeavours to no purpoſe, the ſenators went on board certain gallies that waited for them, the captains of which, juſt as they were getting under ſail, ſeized about three hundred of the crowd upon the ſhore, and carried them priſoners to *Venice*. a b

WAR was now determined upon by the republic, and the *Candians* declared enemies to their country. Ambaſſadors were ſent to the emperors of the Eaſt and Weſt, to the kings of *France*, *Hungary*, and to other potentates, to demand aid and aſſiſtance againſt this rebellious colony, or at leaſt to obtain an aſſurance that no protection or ſuccour ſhould be afforded them againſt their mother country. Their ambaſſadors were kindly received, and the moſt liberal and ſolemn aſſurances every where given not only of denying the *Candians* any ſupport, but of their deteſtation and abhorrence of their conduct [l].

*War with the* Candians.

IN the mean time an army was levied, their marine put in readineſs, *Dominico Michaeli*, who before was proveditor of the gulph, was appointed admiral, and the land forces committed to *Luchin Vermio*. As ſoon as every thing was ready for embarkation *Vermio* reviewed his army, and found it conſiſting of five thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe, all veterans who had ſerved in the late wars, and in good order. The fleet, amounting to forty gallies and ſhips, arrived early in the ſpring at *Candia*. c

A. D. 1364.

BUT during theſe tranſactions ſeveral gentlemen of *Candace*, the capital of the iſland, hearing of the vigorous preparations carried on at *Venice* to reduce the rebels, began to fall off, to practiſe with ſome of the chiefs of the faction, and to inſpire them with a ſenſe of their duty and danger. Hence proceeded horrid murders, maſſacres, and ſtratagems [m]. The chiefs fearing they might be betrayed to the republic, left no means by poiſon or the poignard untried to take off the ſuſpected perſons, the traitors as they were called. Many *Venetians*, of the firſt diſtinction in the iſland, were ſuddenly put to death by the infernal arts of one *Calergo*, a famous poiſoner and aſſaſſin. In ſhort, the native *Greeks* perceiving the ſucceſs of their diabolical agent, began to diſtruſt all the *Venetians*: they now inſiſted upon the management of the war; they demanded that ten natural *Greeks* ſhould be admitted into the ſenate; they threatened to break open the priſons, and murder the *Venetian* priſoners confined there, if they were not voluntarily ſurrendered, and a ſolemn oath taken of their allegiance to the *Greeks*. They had even the inſolence to demand the ſame of the *Venetian* nobility that remained. A ſcheme likewiſe was laid for ſeizing upon *Candace*; depriving the *Venetians* of all authority; and, if poſſible, of maſſacring every *Italian* in the iſland: a juſt puniſhment upon them for their perfidy to their native country. d

THE *Venetian* nobility were now in a miſerable dilemma; declared enemies to the republic, and dreading its power at the very time they were betrayed, poiſoned, and aſſaſſinated by the *Greeks*, with whom they were aſſociated in one common act of rebellion. To extricate themſelves it was determined to deliver the iſland to the *Genoeſe*, as they doubted not but they would rejoice at ſo fair an opportunity of enlarging their dominions, and of ſhewing their hatred to the *Venetians* [n]: but the republic of *Genoa*, either from a principle of honour, or diſlike to enter upon a freſh war, rejected the offer. It was next propoſed to throw themſelves on the clemency of the *Venetian* republic, thinking by this means to purchaſe their pardon. The *Greeks* diſcovered and prevented this deſign. e

*The* Venetian *army lands in* Candia.

THE *Venetian* army being landed, *Vermio* detached a party to reconnoitre the enemy, view the ground round *Candace*, and regulate the manner of making his approaches. The detachment fell into an ambuſcade, were cut off, cruelly mangled and hacked to pieces after they were killed: ſo great was the averſion of the *Greeks* to the *Venetians*; or ſo ready are men, engaged in a wrong cauſe, to perpetrate every villainy. *Vermio* marched his army againſt the *Candians*, engaged, and routed their army, making a great number of priſoners [o]. He then inveſted the capital on the land ſide, while *Michaeli* blocked it up by ſea, and ſoon reduced it to the obedience of the republic. It ſeems one article of the capitulation was, that the city ſhould not be plundered, and ſubjected to the ravages of the ſoldiers; to prevent which the gates were to be opened to the governor, and a party ſufficient for his protection: the army to remain without the walls. The ſoldiers, finding themſelves deprived of the booty they expected, began to mutiny, which had nearly terminated in a thorough revolt, f g

Candians *defeated.*

[k] SABEL. l. 4. d 2. [l] SABEL. ibid. BLOND. Hiſt. l. 9. d. 2. [m] SABEL. l. 4. d. 2. BLOND. Hiſt. l. 9. d. 2. [n] BLOND. et SABEL. ibid. [o] BONITEN. l. 3. SABEL. l. 4. d. 2.

had

a had not the vigour and firmneſs of *Vernio* quelled it, by putting the ringleaders to immediate death, and rewarding the reſt of the army with double pay [p].

*CANDACE* being loſt, and the army defeated, the reſt of the iſland ſubmitted of courſe. The chiefs, both *Venetian* and *Greek*, were ſeized and put to death; the former with the greateſt rigour, their offence admitting of no extenuation.

## *MARCO CORNARO*, Doge LIX.

In the mean time *Lorenzo Celſo* died, after he had governed the ſtate for three years with diſcretion, temperance, and œconomy [q]. *Marco Cornaro* was but juſt elected to ſucceed him when the news of a new revolt of the *Candians* arrived. It was excited by *Calergo*, who had b found means to eſcape the juſt puniſhment denounced: he now ventured to appear publicly: he declaimed againſt the oppreſſion of the *Venetians*, the puſillanimity of the *Greeks*, the ſubjection in which the natural lords of the iſland were kept, inſiſting on the weakneſs of the republic, and the ſtrength of the iſland, if they would exert that ſpirit for which their forefathers were famous. Every argument that could inflame their minds, and diſpoſe them to rebellion, was uſed, and with ſucceſs. *Calergo* ſet up the *Greek* ſtandard, exhorting every man inſpired with the love of his country, for liberty, to enliſt himſelf in the cauſe of freedom. A numerous army was ſoon raiſed, the forts ſeized, and the nobility and *Venetian* magiſtrates put to death. *Nicholao Dandolo*, and his brother, were the firſt victims of the popular fury [r].

A. D. 1365. Marco Cornaro, *doge* LIX.

*Second revolution of the* Candians.

c *NICHOLAO JUSTINIANO*, the provedatori, with ſome others of the nobility, found means to eſcape, and raiſe a body of forces to oppoſe *Calergo*; who, advancing to the citadel of *Candace*, aſſaulted it with great vigour, but was repulſed. The rebels, finding that they could make no impreſſion here, retired, after ſetting the ſuburbs on fire, to *Rethimna*, which the *Venetian* garriſon abandoned, not finding it tenable. *Juſtiniano*, having received forces from *Venice*, and indulgences from *Rome*, marched againſt the rebels, and defeated them in a pitched battle: but this decided nothing, the enemy were ſoon recruited. Another battle enſued, and *Juſtiniano* was a ſecond time victorious, though to as little purpoſe as before [s].

Candians *defeated.*

In this poſture ſtood matters, when all of a ſudden the inhabitants of fifteen towns and d villages, which had hitherto remained quiet, joined the rebels; by which they became greatly ſuperior to *Juſtiniano*. He therefore applied for ſpeedy reinforcements to the republic, acting in the mean time on the defenſive, while the rebels were committing the moſt barbarous exceſſes: he was on the point of being reduced to great neceſſity, when a ſeaſonable ſupply of proviſions, troops, and every thing wanted, arrived from *Venice*; upon which the ſcene was changed [t]. The rebels were now driven into the mountains, cut off from their magazines and ſtores, and at length compelled to ſubmit to the clemency of the republic. Reaſonable terms were granted, on condition that *Calergo*, and ſome other perſons ſpecified, were delivered up to puniſhment; but he made his eſcape to *Anapolis*, which he bravely defended againſt all the power of the *Venetians*. At laſt, perceiving the place was no longer e defenſible, he abandoned the iſland in a veſſel he had prepared for that purpoſe. *Anapolis* was ſurrendered, and the whole iſland reduced to its former obedience.

A. D. 1368.

*Peace with the* Candians.

Some members of the ſenate were diſpatched to *Candia* to enquire into the grievances which had occaſioned the revolt; to ſettle it upon a ſure footing; to abrogate ſome old and frame new laws; raze the holds and forts which were unneceſſary to the ſafety of the iſland: in ſhort, to eſtabliſh tranquility and peace upon the beſt foundation which the temper and diſpoſition of the *Greeks* would admit.

## *ANDREA CONTARENI*, Doge LX.

*MARCO CORNARO*, after a troubleſome ſway of three years, died, and was ſucceeded f by *Andrea Contareni*, who unwillingly received a dignity, to ſupport which he was perfectly qualified. His ſcruples were no ſooner ſurmounted than the *Iſtrians* revolted, under pretence that the duties exacted by the republic upon all merchandize paſſing through the gulph of *Fana* to the *Po*, was an inſupportable impoſition, ruinous of their commerce, upon which depended their very exiſtence. They deſtroyed the galley the *Venetians* kept on the coaſt to receive the duty: not ſatisfied with this act of defiance, they pulled down the ſtandards of the republic, and expelled the *Venetian* governors. The doge and ſenate, reſolving to curb their inſolence, ſent againſt them a fleet and army, commanded by *Michaeli* and *Molino* [u]. In a ſhort time the rebels were ſo hard preſſed, that they threw themſelves upon the protection of the duke of *Auſtria*, and erected his ſtandard in all the public places. The duke came to their aſſiſtance with an army of ten thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe: he was g

Andrea Contareni, *doge* LX.

Iſtrians *revolt.*

A. D. 1373. *The duke of* Auſtria *comes to their aſſiſtance.*

[p] Sabel. Hiſt. ibid. Blond. l. 9. d. 2. [q] Sansov. del. v. p. [r] Sabel. l. 4. d. 2. [s] Sabell. ibid. Blond. Hiſt. l. 9. d. 2. [t] Sabel. l. 4. d. 2. Blond. Hiſt. l. 9. d. 2. [u] Blond. de g. V.

ſo much ſuperior in ſtrength to the *Venetians*, that he inveſted and blocked up their camp, a
which was in great danger of being taken, when *Molino* arrived with a ſtrong body of ſailors,
attacked the duke in rear, and after putting the *Germans* in confuſion, forced open his way
into the camp: having joined *Michaeli*, a general ſally was made with ſuch impetuoſity that
*The duke defeated.* the enemy were routed and driven from the entrenchments with great ſlaughter. The
duke's retreat was ſo precipitate that he left the wounded, his baggage, and proviſion behind,
together with three or four hundred priſoners taken in the flight[w]. A truce was granted
him for a day to bury the dead; after which he was defeated in another action, and his
pride ſo mortified, that, leaving the *Iſtrians* to the mercy of the conquerors, he retired into
*Auſtria*. Thus the rebels loſing their protector, ſubmitted to the republic, acknowleged
their offence, made reparation, and agreed to pay the duty, the refuſal of which had reduced b
them to this neceſſity.

SCARCE was the republic rid of this troubleſome affair when ſhe reſolved to enter on a
freſh war. *Franciſco Carrario* had uſurped ſome of their dominions near the lakes; upon
which the *Paduans* were forbid trading or carrying on any ſort of commerce to *Venice*. Other
*War with the Carrarians.* neighbouring ſtates were ſo affected by this prohibition, that they did all in their power to
reconcile the contending parties; but not ſucceeding they applied for the mediation of *Lewis*
king of *Hungary*, and the *Florentines*, at whoſe interceſſion it was agreed, that a truce for
two months ſhould take place, in order to negociate a peace. Commiſſioners were deputed
by both ſides to examine the bounds and fix the limits in an amicable manner; but the ne-
gociations were ſoon broke off, on certain intelligence which the republic received of a de- c
ſign formed by *Carrario*, of murdering the doge and ſenate[x]. Strict ſearch was made after
Carrario *attempts to poiſon the doge and ſenate.* the conſpirators, ſome of whom were found, put to the torture, and on their confeſſion
hanged. Apprehenſive that *Carrario*'s villainous plots would not terminate with a ſingle
attempt, the ſenate ordered a conſtant patrole of horſe, the guards of the palace and ſenate
to be doubled, and the ſenators moſt obnoxious to the tyrant, to be conſtantly attended by
two armed ſoldiers. Orders were likewiſe iſſued that all the wells in the city ſhould be well
guarded; butchers, bakers, and poulterers, were made reſponſible for all the meat they
ſold, and every precaution was taken to guard againſt poiſon[y]: nor did their fears end here,
ſtrong reaſons appeared for ſuſpecting that they were betrayed by ſome of their own body.
A ſcrupulous and rigid enquiry was made, which turned out to the ſafety of the ſtate, and d
to the eternal ſhame of certain ſenators, who were proved guilty of holding a correſpondence
with their moſt inſidious enemy. The moſt guilty met with condign puniſhment, others
were impriſoned for life, and ſome ſtill leſs criminal, were degraded and for ever diſquali-
fied from holding a ſeat in the ſenate.

IN the mean time the republic was taking meaſures for carrying on a vigorous war, in
order to chaſtiſe the baſeneſs of this treacherous enemy. *Rayniero Vaſco*, the beſt commander
of his time, was invited from *Tuſcany* to lead their army, *Dominico Michaeli* being appointed
his lieutenant. *Michaeli* marched againſt the *Paduans*, entered their country, defeated them
in ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, laid the country under contribution, and filled it with terror and con-
ſternation. *Rayniero* in the mean time arrived at *Venice*, and having received his commiſſion e
immediately ſet out for the army, and was ſoon after diſmiſſed, upon a quarrel with the pro-
vedatori; who had the addreſs to make his conduct ſuſpected. The great *Vaſco* thought it
beneath his character to ſtoop to a defence; to exculpate and palliate would lead him to
an altercation with the provedatori, whom he deſpiſed equally for their corruption and ig-
norance. He quitted the command with a dignity of ſentiment, and contempt for the weak-
neſs of the republic, incapable of diſtinguiſhing true merit, that reflects more honour on his
memory than all the laurels of the greateſt conquerors.

*ALBERTO CARRARIO*, *Pietro Fontano*, *Alberto* and *Andrea Dandolo*, were appointed
to take the command of the army by turns; their ſucceſs againſt the enemy was conſidera-
ble, which diverted the public ſuſpicion from falling upon the provedatori, though their in- f
tegrity was doubted by perſons of penetration. The *Venetians* were divided into two bodies,
one of which was conducted by *Thaddeo Juſtiniano*: he was ſurpriſed by the enemy, and
Venetians *receive a ſlight defeat.* defeated after a vigorous reſiſtance and great ſlaughter of the *Paduans*, whoſe victory
conſiſted in remaining maſters of the field of battle. *Juſtiniano* retired into the *Treviſan*,
where he withſtood all the attacks of the enemy until he was reinforced.

A. D. 1374. ABOUT this time *Lewis* king of *Hungary* arrived to the aſſiſtance of *Franciſco Carrario* and
the *Paduans*, with a powerful army, which obliged the *Venetians* to act upon the defenſive,
until an opportunity of breaking and dividing the enemy ſhould offer. On this occaſion
the vigilance, activity, and conduct of *Delfino* the admiral, were greatly admired: he ſup-
plied himſelf with a number of light boats, came round the lakes, built and garriſoned g

[w] SABEL. l. 4. d. 1. BONITEN. Com. l. 3. BLOND. l. 9. d. 2. [x] Aut. cit. ibid. [y] SABEL. et BLOND. BONITEN. Com. l. 3. BLOND. Hiſt. l. 9. d. 2.

forts

a forts in ſuch a manner as greatly diſtreſſed and annoyed the enemy. A party could not come out of the camp to forage, but it was ſurpriſed by ſome of thoſe garriſons, the convoys of the enemy were cut off, and their army reduced to ſuch extremity as compelled them to a motion which afforded the *Venetians* the opportunity they long deſired. *Carrario* was obliged to march through ſome narrow defiles, woods, and marſhy grounds, of which the *Venetians* taking advantage, attacked him in places where it was impoſſible to draw out his army. *Pietro Fontano* commanded the republic's forces upon this occaſion, and acquired great glory by the refined ſtrokes of generalſhip which he diſplayed. No opportunity was loſt, nothing omitted which could poſſibly harraſs, break, or reduce the enemy. For the ſpace of a week continual actions and ſkirmiſhes paſſed, all terminating to his
b advantage: at length, when the enemy was fatigued, broken, and diſpirited, *Fontano* attacked them with all his forces, and gained a complete victory, killed two thouſand upon the ſpot, and made three thouſand priſoners [b]. Diviſions aroſe among the enemy; the *Paduans* blamed the *Carrarians*; the *Carrarians* ſhuffled the public odium on the *Hungarians*. *Marſi*, the brother of *Carrario*, offered his mediation to compoſe thoſe civil broils, which he foreſaw muſt ruin the common cauſe; but *Franciſco* continuing unalterable in his reſentment, he quitted the army, and ſought protection againſt the perſecuting temper of his brother at *Venice* [c].

*The* Venetians *defeat the enemy.*

*LEWIS* of *Hungary*, tired with his loſſes, determined upon a peace with the republic. *Carrario*, finding himſelf in danger of being deprived of ſo powerful an ally, began like-
c wiſe to reflect upon the conſequences of ſupporting a war ſingly againſt ſo powerful and warlike a people as the *Venetians*. Accordingly he ſent propoſals to the *Venetian* general, which were accepted, and afterwards ratified by the doge and ſenate. It was propoſed that the republic ſhould appoint five commiſſioners to fix the limits of the controverted territories; that the *Paduans* ſhould immediately, as an indemnification, pay forty thouſand crowns to the republic, and an annual tribute of fourteen thouſand crowns more for the term of fifteen years; that *Franciſco Carrario*, or his ſon, ſhould acknowlege his fault in preſence of the people, ſenate, and doge of *Venice*; that the caſtle of *Caranio*, with all its diſtricts, ſhould be ceded to the republic; that *Caſtlenuovo*, with all the forts round it, ſhould be
d razed, and never afterwards rebuilt; that *Marſilio* ſhould enjoy the profits of his eſtate, either to reſide in *Venice* or elſewhere, as he thought proper; that *Carrario* ſhould forthwith diſcharge his auxiliaries, and diſband his army; that he ſhould annually remit three hundred crowns to St. *Mark*'s church; that the *Paduans* ſhould not build within three miles of the mouth of any river in *Italy*: that they ſhould not maintain forts or garriſons; and laſtly, that they ſhould ſurrender up all the towns, villages, and lands, taken from the *Venetians* in the courſe of the war [d].

*Peace concluded.* A. D. 1375.

On theſe conditions, ſo glorious to the republic and eaſy to *Carrario*, conſidering the infamous means he had practiſed to ruin the *Venetian* conſtitution, murder the doge, and poiſon the ſenate, peace was reſtored. His ſon came to *Venice* to perform the articles, and aſk
e pardon for his father's offence: he was carried to St. *Mark*'s, where he ſolemnly ſwore to his father's acceptance of the conditions, expreſſed his contrition for the unprovoked injury offered the republic, and his firm reſolution to keep the peace ſacred and inviolable [e].

Monaſtery of Virgins *deſtroyed by fire.*

Soon after a fire deſtroyed the *Monaſtery of Virgins*, the moſt famous nunnery in *Venice*, in which a great number of young ladies of diſtinction periſhed, together with a great quantity of valuable effects, a prodigious ſum of money, and profuſion of rich plate.

A. D. 1377. Leopold *of* Auſtria *invades the* Treviſan.

Profound tranquility for the ſpace of three years ſucceeded theſe events; at the expiration of which a freſh war recommenced with *Leopold* duke of *Auſtria*, who without any previous complaint or declaration entered *Italy*, laid waſte the *Treviſan*, putting every thing to
f fire and ſword as far as the gates of *Treviſo*. The magiſtrates of the city ſent immediate notice to *Venice* of their danger; but the republic having in the late repoſe laid up her fleet, and diſbanded her army, was forced to ſolicit the neighbouring powers to ſuccour the *Treviſans*. Their requeſt was rejected, and the *Venetians* found themſelves under the neceſſity of relying upon their own vigour and ſtrength [f].

An army and ſquadron were got ready with all poſſible diſpatch, and aſſurances of ſpeedy aſſiſtance ſent to the *Treviſans*. All the *German* merchants in the *Venetian* ports were ſeized, and their ſhips and goods confiſcated. *Jacomo Caballa*, an old warrior, was appointed to command. As ſoon as the armament was complete he marched to *Treviſo*, at the ſame time that the fleet ſcoured the ſeas: the enemy abandoned the *Treviſan* upon his approach; but, purſu-

[b] Blond. l. 3. d. 1. Sabel. & Menta. uti ſupra. [c] Blond. & Sabell. uti ſupra. Boniten. Com. l. 3. Bodin. Blond. [d] Sabel. l. 5. d. 2. Blond. l. 1. d. 3. Etiam Boniten. uti ſupra. [e] Sansov. del v. p. Contar. [f] Blond. de g. V. Sabel. l. 5. d. 1.

Auſtrians *defeated.*

ing them, he obtained a complete victory on the banks of the river *Piava.* Thence marching to *Feltre* he deſtroyed the ſuburbs, and was about to inveſt the town, when he was informed of a ſtrong reinforcement *Leopold* had received, and of his intention to raiſe the ſiege. Upon this *Jacomo* determined to retreat towards the *Trevisan*, ſending his ſon with a detachment to ſeize upon the caſtle of *Baldina*, a place of ſome conſequence: *Leopold* having notice from his ſpies of *Jacomo*'s intention, laid an ambuſcade for young *Caballa*, which ſucceeding, the whole detachment were made priſoners. *Leopold* diſmiſſed them next day, on their parole that they would return if an immediate peace did not enſue, propoſals of which he ſent by them to *Jacomo*: *Lewis* king of *Hungary* acting as mediator, the propoſals were accepted, and peace confirmed [g]. a

*Peace with* Leopold.

*War with the* Genoeſe.

But *Lewis*, as if he had a mind to ſtrengthen the republic againſt himſelf, no ſooner rid her of this enemy, than he entered into an alliance with the *Genoeſe*, the *Carrarians*, and the biſhop of *Aquileia*, againſt the *Venetians*. The cauſe of the war was this: *Andronicus* having conſpired againſt the life of his father *Caloine*, emperor of *Greece*, was detected, convicted, blinded, and baniſhed to *Pera*, a *Genoeſe* ſettlement. *Caloine* had conceived a ſtrong friendſhip for the *Venetians*, in conſequence of which he complimented the merchants of the republic with ſeveral valuable and excluſive privileges. The *Genoeſe*, piqued at the preference given to the *Venetians*, reſolved to revenge themſelves by raiſing *Andronicus*, who had in ſome meaſure recovered his ſight, to the empire: for this purpoſe they ſent directions to *Pera* to ſet him at liberty. Agents were employed over the empire to form a party in his favour, and a ſtrong ſquadron and body of forces ſent to his immediate aſſiſtance. *Andronicus* was no ſooner releaſed than, agreeable to the inconſtancy of the eaſtern nations, he found himſelf at the head of a powerful faction, determined to diſpute the empire with *Caloine*. He ſent orders to the governor of *Tenedos* to ſurrender the iſland to the *Genoeſe*, propoſing thereby to ſecure a harbour and wintering for the fleet. This the governor refuſed, unleſs the order was counterſigned by the emperor. For further intelligence he ſent to *Conſtantinople*; and was directed by *Caloine* to put the iſland in the poſſeſſion of the *Venetians*, whoſe aſſiſtance he was then ſoliciting [h]. Thus *Tenedos* became the occaſion of this, as *Candia* had been of former wars between the republics. b c

*MARCO JUSTINIANO*, admiral of the gulph of *Venice*, having orders to receive *Tenedos* from the *Greek* governor, ſailed thither, put the iſland in a poſture of defence, appointed *Donato Troni* governor, and then convoyed a fleet of merchantmen to *Venice*. *Tenedos* was of the utmoſt conſequence to the commerce of *Genoa* and *Venice*; both had long endeavoured to acquire the poſſeſſion of the iſland, and now the ſucceſs of the latter rekindled their ancient animoſity, and occaſioned a bloody, tedious and deſtructive war [i]. d

Before war was declared between the republics, the *Genoeſe* ſeized upon *Lemnos*, in the name of *Andronicus*, and made priſoners of ſome *Venetian* merchants. Sailing from thence, they joined *Andronicus* with eleven gallies, and made directly for *Tenedos*; where, upon their arrival, they ſummoned *Troni* to ſurrender his truſt to the lawful emperor. But this demand being anſwered with a ſhower of arrows, *Andronicus* gave the aſſault with great fury, which *Troni* ſuſtained with ſo much bravery as defeated their efforts: then ſallying out with the whole garriſon, he ruſhed upon them with an impetuoſity ſo irreſiſtible, as made the *Genoeſe* and *Greeks* precipitately take to their ſhips, and relinquiſh the attempt. The number of ſlain and priſoners was great, and the booty conſiderable, as it included all the enemy's battering engines and camp materials [k]. e

War was now declared by the *Venetians* againſt the *Genoeſe*, *Lewis* of *Hungary*, the biſhop of *Aquileia*, and the *Carrarians*, a powerful confederacy, againſt which the republic endeavoured to employ an adequate force. For this purpoſe forty ſhips of war were equipped, and the command given to *Victor Piſani*, with *Barba* and *Loretani*, in quality of proveditors. *Victor* lay at anchor with his fleet at *Ancia*, when he received intelligence that the *Genoeſe*, under *Ludovico Fieſca*, approached: he inſtantly gave the proper directions for drawing up the fleet, animated the ſoldiers and mariners, and weighing anchor crowded ſail to meet the enemy. As ſoon as the *Genoeſe* admiral appeared, the whole *Venetian* fleet gave a chear, ominous of ſucceſs from the alacrity and ſpirit it indicated. Upon the near approach of the fleets, the ſky was in an inſtant darkened with a cloud of arrows; but this kind of fighting was ſoon laid aſide for the ſword and pike, the ſhips being driven upon each other by the tempeſtuouſneſs of the weather. Here they boarded each other, and an obſtinate battle continued for two hours, when the *Genoeſe* were obliged to yield to the bravery of the *Ve-* f

*Sea-fight between the* Venetians *and* Genoeſe.

A. D. 1378.

Genoeſe *defeated.*

[g] Ibid. Etiam Sansov. Venet. Cronic. Boniten. Com. l. 3. [h] Sabel. l. 5. d. 2. Blond. l. 1. d. 3: Carosin. apud Sabel. Boniten. l. 3. [i] Blond. uti ſupra. [k] Sabel. l. 5. d. 2.

a *netians*, four of their gallies only eſcaping, the reſt being either taken, ſunk, or deſtroyed: about two thouſand priſoners were made, and a greater number of the enemy ſlain. Nor was the victory purchaſed without blood on the ſide of the *Venetians*, they having loſt about ſix hundred men, ſeveral of whom were citizens of diſtinction. However, as the *Genoeſe* admiral, and the whole fleet, fell into *Piſani*'s hands, he the leſs regretted his loſs, although his ſon was among the number of the ſlain [l].

In the mean time the allies of *Genoa* had taken the field, entered, burnt, and deſtroyed the *Treviſan*; but failed in their attempt to ſurpriſe the city of *Treviſo*. The *Genoeſe* likewiſe ſurpriſed the city of *Famagoſta*, the richeſt maritime town in *Cyprus*, the king, the ally of the *Venetians*, having made his eſcape to *Milan*, where he married *Viſconti*'s daughter, and
b prevailed on the duke to aſſiſt the republic. The conditions of the treaty were, that the *Venetians*, with ten gallies, ſhould tranſport the king to *Cyprus*, and aſſiſt him in retaking *Famagoſta* from the *Genoeſe*: that on the other ſide *Viſconti* ſhould ſupply them with nine thouſand foot and one thouſand horſe, for the defence of their dominions on the continent; and the king grant them a certain ſubſidy, which we do not find ſpecified by hiſtorians [m].

Accordingly ten gallies were ſent with his majeſty, the harbour of *Famagoſta*, a number of ſhips, and ſome priſoners were taken. The town was then ſtormed, ſcaling ladders applied to the walls, and the ramparts mounted by the *Venetians*, when the *Cyprians* failing to ſupport them, and the *Genoeſe* attacking them vigorouſly in front with numbers greatly
c ſuperior, they were driven headlong to the ground with great ſlaughter. The *Genoeſe*, however, not purſuing the blow, the *Venetians* gained their ſhips without any farther loſs, and joined *Piſani*, who was ſteering his courſe to *Cartharra* [n].

This city belonged to *Lewis*, was ſtrongly fortified, and well ſupplied: *Piſani* ſummoned the governor, but he returned a haughty anſwer that only inflamed the *Venetians*. The troops being landed the city was inveſted, and in a few days all the outworks taken: then *Piſani* ordered a general aſſault, the walls were ſcaled, and the *Venetians* mounted the ramparts with a courage that daunted the enemy, though they ſtill endeavoured to maintain their ground; but in a ſhort time a flag of truce was hung out, and the governor ſurrendered at diſcretion: the booty was ſo conſiderable, that *Piſani* ſent ſix ſhips loaded with
d rich merchandize to *Venice*.

Cathara *taken by* Piſani.

Hearing that the *Genoeſe* fleet were ſteering towards *Dalmatia*, he directed his courſe to meet them, or, if he failed, to attack *Zara* and the coaſts. The two fleets came within view at *Tarentum*, and in appearance prepared for battle; but the *Genoeſe* admiral, perceiving *Piſani* to be well prepared, bore away with all the ſail he could make. *Piſani* gave chace as far as the coaſt of *Dalmatia*, where, fearing ſome deſign of the enemy, who were ſuperior to him, he waited for a reinforcement.

During theſe tranſactions at ſea the war was briſkly carried on by land: the *Venetians* had taken *Saligetta*, a city belonging to *Gerardo Caminenſis*, who had joined the league againſt the republic: *Ceſalta*, and ſeveral other towns they burnt, ruined, or diſmantled.
e *Carrario*, on the other hand, was not idle; having joined the patriarch of *Aquileia*, their forces amounted to ſixteen thouſand men, with which army they inveſted the city *Meſtra*. To deprive the beſieged of all ſuccour, ſtrong detachments were ſent to block up every path by which the *Venetians* could march; but *Nicholao Galliano* and *Hico Piſani* being detached with a ſtrong corps to attempt the relief of the beſieged, they forced a paſſage, and ſo ſucceſsfully haraſſed the enemy's out-guards and camp, being at the ſame time ſupported by briſk and ſeaſonable ſallies from the town, that *Carrario* was compelled to raiſe the ſiege with ſome precipitation, leaving behind a great part of his baggage [o].

*War carried on by land.*

*PISANI* was on his way to *Trahu* in queſt of the *Genoeſe* fleet: coming paſt *Sicco*, he ſtopped to ſummon the fortreſs, the governor of which replied, that the *Venetians* muſt uſe
f more powerful arguments than menaces before they became maſters of the place. This anſwer being reported to *Piſani* he ordered an aſſault, the walls were ſcaled, and the fortreſs taken in the ſpace of a few hours, with prodigious ſlaughter of the garriſon. Loaded with priſoners, ſpoil, and rich booty, *Piſani* proceeded in his courſe to *Trahu*, ſending a galley to *Venice* with the news of the taking of *Sicco*, and the ſcarcity of proviſions in his fleet. The *Genoeſe* had ſtrongly blocked up both the channels leading to the harbour of *Trahu*, which foiled all the attempts of *Piſani* to come to an engagement: he therefore landed his troops at ſome diſtance from the city, marching them up along the coaſt, and attacked it with great intrepidity; but the garriſon was ſo numerous, and the want of proviſions ſo great in his camp, that he was conſtrained to raiſe the ſiege, with the loſs of ſeven hundred men, and

Sicco *taken by* Piſani.

[l] Blond. l. 1. d. 3. Sabel. l. 5. d. 2. Carosin. apud Sabel. [m] Ibid. Etiam Boniten. Com. [n] Sabel. l. 5. d. 2. [o] Carosin. apud Sabel. Blond. d. 3. l. 1. Carosin. apud Sabel. Boniten. Com. l. 3.

retire to *Zara*. From hence he ſent ten gallies to *Albania* to ſummon the garriſon to ſurrender, with which they immediately complied, fearing the fate of *Sicco* and *Catharra*. a

*Famine in* Piſani's *fleet.*

In the mean time the doge and ſenate, hearing of the retreat from *Trahu*, and of the famine in the fleet, ſent five gallies with proviſions, and orders to *Piſani* to return to *Trahu*, and either ſtarve or force the garriſon to ſurrender. *Piſani*, in obedience to his orders, made a ſecond attempt, much againſt his inclination, which proving unſucceſsful he ſailed to *Iſtria*, and there expected orders either to winter or return with the fleet to *Venice*. The former was the reſolution of the republic, and a pernicious one in effect; for the cold was ſo extreme, and the dearth ſo great, that not half the crews ſurvived the winter. In the ſpring a reinforcement of eleven gallies, and great ſtore of proviſion and ammunition were ſent: this ſupply enabled *Piſani* to put to ſea early: but he was ſcarce a day's ſailing from the coaſt, b

A. D. 1379.

when a terrible ſtorm diſperſed the fleet. The admiral, however, had the good fortune to unite the fleet on the coaſt of *Apulia*, where in a few days he deſcried the *Genoeſe* ſquadron, conſiſting of fifteen gallies. Orders were immediately iſſued to give chaſe, and in the evening the *Venetians* were near enough to engage the enemy, who not chuſing to hazard a battle diſperſed themſelves and bore away. *Piſani*, however, fell in with a part of the ſquadron, and forced an engagement, in which the *Genoeſe* admiral was killed by an arrow, and ſeveral ſhips taken.

Piſani *defeated.*

This good fortune did not continue long; for he was defeated by the *Genoeſe*, with the loſs of a great part of his fleet. *Piſani* fought with all imaginable courage and conduct; but he fell into an ambuſcade laid by the enemy, through which he would have made his c

Piſani *impriſoned.*

way, had he not baſely been deſerted by five of his gallies. He was recalled by the doge and ſenate, mulcted in a ſum of money, and the captains of the gallies heavily fined and impriſoned. The people, who adored the generoſity and bravery of *Piſani*, murmured greatly at his unmerited puniſhment: they had publicly declared that envy rather than the public good actuated the ſenators; that many attempts had been made to ruin the glory of this hero, whoſe character was too exalted to be regarded with candor by narrow minds.

While the republic was thus divided, the *Genoeſe* reaped the fruits of her diſſentions. *Caorli* and *Grada* fell into their hands; the *Venetian* trade, protected only by ſix gallies under *Zeno*, ſuffered conſiderably, ſeveral of the richeſt merchant-men having been taken. *Paleſtrina* the *Genoeſe* took by aſſault, and they were now beſieging *Chioggia*, after having al- d

Chioggia *taken.*

ready deſtroyed the ſuburbs, and ſeized upon *Little Chioggia*. The garriſon made ſo many vigorous ſallies, and diſputed every inch of ground with ſuch obſtinacy, that the enemy were obliged to quit the ſiege. They ſoon after returned, and took the city by ſurprize, putting the whole garriſon to the ſword, except *Hemo* the governor, and about fifty officers, who retiring into the palace, defended it ſo bravely, that the *Genoeſe* were glad to grant them an honourable capitulation. The ſlaughter here was prodigious, no leſs than ſeven thouſand citizens and ſoldiers were ſlain during the ſiege, and near an equal number made priſoners [p]. *Carrario*, we are told, aſſiſted at the taking of this important city, and behaved with all the cruelty and inſolence of a tyrant unuſed to conqueſt: ſome of the priſoners of the firſt diſtinction he ordered to be whipt almoſt to death, and afterwards hanged; others e

were barbarouſly maimed and confined to dungeons upon bread and water. In every inſtance he gratified his natural diſpoſition, and ſatiated his revenge by the moſt wanton, ſavage, and inhuman cruelty.

When the news of this loſs, and the maſſacre of the priſoners, arrived at *Venice*, the people roſe up in the moſt tumultuous manner, threatened the doge and ſenate, and refuſed to enliſt themſelves for the defence of a city in which they ſaid they were ſlaves to caprice, ignorance, and cowardice: they were not to be appeaſed by any authority, until *Piſani* was ſet at liberty, whom they looked upon as the bulwark of the republic, and the only prop able

A. D. 1380.

to ſtay the falling ſtate [q]. This report being carried to the palace ſoon produced a reſolu-

Piſani *reſtored to his former employments.*

tion to releaſe him: an order was accordingly ſent to priſon to make him free, and reſtore f

him to his former employments. The joy of the people was extreme; nothing but ſhouting, bonfires, and demonſtrations of gladneſs were to be ſeen or heard: the tide of paſſion run ſo ſtrong, that the influence of *Piſani* was equally neceſſary to moderate their joy, as his liberty had been to appeaſe their reſentment. When he came forth from his priſon, the tumult, noiſe, and diſturbance redoubled; the whole city flocked together to behold the ſuffering hero; every one preſſed with an eagerneſs to touch him, inſomuch that *Piſani*, who had juſt been delivered from the hatred of the ſenate, was near falling a ſacrifice to the love of the people: at length, getting poſſeſſion of a little eminence, he addreſſed the crowd with a dignity ſo commanding, and an eloquence ſo perſuaſive, that upon his promiſe to accept of their ſervices, which they ſo earneſtly preſſed, they ſeparated and retired [r]. *Piſani* then returned to his priſon, where he ſpent the night with his confeſſor: on the morning

[p] Boniten. uti ſupra. Sabel. et Blond. ibid. [q] Boniten. Comment. l. 3. [r] Chinat. Hiſt. apud Sabel. Blond. Flav. l. 1. d. 3.

a he went to the palace to maſs, and to receive the ſacrament; then he waited upon the ſenate, and threw himſelf at the doge's feet, who raiſing him up addreſſed him thus: "You were im-
" priſoned, *Victor*, by our orders, for the loſs ſuſtained by the republic at *Pola*, under your
" conduct; you are releaſed that you may repair the diſgrace. Reſtrain your fire, exert
" your judgment, and uſe caution, without which the greateſt virtues in a general are but
" ſplendid vices, which often terminate in his own ſhame, and the ruin of his country.
" Go! and may you prove equally the terror of her enemies, as you are the darling of the
" republic[s]." *Piſani* anſwered with modeſty, took his leave, and then retired to his own houſe, where he was crowded by the citizens, entreating him to enter their names for the ſervice, to accept of their fortunes to equip the fleet, and their lives to fight for him and
b their country. In the ſpace of three days ſix gallies were rigged, manned, and ready to put to ſea. *Piſani* then held a conference with the principal officers, in which it was determined that a ſtrong brick wall ſhould be run croſs the mouth of the haven, each end fortified with a tower, well garriſoned, to prevent the entrance of the *Genoeſe*, whom they every day expected. Several other works were raiſed round the city by *Piſani*'s advice, and the charge of the whole committed to *Caballa*, an eminent ſoldier[t] (A).

*Zeal of the people.*

DURING theſe preparations a number of adventurers, in ſmall boats, made incurſions up the channels leading to *Chioggia*, ſurpriſed a number of *Genoeſe* traders, and intirely blocked the city up on that quarter. The garriſon, apprehending that a ſcarcity of proviſions would enſue, if a ſtop was not put to theſe proceedings, ſent notice of their ſituation to *Do-*
c *ria*, the *Genoeſe* admiral; upon which he came with a ſtrong ſquadron to *Malamoc*, built a fort there, and landed his troops on the oppoſite ſide to beſiege *Poveggia*. As ſoon as the *Venetians* were acquainted with the enemy's approach, they ſhut up the channels towards *Chioggia*, by ſinking large ſhips in the narroweſt paſſages: here daily skirmiſhes paſſed between the light boats of each ſide, while *Juſtiniano*, who commanded five gallies, ſo annoyed the workmen at *Malamoc*, that they were unable to proceed in building the fort. Brisk encounters happened almoſt every day upon ſhore, in which *Caballa* had always the advantage over the enemy, both from his military abilities, and from the courage of his troops: however, the people were diſſatisfied, they complained of being pent up by an enemy they had often conquered in the field and upon the ocean; an enemy, who but a little before
d was not in poſſeſſion even of a retreat to ſculk in from their victorious arms; they demanded a general action, which might at once bring either death or liberty; they were equally ſanguine in their hopes, and ignorant of the means of obtaining victory. The doge and ſenate were pleaſed to ſee this forward humour of the people, and, to indulge them, ordered a fleet of forty gallies to be got ready. Some authors affirm, that ſo great was the alacrity with which the people enrolled themſelves, and the artificers worked, that thirty-four ſail were complete for action, and well manned, in the ſpace of a week[u]. Prince *Contareni* took upon himſelf the command, appointed the officers, ſaw the troops diſciplined, and the rowers inſtructed in their duty: by this means he hoped not only to appeaſe the people until the arrival of *Zeno*, who was ſoon expected with twenty ſail, but by that time to breed up ſoldiers
e and mariners fit to diſpute victory with the enemy.

*New works raiſed to oppoſe the* Genoeſe.

Venice *blocked up by the* Genoeſe.

DURING theſe tranſactions at *Venice*, *Charles*, ſon of *Lewis* of *Hungary*, ſat down before *Treviſo* with an army of fourteen thouſand men: here commiſſioners were ſent by the republic to treat of a peace, it being reported that *Charles* had full powers from his father to negociate one upon any terms he thought fit: *Carrario* prince of *Padua*, and the *Genoeſe* ambaſſadors came likewiſe to the camp. When the *Venetian* commiſſioners had their audience, the terms propoſed were ſo hard, unreaſonable, and ſervile, that they determined to hazard all rather than comply with them. Breaking off the conference abruptly, they returned home and acquainted the republic with the extravagant conditions propoſed, which excited a ſpirit of reſentment in every breaſt, from the doge down to the meaneſt plebeian: this, and the
f ſcarcity of proviſions which began to prevail, made the people ſo eager to engage, that the doge thought it dangerous longer to reſtrain their impetuoſity[w]. A decree was now publiſhed, entitling thirty of thoſe who ſhould beſt ſupply the fleet with money and proviſions, to the privileges of ſenators, and the rank of nobility, which honour ſhould deſcend to their poſterity: five thouſand crowns were farther decreed to be yearly diſtributed to thoſe who by ſmaller ſervices ſhould diſtinguiſh their liberality and affection for the republic.

THE *Genoeſe* having notice of the great preparations in the city thought fit to raiſe the ſiege, and retire to *Chioggia*, from whence they could deprive it of all ſuccour by ſea or land, and thus ſtarve the *Venetians* into ſubmiſſion. Intelligence being received in *Venice* of their

*The ſiege of the city raiſed.*

[r] SABEL. l. 5. d. 2. [t] SABEL. ibid. BLOND. ibid. Etiam BONITEN. uti ſupra. [u] BLOND. de g. V.
[w] Ibid. vid. CAROSIN. apud SABEL. et BONITEN. uti ſupra.

(A) *Sabellicus* informs us, that thoſe works remained in his time; and *Sanſovino* ſpeaks as if he had ſeen them.

intention,

intention, *Victor Piſani* p:opoſed to moleſt them in their retreat: for this purpoſe he lay concealed in the night, with three hundred ſmall boats, in a bay near the enemy, with intention to attack them next morning while they were buſied in deſtroying *Malamoc*, and breaking up their camp; but his deſign being diſcovered, a great number of gallies bore down upon him, which produced a ſharp action, to the diſadvantage of *Piſani*, who was quite expoſed to the enemy's arrows: he retreated in the beſt manner he was able, leaving the victory undiſputed to the enemy [x]. a

ALL this time *Carolo Zeno* was laying waſte the *Genoeſe* dominions to the very gates of the city, taking their ſhips, and ruining their trade, without a thought of the diſtreſs to which his country was reduced in his abſence. On advice of the ſiege he immediately crowded ſail; but before his arrival *Venice* was ſo much diſtreſſed, that the doge reſolved to run all hazards for its relief. Sailing with twenty gallies, he beat off the ſhips poſted for the defence of the harbour of *Chioggia*, and then ſunk ſome large ſhips to prevent the enemy from coming out to cut off the convoys. When the *Venetian* troops were landed, an action enſued with the enemy, who advanced from *Chioggia* to give them battle; but the latter was ſo ſtrongly ſupported by freſh troops, that the *Venetians* were forced to quit the field with precipitation and take to their ſhips: the doge, undaunted with this defeat, ſent *Cornaro* to block up the paſſages to *Chioggia* by *Brondelli*, which was effected without the loſs of a man, although the enemy endeavoured to prevent it: thus the *Genoeſe* in *Chioggia* were as cloſely beſet as the *Venetians* lately had been. Several battles were fought in the haven, in moſt of which the *Venetians* were victorious [y]. b

*A party of the* Venetians *defeated.*

NOTWITHSTANDING this advantage, the troops, pinched with cold and hunger, began to murmur, to appeaſe which the authority of the doge and credit of *Piſani* were ſcarce ſufficient, when *Zeno* unexpectedly arrived, to the great joy of the fleet. The ſenate had no ſooner deſcried him from the ſhore, than they ſent him orders to join the prince at *Chioggia* without ſlackening ſail. The public ſatisfaction was greatly encreaſed when it was known he had ſunk about ſixty, and taken near three hundred of the enemy's ſhips, ſome of them richly laden [z]. c

Now the *Genoeſe* were cloſely inveſted, and their ſole endeavour was to contrive the means of eſcape; for this purpoſe ſeveral feints were made, and at length a ſally, which terminated in a general engagement, where both ſides fought with extreme bravery and conduct. At laſt the *Genoeſe* were totally defeated and driven back within their walls, with the loſs of three thouſand men killed and taken, among which was *Doria* the admiral, and ſeveral of their beſt officers [a]. Next day *Piſani* took, burnt, or ſunk ten gallies, which were placed for the defence of the paſs of *Brondelli*, which the beſieged had recovered a little before the late action. The enemy were now ſo cloſely inveſted, that no hopes of eſcaping or relief remained but from *Genoa*. d

*The* Genoeſe *defeated.*

THEY had made ſome overtures to ſurrender the town, which were rejected by the doge, when they received intelligence of a powerful fleet's being under ſail for their relief: this gave the beſieged freſh courage, and ſeveral ſallies were made with doubtful ſucceſs. Famine, however, pinched ſo ſeverely that, quite ſpent with fatigue, and worn out with hunger, they ſent ambaſſadors to the doge to ſolicit that they might be allowed the common privileges of priſoners of war. Their requeſt was granted, and articles ſigned; upon which the *Venetians* took poſſeſſion of *Chioggia*, after it had been in the hands of the *Genoeſe* for above a year [b]. e

THUS *Venice* was delivered from a ſiege in which it had ſuffered all the miſeries of want, civil diſcord, and defeats, for the ſpace of nine months. It was remarkable that both cities were in a manner blocked up at the ſame time. The *Genoeſe* cut off all communication with the continent from *Venice*, and reduced it to great ſtraits, at the very time when themſelves were blocked up and brought to the utmoſt extremity in *Chioggia*.

A. D. 1380. Bebia *taken.*

THE doge, willing to purſue his good fortune, ſent a detachment to beſiege *Bebia*, thereby to open a communication for the merchants of the republic to trade into *Lombardy*. It was taken after a tedious ſiege, and the garriſon made priſoners. f

IN the mean time the *Iſtrians* revolted, at the ſolicitation of the *Forlians*, and put themſelves under the protection of the *Genoeſe*. The capital having firſt taken arms ſeized on the palace, on the perſon of the governor, and on all the *Venetians* reſiding in the city, whom they plundered and impriſoned. The doge had juſt returned to *Venice*, after ſettling the affairs of *Chioggia*, when intelligence of this rebellion was received: the ſame day came the news of the *Iſtrians* having delivered up the forts to be garriſoned by *Genoeſe*, which encreaſed the people's uneaſineſs. The enemy's ſtrength immediately ſuggeſted to the *Venetians* the difficulty of recovering ſo valuable a province: however, the doge and ſenate were not diſcouraged, but began to make all poſſible preparations for recovering their loſs. g

Iſtrians *revolt.*

[x] BLOND. l. 2. d. 3. Etiam de geſt. Venet. [y] SABEL. l. 6. d. 2. BONITEN. l. 3. [z] SABEL. ibid. BLOND. l. 2. d. 3. [a] Aut. citat. [b] BONITEN. l. 3. BLOND. de g. V. SANSOV. delle v. di Cont. p. 226.

a In the mean time farther advice was received, that the *Genoeſe* had reſtored it to the patriarch of *Aquileia*, after they were defeated in their attempt to reduce the ſtrong fortreſs of *Piana*, and the little town of *Parenza*: they were likewiſe informed of the ſucceſs of the enemy at *Pola*, which city they had taken, plundered, and laid in aſhes [c]. This intelligence quickened the preparations at *Venice*, and made the army paſs ſooner into *Iſtria* than at firſt was intended. Upon the arrival of the *Venetians* at *Pola* the enemy retired to *Zara*, whither *Piſani* did not think proper to purſue them at that time: he ſent *Delfino* and *Maripietro*, with two gallies, to examine the condition of *Cap-Iſtria*, the firſt city which had revolted. Under favour of the night they broke down a bridge, which the patriarch of *Aquileia* had built between the city and the continent, by which means it was cut off from all ſuccours. In the
b morning the two gallies were joined by a ſquadron the admiral had ſent to reinforce them, upon which the attack began upon the town: it was conducted with ſo much reſolution that the garriſon ſued for quarter, ſubmitting themſelves at diſcretion: four hundred priſoners were made, the houſes of the *Forlians* plundered and deſtroyed, and the city committed to the care of the original inhabitants, ſupported by ſome companies of *Venetians* [d].

Cap-Iſtria *taken by the* Venetians.

THE *Genoeſe* were not idle in the mean time; they ſailed to *Scardona*, and, after a tedious ſiege, forced the city *Arbo* to ſurrender. *Chinatius* tells us, that ſo ſtrong was the fidelity of the inhabitants to the *Venetians*, that they ſupported all the hardſhips of a cruel famine, living for a great while on the moſt nauſeous animals: their bravery was generouſly rewarded with liberty by the *Genoeſe*, upon their promiſe not to moleſt the garriſon.

c ABOUT this time the *Paduans* laid ſiege to *Treviſo*, which was ſoon reduced to great extremities, all the paſſages by which the garriſon could receive ſuccour having been cloſely blocked up by *Carrario*. Two days were employed by the *Venetians* in attempting to force the enemy's works, during which they paſſed continual engagements: at laſt the enterprize was dropt, and the fleet returned with the loſs of a great number of men, although it was thought it did not equal the number of ſlain among the enemy. The ſcarcity of proviſions was now ſo great within the town, that a meaſure of wheat ſold for five crowns, and every other article of food at a proportionable price; yet the garriſon was reſolved to hold out to the laſt, although they were deſerted by numbers of the townſmen, who eſcaped to *Venice* [e]. The republic finding it impoſſible to ſuccour the beſieged, and fearing that it muſt ſhortly
d fall into the enemy's hands, thought of delivering it up to the duke of *Auſtria*, who might perhaps be induced by ſo valuable an acquiſition to make war in favour of the *Venetians*. Commiſſioners for this purpoſe were ſent to treat with him, which coming to the knowledge of the garriſon the ſoldiers began to mutiny: long arrears were due to them on account of the low ſtate of the *Venetian* exchequer; they demanded that either the governor, or one of the proveditors ſhould go to *Venice*, and repreſent their grievances to the doge and ſenate, aſſuring him that they might be implicitly relied on during his abſence. *Dandolo* was forced to comply, and the ſenate found means to raiſe their pay, which was remitted by the governor, and the mutineers appeaſed [f].

Paduans *beſiege* Treviſo.

*LEOPOLD* of *Auſtria* accepted the propoſals made to him, and accordingly ſent a detach-
e ment to take poſſeſſion of *Treviſo*, imagining the *Paduans* and *Carrario* would raiſe the ſiege when they were informed it belonged to a neutral prince: but being diſappointed in this expectation, he marched into *Italy* with a body of ten thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe to its relief. *Buccenairo*, *Carrario*'s brother, who commanded the ſiege, hearing of his approach, ſent ambaſſadors to treat with him. Theſe the duke refuſed to ſee, contenting himſelf with acquainting them by a ſervant, that he would next day talk to their maſter. This haughty meſſage being reported to *Buccenairo*, he inſtantly broke up his camp, and retired from *Treviſo*, not being in a condition to ſtand an engagement. Thus was *Treviſo* delivered from a ſiege, and the *Venetians* deprived of their beſt city and province upon the continent [g].

*Siege raiſed.*

f DURING this ſiege *Piſani* died as he lay with the fleet at *Manfredonia*. This great man was lamented as the protector and father of the people; he was ſo much beloved, that had not his moderation and prudence been equal to his other virtues, he might have been taken from priſon to be ſeated upon a throne, with abſolute power in *Venice*. *Piſani* was no leſs diligent in avoiding honours than others in acquiring them: he ſerved his country, gained the love of the people, and the eſteem of all men, from a principle of duty, and a natural ſweetneſs of diſpoſition. His bravery, his generoſity, and his popularity, had incurred the jealouſy of the ſenate; but his modeſty, his zeal for the republic, and his patriot ſpirit, ſoon made converts of thoſe who were moſt deſirous of his ruin. At his death he was equally beloved, eſteemed, and regretted by the doge, the ſenate, and the people. His

*Death of* Piſani.

[c] BLOND. l. 3. d. 3. SABEL. l. 7. d. 2. BONITEN. Com. l. 4. [d] MONT. apud SABEL. [e] CAROSIN. Hiſt. p. 83. BLOND. l. 4. d. 3. [f] SABEL. l. 7. d. 2. BLOND. l. 4. d. 3. BONITEN. Comment. l. 3. SANSOV. del. v. p: [g] Aut. cit.

body was carried to *Venice*, and interred with great pomp at the public expence, attended by the doge in perſon, all the nobility in mourning, and crowds of common people: an honour never before conferred upon a private citizen. Hardly an eye in *Venice*, ſays *Sabellicus*, but wept, or a breaſt but heaved with ſighs; never were funeral obſequies performed with grief more ſincere, more deſerving, or more general, *Piſani* being at the ſame time the child, the friend, and the patron of his country [h]. a

*The* Venetian *fleet takes ſeveral towns.*

*LODOVICO LORETANO*, as the next in rank in the fleet, taking upon him the command, immediately ſteered for the coaſt of *Livornia*. Here by aſſault he took and deſtroyed the towns of *Senia* and *Breſcia*, carrying off ſome rich booty. At the report of his approach, the *Goretani* ſubmitted to the republic, and ſent their biſhop on board the admiral, to requeſt that their city might be ſaved from the ravages of the ſoldiers; with which *Loretano* complied. Upon his arrival at *Pola*, he was acquainted, by letters from the ſenate, that *Carolo Zeno* was appointed to the command; which inſpired the fleet with the utmoſt joy, *Zeno*, next to *Piſani*, being the moſt popular as well as the moſt deſerving general of the republic. b

*Zeno made admiral.*

The finances of the republic were now entirely exhauſted, ſeveral garriſons had mutinied, and ſome revolted, for want of their pay. This induced the doge and ſenate to think of a peace; for this purpoſe *Amadeus*, duke of *Savoy*, was ſolicited to become mediator between the *Carrarians* and the republic. A negociation enſued; but hoſtilities were ſtill carried on by both parties. *Zeno*, upon the coaſt of *Dalmatia*, met a fleet of twelve *Genoeſe* ſhips, which he took, ſunk, and deſtroyed. Soon after he fell in with a rich merchantman near the *Morea*; this he ſent into *Candia*. Next day he got ſight of the *Genoeſe* grand fleet, to which he gave chace for the whole day: at night he loſt the enemy, and put in next morning to *Ancona*, where he left ten gallies for the defence of the city: with the reſt he reſolved to ravage the *Genoeſe* dominions, where he narrowly eſcaped falling into an ambuſcade. Coaſting along the ſhore two gallies were ſent to water, who diſcovering twenty-four *Genoeſe* gallies lying upon their oars, in a creek covered by a woody mountain, returned with immediate intelligence to *Zeno*. The admiral put his fleet in order of battle, expecting the enemy; but as their intention was to attack him unprepared, they made the beſt of their way towards *Livornia*, *Zeno* purſuing for two days, until he loſt ſight of them [i]. c

Cap-Iſtria *taken by the* Genoeſe.

In *Zeno*'s abſence another *Genoeſe* fleet attacked *Cap-Iſtria*, and in the ſpace of two days compelled the garriſon to ſurrender at diſcretion.

*Peace concluded.*

At laſt, by the good offices of *Amadeus* a general peace was concluded ſix years and four months after hoſtilities had firſt commenced, and four years after the declaration of war: the conditions were, that the priſoners ſhould mutually be releaſed; that *Carrario* ſhould reſtore all the cities, towns, and forts taken from the *Venetians* during the war; that the diſpute between the *Paduans* and the republic about their boundaries ſhould be left to the arbitration of *Alberto D'Æſte*; that the *Venetians* ſhould withdraw their garriſon from *Tenedos*, and put the iſland for two years into the hands of *Amadeus*, to be ſupported at the reciprocal expence of the two republics; that at the expiration of that term the fort ſhould be razed, the iſland reſtored to the empire, both parties for ever renouncing their claims; that neither republic ſhould trade to the river *Tanais*; that the *Venetians* ſhould pay to *Lewis* a ſubſidy of one thouſand crowns for ten years, as an equivalent for his ſuppreſſing pirates in *Dalmatia*, and preventing the manufacture of ſalt among the *Sclavonians* and *Dalmatians*. Theſe conditions being ſigned by all parties, *Amadeus* and the *Florentines* taking upon them to be guarantees of the treaty, peace was proclaimed in the dominions of each ſtate, and notified to all the other potentates of *Europe*. The priſoners on both ſides were in a deplorable ſituation, above two thirds having periſhed from the filth and ſtench of the jails; the remainder were ſickly, half-ſtarved, and quite naked. The *Venetian* matrons made a collection, to a conſiderable amount, to cloath the *Genoeſe* priſoners, and defray their expences home; an act of generoſity which, we are told by the *Venetian* writers, was by no means imitated at *Genoa* [k]. There the priſoners were turned out, loaded with diſeaſe, famiſhed, and naked, ſuffered to beg their way home, and, what was ſtill more barbarous, reviled, buffeted, and abuſed through the ſtreets. d e f

A. D. 1381. This year, according to *Sanſovino*, died *Contareni* the doge, after he had governed the ſtate for fifteen years and four months. *Sabellicus*, and the other hiſtorians we conſult, place his death the year after the concluſion of the peace; but *Sanſovino*'s account beſt accords with the chronology of the doges. *Andrea Contareni* was a man of ſtrong natural talents, rough, and unpoliſhed; of a ſaturnine, ſevere, and moroſe temper; which diſpoſition, the misfortune of being involved in a tedious and dangerous war encreaſed: he was, however, a good prince, who commanded the eſteem without ever gaining or even affecting the love of his ſubjects [l].

[h] Sabel. Blond. ibid. [i] Cainat. Hiſt. Sabel. l. 7. d. 2. [k] Morosini. p. 8. Sabel. l. 7. d. 2.
[l] Sansov. delle v. p. Sabel. l. 6, 7. d. 2.

SECT.

a

## SECT. IV.

*Containing the Rebellion of* Tenedos; *the Renewal of the War with* Carrario *and the* Genoſe; *Tranſactions with the Duke of* Milan; *the Siege of* Padua; *and other Particulars.*

### *MICHELI MOROSINI,* Doge LXI.

*CONTARENI* was ſucceeded by *Micheli*, or *Michael Moroſini*, a prince well qualified for promoting the arts of peace, filling the exhauſted exchequer, and reviving induſtry and commerce, which had long languiſhed almoſt to extinction under the laſt adminiſtration; but the republic was robbed by death of this valuable governor, after a ſhort ſway of four months. We are told, that in this time ſeveral excellent laws were framed, and regulations eſtabliſhed, under the auſpices of *Moroſini*; but hiſtory does not deſcend to particulars [a]. Micheli Moroſini *doge* LXI.

b

### *ANTONIO VENIERO,* Doge LXII.

*ANTONIO VENIERO*, much eſteemed for his intregity, lenity, and gentle diſpoſition, was the next perſon promoted to fill the ducal chair. At this time he was governor of *Candia*, from whence he was recalled, to the great grief of the inhabitants, who enjoyed under him the moſt peaceable, flouriſhing, and happy government they had ever experienced [b]. Antonio Veniero, *doge* LXII.

c THE preceding year, as ſoon as peace was proclaimed, the republic ſent *Pantaleon Barba* to *Tenedos*, with orders to *Mutatio* the governor to ſurrender the forts to *Bonifacio*, the commiſſioner from *Savoy*. The *Genoeſe* agent was gone there to ſee the performance of this article of the treaty, and to pay the *Genoeſe* quota of arrears due to the garriſon. *Mutatio* having received the money from *Barba* and the *Genoeſe*, for the payment of the troops, told *Bonifacio* and the other commiſſioners, "That the inhabitants were incenſed at that article Tenedos *revolts.*
"of the peace which ſtipulated that their fort ſhould be razed at the expiration of two years,
"a circumſtance which would be the ruin of the iſland: that finding their intereſt neglected
"by the *Venetians*, and themſelves ſacrificed to political principles, it was their determi-
d "nation to take care of what concerned them ſo nearly, and to put it out of the power of
"*Venice*, *Genoa*, or any other ſtate, to transfer them at pleaſure: that for this purpoſe the
"inhabitants had appointed him for the protector of their liberties, which he and they were
"determined to defend with the laſt drop of their blood. He, therefore, charged *Bonifacio*
"and the commiſſioners inſtantly to depart the iſland, as they valued their lives, and not
"offer to diſpute what was already reſolved [c]." *Bonifacio* was thunderſtruck at this diſcourſe; but the *Genoeſe* commiſſioner attributed the whole to the contrivance of the *Venetians*, who had taken this method to equivocate and fruſtrate the intention of the late treaty. The reſolutions of the ſenate ſoon convinced the *Genoeſe* of the falſity of their agent's ſuggeſtions, *Zeno* being ſent to *Tenedos* to uſe arguments, menaces, and even force, to compel *The ſenate reſolves to reduce* Tenedos.
e the iſlanders to the performance of an article which affected the honour and public faith of the republic. *Zeno*'s arguments were ineffectual, and his ſtrength too inconſiderable: *Fontano Georgio* was therefore diſpatched to *Tenedos* with a fleet and army. On his arrival he immediately inveſted and battered the fort: frequent ſallies were made from within, ſcarcely a day paſſing without ſome bloody action. It was obſerved, that both ſides fought with more bitterneſs and enmity than common enemies: the priſoners were inſtantly hanged, or thrown inſtead of ſtones out of the *baliſtæ* and other military engines [d]. In ſhort, the natural animoſity between the *Greeks* and *Italians*, as well as that rancour peculiar to civil wars, were here exerted in their full force. After the ſiege had continued without interruption for ſeven months, famine prevailing within the fort, a flag of truce was waved from
f the garriſon, and the following articles agreed to and ſigned: that neither *Mutatio* nor the inhabitants ſhould be puniſhed for the detention of the iſland; that they ſhould be ſuffered to depart with their jewels, gold, and effects; that thoſe who choſe it ſhould have land aſſigned to them in *Candia* of equal value with what they poſſeſſed in *Tenedos*; and laſtly, that ſuch as preferred reſiding at *Conſtantinople* or elſewhere, ſhould receive the juſt value of their lands and immoveable effects. The *Venetians* had no ſooner taken poſſeſſion than they razed the fort, and executed every article of the treaty [e].

THE firſt act of *Veniero*'s government was exerted againſt his own ſon, who had carried on an intrigue for ſome time with a ſenator's wife. The lovers at laſt quarrelling, *Lodovico*, (ſo he was called) to revenge himſelf on his miſtreſs, procured a pair of horns to be hung
g over the ſenator's door, a reproach not to be forgiven in *Venice*. Inquiry being made, *Lodovico* was found guilty of affronting a ſenator, and impriſoned by his father, where he died. Some blamed the inflexibility of the parent, while others commended the impar-

[a] SANSOV. ibid. [b] SABELL. ibid. BLOND. l. 4. d. 3. [c] SABEL. l. 8. d. 2. [d] BLOND. l. 5. d. 3. SABEL. ibid. [e] BLOND. de g. V. idem in Hiſt. l. 5. d. 3. SABEL. l. 8. d. 2.

tiality

tiality of the doge; in this they were unanimous, that the rigidity of the ſentence ſtrongly characterized the judge. a

*War with* Carrario.

*GALEAS VISCONTI* and *Franciſco Carrario* came about this time to an open rupture. *Viſconti* laid cloſe ſiege to *Padua*, in which he was aſſiſted by the *Venetians:* the republic, beſides fitting out four hundred light boats, ſeized upon all the forts, caſtles, and towns belonging to *Carrario*, upon the lakes and great rivers. *Viſconti* having forced *Padua* to ſurrender, took all the other cities and forts within the juriſdiction of the city, and then inveſted *Treviſo*, which after a bloody ſiege ſurrendered upon honourable conditions. Of theſe conqueſts *Viſconti* claimed to himſelf *Padua*, *Feltre*, and *Belluna*; the *Treviſan*, and city of *Treviſo*, with all the forts, towns, and caſtles, they had ſeized upon the lakes, were aſſigned to the *Venetians*[f]. b

Viſconti *takes* Treviſo.

A. D. 1383. *Plague in* Venice.

SOON after the cloſe of this war a plague broke out in *Venice*, and raged with ſo much fury as to ſweep off the inhabitants by hundreds in a day. The contagion was ſuppoſed to ariſe from infected jails, crowded with diſeaſed priſoners, or from the atmoſphere's being impregnated with putrid exhalations from the lagunes and trenches made for the defence of the city; or laſtly, from the unwholſome food which compoſed the diet of the poorer people in the late ſcarcity of proviſions: whatever were the cauſes, the effects were dreadful; neither lazarettos, maſſes, or phyſicians, could impede the fury of the diſeaſe: the cold ſeaſon and goodneſs of Providence, however, brought that relief which the art of man could not afford[g].

A. D. 1386. ALL this time the war with *Carrario* was purſued with the ſame vigour as before, until at laſt his forces were totally broken and diſcomfited. *Viſconti* was ſo puffed up with pride, and his natural inſolence ſo elated, that nothing leſs than the dominion of *Italy* would ſatisfy his ambition. It is true he did not venture to acknowledge deſigns ſo vaſt and dangerous, although his conduct afforded ſtrong preſumptions of ſuch an intention. Quitting *Padua*, he marched with great diligence to *Mantua*, and, without any provocation, laid cloſe ſiege to the city. This produced a league between the *Florentines*, *Bologneſe*, *Franciſco Gonzaga*, and *Novello*, ſon to *Carrario*, in order to ſtop the rapid progreſs of this proud conqueror. The *Venetians* likewiſe broke off from his alliance, and, though not included in the league, were the firſt to ſuccour *Mantua*. The republic could not behold a confederate city thus wantonly oppreſſed, without oppoſing her influence. Intreaties were firſt uſed; but theſe producing no alteration in *Viſconti*'s conduct, the *Venetians* had recourſe to force: a great number of boats were got ready, to which were joined twenty gallies, filled with archers, ſlingers, and light armed troops, with which they attacked *Viſconti*, and after a ſharp encounter compelled him to raiſe the ſiege. Soon after the duke was met by *Malateſta*, general of the confederate army, who engaged and defeated his army, obliging him to quit the *Mantuan* territories. *Viſconti* ſent ambaſſadors to *Venice* with propoſals for an accommodation, which were readily accepted[h]. They had taken arms to preſerve the juſt ballance of power in *Italy*; the duke's deſigns being defeated, they laid them down readily, and concluded peace for ten years. c d

A. D. 1387.

*Peace with* Viſconti.

DURING this happy period of repoſe, the doge applied himſelf diligently to the civil affairs of the ſtate: granaries were formed to provide againſt a dearth; magazines for arms and all ſorts of warlike neceſſaries were erected; new docks for the ſhipping contrived; hoſpitals for the poor, and thoſe who had ſuffered in the ſervice of the republic, founded; workmen in all arts and profeſſions encouraged; induſtry and commerce cheriſhed; and laws tending to the regulation and order of ſociety, framed and rigidly executed. Afterwards, *Antonio Veniero* died, much lamented by a people whom he had governed for eighteen years, with inflexible juſtice, incorruptible integrity, unwearied application and vigilance, and laſtly, with a lenity, ſweetneſs, and moderation, that falſified the firſt judgment formed of his character (A). e

## *MICHELI STENO*, Doge LXIII. f

Steno *doge* LXIII.

*MICHELI STENO* was ſubſtituted in the room of the deceaſed doge: he had been procurator of St. *Mark*'s for ſome years, which truſt he diſcharged with ſuch fidelity, that the ſenate and council were induced to raiſe him to the higheſt office of the republic. At the time of his election *Steno* was confined to his bed with an illneſs, which kept the ducal chair vacant for near two months, at the expiration of which he came to the palace and took the uſual oaths. Unprecedented honours were beſtowed upon him, though we are not informed for what particular reaſon: probable it is, that the flouriſhing ſtate of commerce and manu-

A. D. 1400.

[f] SABEL. l. 8. d. 2. [g] SANSOV. del. v. di princip. BONITEN. Comment. l. 4. [h] SABEL. l. 8. d. 2.

(A) *Sanſovino* mentions the reduction of *Corfu* in the laſt year of *Veniero*, of which we find not a ſyllable in any other hiſtorian. He likewiſe ſpeaks of another plague which appeared in the ſummer 1388, and raged with a violence little inferior to the former; neither is this aſſertion confirmed by other authorities.

factures began to produce the usual effects, luxury, which is ever the consequence of prosperity and affluence. *Sansovino* relates, that *Steno*'s lady was conducted to the palace, attended by the senate and chief magistrates, with all possible pomp and magnificence [i].

The two first years of *Steno*'s government passed in peace, quietness, and tranquility at home and abroad, when suddenly a new cause of rupture with the *Genoese* arose. Intelligence was received that great preparations for war were carrying on at *Genoa*, and these the republic doubted not were destined against *Venice*, although the pretext was a quarrel with the *Cyprians*: *Carolo Zeno* was therefore sent with a squadron of eleven gallies narrowly to watch the motions of the *Genoese* fleet, and prevent their surprising any place belonging to the republic. The fleets were several days in company, each admiral dissembling his intention: the *Genoese* were commanded by *Boucicault*, a *Frenchman*, (for at that time they were under the protection of *France*) all the ships were well manned, each galley having, besides her complement, forty *Frenchmen* at arms. At last the two admirals came to blows near *Modon*, *Zeno* apprehending that the *Genoese* were only watching their opportunity to give him the slip, and attack some part of the *Venetian* territories. An obstinate battle was continued for the whole day, and *Zeno* in danger of being oppressed by numbers, when he was seasonably reinforced by two gallies: now the engagement was renewed with fresh vigour until night interposed, and gave the combatants respite: as soon as dawn appeared, both admirals returned to the charge with redoubled animosity. Heaps of slain were thrown over board on both sides, and the battle seemed equal, until *Zeno*, crowding sail, and taking a sweep, ran full upon the opposite ship, and sunk her with the impetuosity and rapidity of his course. Several of his officers followed his example with equal success, which immediately turned the scale of fortune, and gained a complete victory. The *Genoese* lost near three thousand men, four ships were sunk, and three taken. Certain *Venetian* captains were broke, upon *Zeno*'s report of their conduct, which he attributed either to treachery or cowardice; others were rewarded for their remarkable bravery [k].

*Genoese defeated by Zeno.* A. D. 1403.

In the mean time the republic found herself in danger of a war on the continent with *Novello Carrario* of *Padua*. Unmindful of his obligations to the *Venetians*, and that he owed his present greatness to their good offices, he was constantly contriving and intriguing to the prejudice of the republic. The doge and senate were not ignorant how he stood affected to them, and their suspicions were confirmed by the report of several *Genoese* prisoners of distinction, who scrupled not to declare, that the preparations at *Genoa* were made in consequence of his advice and instigation. However, they still would have preserved appearances with *Novello*, if they had not been induced to enter upon a war with him upon other motives than his dislike to the republic.

*War with Carrario.*

*CARRARIO* had laid siege to *Vicenza*, the inhabitants of which detesting the dominion of his family, resolved to suffer the greatest extremities rather than submit. Finding themselves hard pressed, they sent to solicit assistance from *Katharine* dowager of *Milan*, and widow of *Galeas Visconti* their natural superior: but the dutchess was involved in other affairs, which deprived her of the power of relieving them; she, therefore, with the advice of her council, thought it more adviseable to put *Verona*, *Vicenza*, *Belluna*, *Bassan*, *Cologna*, *Feltre*, and their dependencies, into the hands of the *Venetian* republic, than to have them exposed to the ambition of *Carrario*. With this proposal, and the keys of *Vicenza*, commissioners were sent by the besieged to the doge and senate: they were entertained with all possible respect, and dismissed with presents and assurances of speedy protection. An ambassador was accordingly sent to prevail on *Carrario* to relinquish the siege, or to denounce war; but instead of regarding their intreaties or menaces, he ordered the nose and ears of the ambassador to be cut off, charging him to tell his masters that he was not to have laws prescribed to him by citizens and merchants. The republic, incensed at the insolence of the tyrant, and this violation of the laws of nations, levied forces with all expedition, appointed *Carolo Malatesta* of *Arimini* their general, and entered into an alliance with *Francisco Gonzaga*. In the mean while the doge received the homage of *Belluna*, *Bassan*, and *Feltre* [l]. As soon as the levies were complete *Malatesta* took the field, fought several battles with various success, and at the end of the campain returned to *Venice* to resign his commission: we are not told upon what occasion. *Paolo Sabello*, a native of *Rome*, was appointed to succeed, whose valour and experience were so universally acknowleged, that no *Venetian* envied his promotion, or disputed his superior merit. *Sabello* entered upon action early in the season, and gave proofs of what consequence to the best disciplined army the vigilance, prudence, and bravery of a general may prove. *Blondus* and *Sabellicus* relate prodigies of him; every motion shewing the close, the artful, and the penetrating politician and

[i] Favol. [k] Sabel. Blond. ibid. Sansov. Favol. Boniten. l. 4. Blond. l. 4. d. 3. Boniten. l. 3. Montano apud Sabel. [l] Sabel. l. 8. d. 2.

commander, equally irreſiſtible by ſtratagem and intrepidity. Under his conduct ſeveral important places were taken in ſight of a ſuperior army; the enemy were as often defeated as they engaged, and the whole country of *Padua*, and territories of *Carrario*, laid under contribution; yet his inſolence and cruelty remained invincible [m]. a

He was now joined by *Albert d'Æſte*, won by the large promiſes of *Carrario* to declare war againſt the republic. A new army, under the command of *Gonzaga*, was ſent againſt him, which ſoon compelled *Albert* to ſue for peace, and give hoſtages that he would not join the enemy during this war; likewiſe that he would deſtroy the ſalt-works at *Commachio*, which, it would ſeem, interfered with that branch of the *Venetian* commerce.

To return to the affairs of *Padua*: *Sabello*'s camp was unexpectedly attacked in the night by *Tertius*, the ſecond ſon of *Franciſco Carrario*, at the head of a ſtrong body of choſen troops. b The onſet was ſo ſudden and vigorous, that the whole camp was in the utmoſt conſternation and confuſion, the ſoldiers running up and down terrified and half aſleep: *Sabello* alone was calm and undaunted: with an unparalleled preſence of mind he diſpoſed the troops into their proper ranks, harangued, and led them to the charge. *Tertius*, unable to reſiſt his impetuoſity, and finding that his attempt of taking *Sabello* unprepared was fruſtrated, retreated with great precipitation, and conſiderable loſs. *Sabello* then marched againſt the enemy, with a reſolution to bring them to a general action, which he effected by the force of ſtratagem and ſuperior capacity: he ſo hemmed *Carrario* up that he was under the neceſſity of fighting, or ſurrendering at diſcretion. The firſt was his choice; he was defeated with prodigious ſlaughter, and very narrowly eſcaped being made priſoner. Sundry c other advantages *Sabello* gained over the enemy, when, in the full career of glory, he was ſeized with a fever of which he died ſuddenly.

The army was now given in charge to *Galeas Grumella* of *Mantua*, who neglected nothing that became a good officer. The *Veroneſe*, of which *Carrario* made himſelf maſter in the firſt campaign, was deſolated with all the horrors of war. The city of *Verona*, where *Jacomo Carrario* commanded, was inveſted and carried after a briſk ſiege: a day before the ſurrender of the city *Jacomo* made his eſcape, but was overtaken on the banks of the *Po*.

Verona *taken by the* Venetians.

Padua *beſieged by the* Venetians.

*GRUMELLO* next inveſted *Padua*, and encamping his army on the *Terra Nigra*, he kept the *Paduans* under continual alarms. *Carrario* in the mean time exerted himſelf with great diligence and capacity, omitting nothing that could tend to the defence of the city, or d annoyance of the beſiegers. Day and night he was continually in action, repairing breaches, relieving guards, and ſallying out upon the beſiegers: he had likewiſe found means to corrupt ſeveral officers in the *Venetian* camp, and by their means received intelligence of every thing tranſacted or intended; but a ſtop was ſoon put to this treachery, *Maſſolerio* having been detected tying a letter to the head of an arrow. Some others were arreſted on ſuſpicion of holding a correſpondence, and ſent to *Venice* to be tried, where they were condemned to the moſt excruciating tortures. *Carrario* being cut off from all communication with the camp, by the death of his correſpondents, fell upon another ſtratagem to penetrate into the deſigns and ſituation of the *Venetians*: he ſent for a ſafe-conduct to the camp, as if he intended to make propoſals. It appeared on his arrival in the camp, from the extravagant e

A. D. 1405. propoſitions he made, that peace was not his view: however, the following conditions were offered him by the *Venetian* general; that *Padua* ſhould be ſurrendered, and *Carrario* be permitted to carry off his money, jewels, plate, furniture, and rich moveables; that he ſhould remove to the diſtance of an hundred miles from the *Paduan* diſtricts with his whole family, renouncing for ever all claim to the city and its dependencies; and that in conſideration the republic would preſent him with the ſum of ſixty thouſand crowns. Theſe terms *Carrario* rejected with diſdain, and returned under an eſcort to the city. Now the ſiege was puſhed with extraordinary vigour, and the city battered in ſeveral places: the firſt wall (for *Padua* was ſecured by three walls) was taken by ſcalade, and ſeveral breaches made in the ſecond. Upon this *Carrario* entreated the *Venetians* to receive himſelf and family into their protec- f tion; but he was referred to the ſenate, and told that poſſibly his tears and penitence might procure more favour than he could expect. He then deſired a paſſport to *Venice*, but was anſwered, that the republic would ſend commiſſioners to treat with him at *Meſtra* [n]. The parties having met, the conditions were debated for two days; at laſt they parted without coming to any concluſion, and *Carrario* returned to the city, where he was received with great coldneſs by the inhabitants, who were tired of his tyranny, and attributed to his pride the breach of the conferences, from which they at leaſt expected to be delivered from the miſeries of a ſiege. *Carrario* perceiving that no hopes of ſecurity remained, ſent to the *Venetian* general, requeſting protection for himſelf and family. Inſolence in proſperity is ever the ſure mark of meanneſs in adverſity. *Carrario* now cringed, ſupplicated with tears, g

[m] Sabel. et Blond. ibid. Boniten. l. 3. Etiam Aut. cit.

[n] Boniten. Blond. & Sabel. uti ſupra.

and

a and implored the protection of thoſe very perſons he had ſo haughtily treated in the beginning of the war. Himſelf and family were brought to *Venice*, and treated with a lenity and reſpect his conduct little merited. *Padua* was ſurrendered upon no other conditions than that it ſhould be exempted from the ravages of the ſoldiers [o]. Thus ended that bloody war in which the republic had been engaged on the continent; and the ſway of a tyrant, ambitious of power only to abuſe it by inſolence.

Padua *ſurrendered.*

THE republic now began to taſte the ſweets of peace, which was ſoon poiſoned by the intriguing reſtleſs ſpirit of *Carrario*, who thereby accelerated his own ruin, and occaſioned the extinction of his family. He had projected the means of his eſcape by ſetting fire to the city in ſeveral places: a number of villains were employed for this purpoſe, and induced to
b the undertaking by that very money which the public allowed him for the ſupport of his dignity. The plot being diſcovered, *Carrario* and his family were removed into different priſons, all his adherents baniſhed the city, and a ſtrict guard maintained; but this proving inſufficient againſt his ingratitude and treachery, he and his children were by order of the doge and ſenate ſtrangled, and the ſecurity of the republic eſtabliſhed [p].

*Peace reſtored.*

Carrario *and his family ſtrangled.*

THE expences of this war with *Carrario* exceeded two millions of money; but the republic received a valuable conſideration by the acquiſition of *Padua*, *Verona*, *Belluna*, *Vicenza*, *Cologna*, and *Feltre*, with their appendages [q]. Hence the *Venetians* became more powerful on the continent, and their armies reſpectable as well as their fleets.

AT the cloſe of the war a magnificent ambaſſy came to *Venice* from *Verona*, conſiſting of
c forty perſons of the firſt diſtinction in the city. The ſenate ordered a fine theatre to be erected, richly adorned, for their public reception: here the doge, attended by his whole family in their richeſt apparel, by the ſenate and magiſtrates in their robes, gave them audience. The ambaſſadors walking in proceſſion to the throne, laid the keys of the city at the feet of the doge, requeſting his acceptance, and praying that the event might be proſperous to his highneſs, to the republic, and to the city of *Verona*. They intreated the protection of the republic, and that his highneſs would, with his accuſtomed goodneſs, preſerve to them their liberty, their religion, and property, againſt the attacks of all tyrants, aſſuring him of their perpetual duty, affection, and fidelity. To this the doge replied, "That
d "it was his and the ſenate's greateſt happineſs to be able to protect the weak, comfort the "afflicted, and reward the deſerving: that while the city of *Verona* preſerved her preſent "ſentiments ſhe might confidently rely on the friendſhip of the republic, and enjoy all "the bleſſings which liberty and a feee conſtitution can afford to thoſe who have juſt eſcaped "from tyranny and bondage." Then recommending juſtice, equity, and moderation, the ambaſſadors were diſmiſſed.

THE *Paduans* came ſoon after in the ſame manner, were treated with equal kindneſs, and diſmiſſed with ſimilar aſſurances. Thus did the republic enjoy a profound tranquility for the term of three years, during which her aſſiduous application to commerce, the marine, and army, prodigiouſly augmented her ſtrength and conſequence.

THE firſt breach of the public quiet was occaſioned by a tumult at *Sabenica*, the nobility
e acknowleging the authority of the republic, the people that of the *Hungarian* monarch: the latter having taken arms drove the nobles out of the city, ſeized upon all the public offices, and aſſumed thoſe prerogatives, which by the conſtitution belonged only to the nobility. The patricians thus excluded, ſought the protection of the *Venetians*, on whoſe account they ſuffered. Four gallies and a body of land forces were ordered by the ſenate to paſs into *Dalmatia*, and lay ſiege to *Sabenica*, which was accordingly done, but with little ſucceſs; for the inhabitants defended themſelves ſo bravely, that the beſiegers were repulſed, and forced to relinquiſh the enterprize. A more formidable armament was next ſent, but the obſtinacy of the plebeians rendered it neceſſary to have recourſe to *Ladiſlaus*, to whom commiſſioners were diſpatched. After various debates the whole affair was referred to the
f deciſion of the pope, the parties not being able to come to any concluſion: we are no where informed of the determination of his holineſs [r].

*The* Venetians *purchaſe* Zara.

THIS little diſturbance was ſoon followed by one of more conſequence and hazard: the *Forlians*, like the *Sabenicans*, were divided among themſelves; the nobles were deſirous that the city ſhould be under the protection and laws of *Venice*, while the commons preferred the juriſdiction of *Ladiſlaus*, or the biſhop of *Aquileia*. How the emperor *Sigiſmund* came to concern himſelf in this quarrel, we know not; all we are told is, that *Pipus*, a *Florentine*, had the emperor's inſtructions to lead an army into *Italy*. Upon his arrival, *Frederico Savagnani* and his faction retired to *Venice*, and *Udina* was put into the hands of *Pipus*. From hence he marched with ten thouſand horſe into the *Treviſan*, and took from the republic the cities of *Feltre*, *Belluna*, *Sarraval*, and *La Mothe*. Afterwards indeed he abandoned his

*War with* Sigiſmund.

[o] Aut. cit. et in locis citatis. [p] SABEL. l. 8. d. 2. MONTAN. apud BLOND. et SABEL. [q] Ibid.
[r] BONTIEN. Com. l. 4. SABEL. l. 8. d. 2.

conqueſts,

conqueſts, 'tis ſuppoſed, by force of *Venetian* gold, and retired to *Hungary*, where he ſuffered the juſt puniſhment of his corruption [s]. a

*Peace with* Sigiſmund.

ALL the particulars of this important war, in which the republic would ſeem to be ſo deeply concerned, are imperfectly related; it is even difficult to know what ſhare the *Venetian* armies took in the quarrel. *Sabellicus* ſays, that after a variety of battles between *Sigiſmund* and the republic, with various ſucceſs, peace was at laſt concluded, and the emperor withdrew his army to *Bohemia* [t]. As to the conditions of the peace, which might have reflected ſome light on the origin of the war, there is a profound ſilence.

SOON after peace was proclaimed *Steno* died, having conducted the republic with applauſe through two dangerous wars, and flouriſhing intervals of public tranquility [u]. b

## *TOMASO MOCENIGO*, Doge LXIV.

A. D. 1413. 'Tomaſo Mocenigo, *d.* LXIV.

*TOMASO MOCENIGO*, at the time of his election on an embaſſy at *Cremona*, was recalled to take upon him the ſupreme magiſtracy. The beginning of his adminiſtration was fertile in the bleſſings of peace: he gave ſtrict attention to commercial affairs, on which he was ſenſible depended the ſtrength and proſperity of the republic. A board of trade was appointed, conſiſting of the principal merchants, preſided by a ſenator. Originally this buſineſs was in the hands of one man; afterwards two more, with a ſubordinate authority, were added; and now trade, a ſubject of vaſt extent and importance, ſubmitted to the direction of a number properly qualified by nature and experience to regulate, improve, and promote this chief object of *Venetian* policy (A). c

A DISPUTE between the republic and biſhop of *Aquileia* furniſhed the *Venetians* with a pretext for recovering the towns loſt in the late war: they accordingly laid ſiege to *Feltre*, *Belluna*, and other places, which they took after a ſhort reſiſtance. *Filippo Arcia*, one of the beſt officers of the age, commanded the *Venetian* army: having garriſoned the above cities, he attacked and ruined *Prata*, and by his influence prevailed on the whole province of *Fruli* to acknowledge the dominion of the republic. Early in the ſpring the biſhop returned with a numerous army of *Hungarians*; he took the caſtle of *Cluſino*, and ſome other places; but *Arcia* marching with expedition againſt him, the *Hungarians* returned to their own country, leaving the prelate to fight his own battles [w].

DURING theſe tranſactions abroad, a terrible fire broke out in the palace, which almoſt entirely conſumed it, and communicating with St. *Mark*'s church, quite demoliſhed the roof of that magnificent fabric. The great diligence of the people prevented the fire from ſpreading; and the palace and church were repaired by a decree of the ſenate, the doge having liberally contributed towards the expence: however, before the palace was habitable, he died, after a reign of ten years, in which the republic enjoyed a current of proſperity, uninterrupted by any adverſe accident, except the fire we have mentioned [x]. *Mocenigo*'s death was preceded by that of the illuſtrious *Carolo Zeno*, one of the beſt ſea officers *Venice* ever produced, and whoſe other excellent qualities kept pace with his valour and military abilities. d

## *FRANCISCO FOSCARI*, Doge LXV. e

A. D. 1423. Foſcari *d.* LXV.

*FRANCISCO FOSCARI* was elected to ſucceed *Mocenigo*, by the univerſal voice of ſenate and people. In the firſt year of his reign *Salonica*, a city of *Albania*, voluntarily ſubmitted to the *Venetians*, the inhabitants requeſting that a magiſtrate might be ſent to govern them with the ſame polity eſtabliſhed at *Venice*: accordingly, *Marino Bondomario* was diſpatched in quality of governor, and with the title of count. In the ſecond year of *Foſcari*'s adminiſtration the war with *Philip Viſconti*, duke of *Milan*, and ſon of *Galeas Viſconti*, commenced. As this war proved tedious, bloody, and important in its conſequences, it may not be improper to trace it to its original ſource: *Philip* was a minor at his father's death, and, like moſt other children in their pupilage, robbed, plundered, and oppreſſed by thoſe very guardians who were bound in honour, conſcience, and by the laws of nature, to protect his infancy: his dominions were made a prey to the neighbouring petty princes and ſtates, and in the courſe of a few years paſſed into the hands of variety of maſters. *Philip* was no ſooner of age to take upon him the government of the little dominion left, than he attempted to recover thoſe cities and provinces of which he was plundered in his minority. By his own valour, and the great abilities of *Franciſco Carmagnola*, he not only won back

*War with* Viſconti *of* Milan.

f

[s] Ibid. BLOND. Hiſt. d. 3. l. 5. [t] SABEL. l. 8. d. 2. [u] SANSOV. del. v. p. SABEL. ibid.
[w] SABEL. ibid. BLOND. de g. V. BONITEN. l. 4. [x] SANSOV. del. v. p. Etiam FAVOL. 4.

(A) Upon this occaſion other appointments likewiſe were made: the council of ten was eſtabliſhed; commiſſioners of the public granaries; and a board of treaſury, which they called *magiſtrati della graſcia, della dogana*. Sanſovino, l. 13.

a what lawfully belonged to him, but greatly extended his territories beyond what the family ever poſſeſſed. In the career of victory he inveſted *Genoa*, reduced it to great extremities, and compelled the *Genoeſe* to purchaſe peace with a prodigious ſum of money, for the payment of which the *Florentines* were bound ſureties, the ſtrong city *Leghorn*, at the mouth of the river *Arno*, being pledged to them for their ſecurity and indemnification. The *Florentines* interfering in this affair produced a coldneſs between *Philip* and that republic, which he ſoon improved into an open rupture. Under the pretext of aſſiſting pope *Martin*, he attacked and defeated the *Florentine* army near *Zagonere*: this was the gloſs *Philip* gave this tranſaction at foreign courts, in order to conceal his ambition. Other battles were fought afterwards, until the *Florentines*, finding themſelves unequal to *Philip*'s power, had
b recourſe for aſſiſtance to the *Venetians* [y]. The republic had refrained from taking part in the quarrel, as long as there was hope that the *Florentines* could ſtand their ground, and with their own ſtrength check the progreſs of this conqueror; but finding the balance greatly preponderate in favour of *Philip*, the *Venetians* were induced to throw themſelves into the oppoſite ſcale, from that conſtant maxim of their government, to pay a ſtrict attention to the juſt political poiſe. Firſt they endeavoured, by repeated ambaſſies, to reconcile *Philip* to the *Florentines*, all of which, like a true politician, he received graciouſly, and diſmiſſed with ſtrong promiſes and aſſurances of what he never intended to perform. The republic was no leſs artful than *Philip*; under pretence of placing an intire confidence in what he ſaid, they were making all the neceſſary preparations to oblige him to make good
c his aſſurances. At laſt, when every thing was in readineſs for declaring war, *Paolo Cornaro* was ſent to demand a categorical anſwer. *Cornaro* addreſſed the prince in ſubſtance to the following effect: "That of all the princes on earth his highneſs had the greateſt reaſon to "acknowledge the goodneſs of Providence by a juſt and equitable conduct, ſince, under "the protection of the Almighty, he had not only recovered, but greatly extended his law-"ful dominions: that he was quietly in poſſeſſion of a fine country, exceeded by no other "in the fertility of ſoil, the beauty of its cities, the temperature of its climate, and the inge-"nuity of its inhabitants. His youth, his activity, his valour, and prudence, he acknow-"ledged, deſerved, and were able to procure greater territories, but this could not be ef-"fected conſiſtently with that firſt principle of chriſtianity, 'do as you would be done by.'
d "It was with the utmoſt grief, he ſaid, that his maſters found themſelves under the "neceſſity of remonſtrating to him on this head, and of aſſuring him that juſtice to "their neighbours, to their allies, to themſelves, and to the precepts of their religion, "obliged them to leave no means untried to prevent the oppreſſion of the weak, and ſtem "the ambition and avarice of the more powerful: that if he did not immediately recal "his army from *Tuſcany*; if he did not ceaſe to moleſt the *Florentines* in particular, and "could not confine himſelf within the large circle of the fine dominions it had pleaſed "God to beſtow on him, they would, without farther notice, break off their alliance, "join themſelves to the *Florentines*, and with all the force of their republic, by ſea and "land, wage inceſſant war, until his ambition was humbled, and his power reduced with-"in proper limits [z]." *Philip* was ſtung with the ſpirited remonſtrance of *Cornaro*; but,
e always ſubjecting his paſſions to his intereſt, he replied, that out of reſpect to the *Venetian* republic he would ſubmit the diſpute with *Florence* to the arbitration of *Nicholas d'Æſte*, whoſe integrity could not be called in queſtion. Satisfied with this anſwer, *Cornaro* returned to *Venice*, and was ſoon followed by two ambaſſadors from *Viſconti*. *Philip* had heard that the *Florentines* were preparing an ambaſſy to the republic; he therefore diſpatched *Giovanni Aretini* and *Bertrand Lampugniani* to fruſtrate the effects, and prevent violent reſolutions. The firſt audience was given to the *Tuſcan* miniſters, who pathetically repreſented all the miſeries of a free ſtate, in danger of being overwhelmed by the mercileſs and inexorable ambition of a tyrant; the duty incumbent on free conſtitutions to op-
f poſe, with all their might, the encroachments of ambitious princes and monarchs; an attack upon *Florence*, they ſaid was an attack upon liberty, and the prelude to an attempt on the freedom of *Venice*. Some little difference there was in the natural diſpoſitions of tyrants, ſome were leſs, ſome more cruel; but the invariable and fixt object of their policy in general, was the deſtruction of liberty, and eſtabliſhment of bondage. They enumerated inſtances of *Philip*'s cunning, ſpeciouſneſs, vigilance, activity, intrepidity, and power; and from each drew arguments for the neceſſity of curbing his ambition. They concluded with a warm and pathetic exhortation, which excited violent emotions in the breaſt of every ſenator. On the one ſide the power and ambition of *Philip* was formidable to liberty; on the other, the expence of the war was great, and the iſſue hazardous: here the voice of liberty and compaſſion called, there fear and the dread of ſhame reſtrained. To

[y] Sabel. l. 9. d. 2. Boniten. l. 4. Blond. l. 5. d. 3. Sansov. del. v. p. 232. [z] Sabel. ibid.

diſengage themſelves from this perplexity, before any reply was made to the *Florentines*, the a
duke's ambaſſadors were called in, when *Aretini*, the moſt artful and eloquent ſpeaker of his country, addreſſed the doge and ſenate in a ſpeech ſuitable to his character. He began with engaging the affections of his audience, ſoothing their paſſions, and explaining the nature of his inſtructions: he proceeded to ſome ſevere ſtrictures upon the *Florentines*, to refute their aſſertions, and vindicate the meaſures and character of his maſter. "They inſtance, ſays "he, *Philip* of *Macedon*, *Mithridates*, and *Antiochus*, as implacable foes to the liberties of "*Greece* and *Rome*; but why do they omit *Porſenna*, who at one blow had almoſt cruſhed "in its infancy the greateſt republic on earth? for this reaſon only, that they would not re-"cal to your memory that *Tuſcany* had ever produced a tyrant. But if the *Florentines* are "fond of their erudition, why did they not likewiſe mention *Hieron*, *Maſſiniſſa*, the *Ptolemies*, b
"and *Attalus*, the moſt ſtaunch and faithful allies *Rome* ever had? King *Lewis*, they ſay, "was a capital enemy to your republic, ſo was *Carrario*; but then the *Viſconti*'s, for above "an hundred years, loved, cheriſhed, and eſteemed the *Venetians*; a perpetual intercourſe "of friendly offices, treaties, and alliances, ſubſiſted between them, and will continue to "ſubſiſt after the ſlanderous, the artful, and the falſe *Florentines* are annihilated and for-"got[a]." In ſhort, after running over every topic which ſound policy could ſuggeſt, or the moſt perſuaſive eloquence adorn, he concluded with referring the whole diſpute to the arbitration of the ſenate and *Nicholas D'Æſte*.

When the ambaſſadors retired, great debates aroſe in the ſenate: ſome remained firm in c
their firſt opinion, others were drawn over by the ſpecious oratory of *Aretini*. It was at laſt propoſed that *Carmagnola*, who had deſerted the ſervice of *Philip*, ſhould be called in; from him it was preſumed a juſt judgment of the true temper, policy, and character of this prince might be collected. *Franciſco Carmagnola* quitted the ſervice of *Philip* upon ſome diſguſt, the particulars of which are not mentioned: he now offered himſelf to the *Venetians*, to humble that very maſter he had been the inſtrument of exalting. Every one careſſed, and was deſirous of engaging the eſteem of a man famous for his military exploits, and capacity in the cabinet: ſome perſons, however, dreaded placing at the head of their armies an officer whoſe late conduct gave room to diſtruſt his conſtancy, his honour, and his fidelity: they were anſwered, that under the conduct of a general ſo experienced, ſo perfectly acquainted with the views, policy, ſtrength, and moſt intimate ſecrets of *Viſconti*, they d
could not fail of ſucceſs in defeating all the attempts, and reſtraining the towering ambition of this proud potentate; and that *Carmagnola*'s pride was a ſufficient ſurety of his faith, ſince without doubt he would exert all his faculties to convince *Viſconti* how ſerviceable he might have rendered his merit[b]. Certain it is, that *Carmagnola* was greatly incenſed againſt the duke: when he was called into the ſenate, he ſpoke with a rancour and virulence that could not be aſſumed or counterfeit. His arguments were ſo forcible, his oratory ſo perſuaſive, his influence ſo conſiderable, and his vehemence ſo earneſt, that, urged by the ſentiments of the doge, an alliance with *Florence*, and war with *Viſconti*, was unanimouſly reſolved.

*Treaty with the* Florentines.

In the treaty with *Florence* it was ſtipulated, that ſixteen thouſand horſe and eight thou- e
ſand foot ſhould be levied at the common expence of both republics, to act as future occaſions ſhould require; that two fleets ſhould be equipped, the *Venetian* to ſail up the *Po*, to reſiſt the forces of *Viſconti*, the *Florentine* to ſcour the *Genoeſe* coaſt; that all the cities, towns, and forts, taken on the confines of *Flaminia* ſhould belong to *Florence*, the reſt to be at the diſpoſal of *Venice*; and laſtly, that peace ſhould not be made with the enemy but by mutual conſent and approbation. The ambaſſadors threw themſelves at the feet of the doge, proteſting, in the name of the republic, their eternal gratitude for this ſo great an obligation, calling God to witneſs the ſincerity of their thanks, and reſolution to conduct themſelves as that this goodneſs ſhould not be unmerited.

Soon after *Nicholas D'Æſte*, *Amadeus* of *Savoy*, *Franciſco Gonzaga*, and other princes, ac- f
ceded to this alliance. *Serrano*, one of the doge's ſenatories, was ſent to *Philip* to acquaint him with the determination of the republic. His inſtructions were to deſire the duke, in the name of the republic, to ceaſe hoſtilities againſt the *Florentines*; and, if he refuſed, immediately to declare war. The envoy was civilly received at *Milan*; but *Philip*, far from complying with his demand, ſent back a defiance. War was publicly denounced, and the ſubjects of each commanded to quit the enemy's dominions without farther notice, on pain of being deemed traitors to their reſpective countries. The command of the army was given to *Carmagnola*, who was eager to ſignalize his zeal by ſome exploit worthy of the high opinion entertained of his capacity. His impatience would not wait for the new army to be levied; but taking the command of a few regiments of the ſtanding forces, he marched in- g

*Declaration of War.*

[a] Sabel. l. 9. d. 2. Blond. de g. V. [b] Boniten. l. 4. [c] Blond. d. 3. l. 6. Boniten. Com. l. 4. Sabel. l. 9. d. 2. Montan. apud Sabel. Aut. cit.

to

a to the enemy's territories. His firſt attempt was on *Breſcia*, of which he ſoon became maſter by the force of corruption. The caſtle, into which *Philip*'s garriſon retired, he took by ſtorm, putting all the ſoldiers to the ſword; but there was ſtill a fort in one quarter of the town which held out, and defended itſelf bravely. The duke ſent *Franciſco Sforza* to its relief, between whom and *Carmagnola* many brisk skirmiſhes paſſed. The ſiege was puſhed on with vigour, and the fort defended with courage, the beſieged relying upon *Sforza*'s army, which had in a manner encloſed *Carmagnola*; who with fatigue and watching fell ſick, committed the army to *Gonzaga*, and retired to the baths at *Padua*. In the mean time, the ſiege went on with the ſame ſpirit, *Gonzaga* being in every reſpect a general equal to *Carmagnola*; but the enemy were ſo well provided, their ſallies ſo frequent and vigorous, and
b the *Venetians* ſo harraſſed in the rear by *Sforza*, that ſhame only reſtrained them from abandoning the enterprize. Both ſides were continually reinforced, and the affair ſpun out to a great length: at laſt *Carmagnola* returned to the army, and reſumed the command. Now an aſſault was reſolved on, and, to encourage the ſoldiers, a reward of four hundred crowns promiſed to him who firſt mounted the walls, three hundred to the next, two hundred to the third, and a hundred to each of the ten following. Both ſides fought with the moſt obſtinate valour, and it was difficult to determine which diſplayed the greateſt courage: at laſt, the *Venetians*, overpowered with numbers, were forced to retreat, by which means the ſiege might have been protracted to an unmeaſurable time, if famine had not effected what had foiled courage, conduct, and numbers. This brave garriſon was reduced to ſo
c great extremities, that they were compelled to ſue for a truce upon this condition, that if *Philip* came within the ſpace of ten days with a force ſufficient to relieve them, they then ſhould be at liberty to defend the fort, otherways they would ſurrender it to the *Venetians*. The truce being ſigned, *Carmagnola* doubled the guards, and ordered ſtrict watch that no proviſion might enter the fort. *Sforza*'s army could hardly be kept from mutinying; they accuſed their officers of cowardice and treachery, publicly declaring that this brave garriſon fell a ſacrifice to their baſeneſs. Numberleſs attempts were made to throw in ſuccour, but all were fruſtrated by the vigilance of *Carmagnola*. At laſt, the truce being expired, the fort was ſurrendered, agreeable to the articles ſtipulated [d].

d DURING this ſiege, which was intirely carried on by the *Venetians*, the *Florentines*, under *D'Æſte*, entered *Cremona*, which they deſolated with fire and ſword. *Philip* had no army able to oppoſe them: as yet he was but aſſembling his troops, and before they were united the *Florentines* retired.

*Peace with Viſconti.*

SOON after the ſurrender of the town and fort of *Breſcia*, through the mediation of the pope's nuncio, peace was concluded, but with reluctance embraced by all parties. The conditions were, that *Philip* ſhould amicably cede to the *Venetians Commonica*, *Breſcia*, with its territories, and that part of the *Cremoneſe*, on the *Olio*, towards *Breſcia*: and that *Amadeus* of *Savoy* ſhould keep whatever he had taken during the war. Here we find no mention of the *Florentines*, although it was ſtipulated in the treaty of alliance between the republics, that neither ſhould make peace without the other's conſent: 'tis probable, therefore, the
e *Florentines* were included, though as they obtained no particular conditions, it was not neceſſary to ſpecify them by name.

IT appears from *Philip*'s conduct ſoon after, that he by no means was deſirous of this peace, at leaſt upon the terms of diſmembering his dominions. Reſpect for the pope's nuncio would ſeem to have been the ſole inducement to patch up what may rather be termed a ceſſation of hoſtilities than a pacification. Some writers alledge, that he even affronted, in the nuncio's preſence, the *Venetian* commiſſioners who came to *Milan* to receive the towns ſurrendered to the republic. *Sabellicus* is of opinion that his ſo ſuddenly breaking through the peace was owing to the remonſtrances of the *Milaneſe*, who highly reſented the ignominious terms he granted. This author relates a ſpeech [e] made to *Viſconti* by a deputation of
f the chief magiſtrates of the city, in which, with great freedom and boldneſs, they upbraided their prince with cowardice and meanneſs, for ſo eaſily relinquiſhing what the chance of war would probably have recovered, and yielding his ſtrong holds, cities, and lands, to an enemy whoſe ſtrength or courage in the field he had but once experienced. The remonſtrance concluded with a zealous offer of their lives and fortunes, which, they ſaid, they were ready to ſacrifice rather than his honour ſhould be ſtained, or the hereditary dominions of the ſtate alienated. *Philip* deſired to know in what manner they would enable him to proſecute the war; upon which the magiſtrates retired to their conſtituents, and the ſubject was warmly debated in a large aſſembly of the citizens. The reſult of their deliberations was, that they would requeſt of the duke to accept, during the war, of ten thouſand horſe and an equal
g number of foot, conditionally, that the revenues of the *Milaneſe* ſhould remain in the hands of the magiſtrates of *Milan*. The intention of this propoſal was to prevent the abuſe of public money, to the purpoſes of miniſters and courtiers, who under the pretence of the ne-

[d] BONITEN. l. 4. BLOND. l. 6. d. 3. [e] L. 9. d. 2.

ceſſary

ceſſary occaſions of the ſtate and expences of the war, ſqueezed and impoveriſhed the people for the ſupport of their luxury. The duke was inclined to accept the terms; but was diſſuaded by one of his miniſters, who told him, that to leave the revenue in the hands of his ſubjects was to rear ladders for them to mount to liberty, ſo eagerly aſpired after, eſpecially at a time when he was to carry on a war againſt two free republics. *Philip*, ſatisfied with this reaſoning, was, however, afraid abſolutely to reject the propoſals; he left it to time and his own cunning to extort the ſums wanted upon his own conditions. In order to ſatisfy the people, he prohibited the ſurrender of thoſe towns which were ſtipulated in the treaty of peace, and ſoon after made an incurſion into the territories of *Mantua*.

*Second war with* Viſconti.

THE republic, ſpeedily informed of *Philip*'s intentions, forthwith ordered new levies to be made, the troops which were not diſbanded to march into *Mantua*, their former alliances to be renewed, and every other meaſure to be taken for vigorouſly proſecuting the war, and puniſhing *Viſconti's* perfidy. *Philip* was not behind them in preparations. Undaunted at the league formed againſt him, he reſolved upon a triple attack on the enemy: arming ſome veſſels at *Cremona* he ſeized on *Turcecole*, a fortreſs in the *Parmeſan*, ſituated at the mouth of the *Tarro*. Preſuming on the ſtrength of his infantry, he made incurſions beyond the *Breſcian* mountains, while his cavalry foraged and ſcoured all the champain country: his third exploit was the moſt ſucceſsful and important; ſending an army againſt the fugitive *Genoeſe*, who greatly moleſted him, he by his general *Sforza* totally defeated *Fregoſa* and their army.

*PERGULAN*, another of his officers, placed garriſons in all the forts of the *Breſcian*, which ſtood convenient to impede or harraſs the enemy, at the ſame time that *Picinino* with a fleet beſieged and took *Caſſel-Major* [f]. *Briſſelles*, on the *Po*, was ſoon after taken, and *Viſconti's* conqueſts were no leſs rapid than his reſolution to renew the war had been ſudden. All this time the *Venetians* were diligently employed; they fitted out a fleet with orders to ſail up the *Po*, under *Franciſco Bembo*. At *Caſſal* he came up with the enemy's fleet, commanded by *Euſtace* of *Pavia*, and both admirals prepared for battle (A). *Bembo* ordered eight galleons to form a line in front, theſe he faſtened together by a ſtrong chain. *Euſtace* oppoſed this van with four galleons, which he ordered to bear down upon the *Venetian* line with all the force of the tide and oars. The *Venetian*, aware of his deſign, eluded it by a ſtroke of military addreſs peculiar to the method of fighting ſhips at that time, attacked, and ſunk the four galleons. *Euſtace*, perceiving by this inſtance, that he was unequal to the dexterity of *Bembo*, made all the diſpatch he was able to *Cremona* [g]. He was cloſely purſued by the *Venetian* admiral, who inſtantly attacked and reduced three little forts built in the river to block up the channel. The victorious *Bembo* then entering the channel, ſeized upon the galleons, which he burnt, *Euſtace* having wholly unrigged them before his arrival. In the night the ſailors, having got on ſhore without leave from the admiral, were plundering and deſtroying the ſuburbs, when they were ſuddenly attacked by a detachment from the city, and to the number of three hundred taken priſoners. *Bembo*, incenſed at this accident, ordered the fleet up the river, attacked and deſtroyed the fort ſtanding on the confluence of the rivers *Po* and *Adda*; then purſuing his way, came to an anchor near *Pavia*; but finding the city deſerted, he returned to *Cremona*, apprehending ſome treachery was intended.

A. D. 1427.

Carmagnola's *conduct.*

DURING theſe naval tranſactions, the *Venetians* were not idle on ſhore. An army of fourteen thouſand horſe and ſix thouſand foot being ready early in the ſpring, *Carmagnola* marched for *Padua*, croſſed the lake *Benac*, and arrived at *Breſcia*. Before his coming, *Pietro Loretano*, the governor, had been ſucceſsful againſt a detachment of the enemy, who made incurſions to the very gates of the city: ſallying out upon them, he took the commander priſoner, and about three hundred of the ſoldiers. *Carmagnola*, envious that the firſt military exploits were not performed by himſelf, departed with his army from *Breſcia*, and proceeded directly to *Ortolonga*, which he inveſted. As ſoon as his battering artillery arrived, lines were formed, and his batteries began to play upon the walls with great fury. There was a body of one thouſand horſe, beſides a ſtrong garriſon of foot, within the town: the governor, relying upon his ſtrength, reſolved upon a ſally, which he made in the evening on that ſide of the camp defended by *Stroſſi*, and the troops of *Ferrara*. *Stroſſi*, with with four hundred horſe, bravely ſuſtained the aſſault, making prodigious havock amongſt the beſieged. At laſt, overpowered with numbers, he was ſlain, with the greateſt part of his troops; upon which the enemy broke into the camp, where nothing but confuſion reigned. The ſoldiers, fatigued with the heat and labour of the day, had gone ſecurely to

*Beſieges* Ortolonga.

[f] SABEL. ubi ſupra. BLOND. l. 6. d. 3. BONITEN. l. 4. COROSIN. apud. SABEL. [g] SABEL. l. 9. d. 2. BONITEN. l. 4. BLOND. de g. V. idem in Hiſt d. 3. l. 6.

(A) The galleons, according to *Sabellicus*, reſembled that veſſel which the *Greeks* call dromon, with flat bottoms and ſharp prows. At the top of the maſt they had a place from whence ten or twelve archers might commodiouſly ſhoot.

a reſt, never dreaming of an attack. They were running about in the utmoſt perturbation, a prey to the enemy, when *Carmagnola* arrived with a body of horſe, and charged the aſſailants with ſo much vigour, that they were repulſed, and driven back into the town with great ſlaughter. However, this affair coſt the beſiegers, beſides the loſs of the brave *Stroſſi*, about one thouſand ſix hundred men, according to *Blondus*, who is very particular [h].

In conſequence *Carmagnola* raiſed the ſiege the next day, and leaving behind all the towns and forces held by the enemy, marched ſtrait to beſiege *Cremona*, not doubting but the ſurrender of this fine city would induce others to a voluntary ſubmiſſion [i]. On his way he was ſtrongly reinforced, ſo that the army amounted to eighteen thouſand horſe and eight thouſand foot, excluſive of ſix thouſand auxiliaries: *Bembo* likewiſe with the fleet and two thouſand mariners lay near *Cremona*. Struck with the greatneſs of this deſign, *Viſconti* aſſembled the b citizens of *Milan*, and met with ſuch chearful returns of loyalty as enabled him to take the field at the head of thirty thouſand men, with whom he marched to give battle to the *Venetians*. *Carmagnola* with his army lay at *Sama*, the enemy being obliged to croſs a bridge above a mile diſtant from the camp before they could attack him: here he was determined to receive *Philip*, without giving himſelf the trouble of defending the bridge, for the *Venetians* were no leſs eager than the enemy to engage. *Philip*, contrary to his own judgment, by the advice of *Sforza*, led his army over the bridge, which he drew up in order of battle on a plain a little way diſtant from the *Venetian* camp. Both ſides joined battle with the utmoſt alacrity and vigour: they fought from noon till night, and no apparent advantage was gained. In the evening a ſtorm of wind ariſing drove before it ſuch clouds of duſt, as c rendered it impoſſible for the ſoldiers to diſtinguiſh each other; friends were known from enemies only by the word of battle. An advanced party of *Philip*'s army thinking to retire out of this confuſion towards the bridge, found themſelves in the middle of the enemy's camp, where they were made priſoners. At laſt both generals ordered a retreat to be ſounded, each claiming victory, and perhaps with equal reaſon. *Carmagnola* uſed jocoſely to ſay, that at the battle of *Sama*, *Philip* and he took more of their own ſoldiers priſoners than of the enemy: however, *Philip* aſſerted with great gravity that the *Venetians* were defeated, eſteeming it a victory that he had not loſt a battle [k]: but he was ſoon recalled to the defence of the *Milaneſe*, the duke of *Savoy*'s cavalry, having entered the dueny by the ſide of *Vercellei*, were making incurſions to the gates of the capital. The *Venetians* too perceiving d *Cremona* to be ſtrongly garriſoned and well provided, dropt their intention of laying ſiege to it, and encamped at *Caſſel-Major*, where *Bembo* and the fleet arrived ſoon after. *Sforza* had purſued the *Venetians* from *Cremona* with a choice body of horſe, thinking he ſhould be able to harraſs their rear; but he found them ſo well prepared, that he returned without making any attempt.

Carmagnola *raiſes the ſiege, and marches to* Cremona.

*CARMAGNOLA* entered upon the ſiege of *Caſſel*, which was for a long time defended by a brave governor and numerous garriſon: at laſt it was taken by ſtorm, and the garriſon put to the ſword, all beſides *Piſani* the governor and a few troops, who retiring into a ſtrong tower, capitulated upon honourable terms. He next laid a bridge over the *Adda*, e by which his troops made incurſions into the *Milaneſe*, ravaged, plundered, and deſtroyed every thing that came in their way.

*The* Venetians *beſiege* Caſſel-Major.

*PHILIP* was taken up in reconciling diſputes among his officers, each of whom claimed to himſelf a ſuperiority over the others. At laſt he was obliged to put an end to diviſions, which he apprehended might terminate in the ruin of the army, by creating a generaliſſimo: his choice fell upon *Carolo Malateſte*, who had formerly commanded the *Venetian* forces; an officer more diſtinguiſhed for his high rank, caution, and duplicity, than for his valour. *Malateſte*'s firſt buſineſs was to put a ſtop to the incurſions of the *Venetians*, which in a ſhort time he effectually accompliſhed. *Macale*, a city of the *Cremoneſe*, was now beſieged by *Carmagnola*: this occaſioned great diſcontent in *Philip*'s army, the ſoldiers entertaining f doubts about the courage of their general. At laſt their clamours became ſo loud, that *Malateſte* called a council of the principal officers: *Sforza* and *Picinino* were for giving the enemy battle; *Pergulan* and *Taurello* for avoiding it, and reſtraining the impetuoſity of the troops, ſaying, that the *Venetians* muſt neceſſarily quit the *Cremoneſe* ſoon for want of ammunition and forage. The general, apprehenſive of a ſedition, followed the former opinion, and gave orders for the army to march. When he approached the enemy, he put the queſtion to *Sforza* and *Picinino*, whether it were better to attack the enemy in their camp, or to draw up the army and receive them? To this thoſe officers replied, that he was their general, and muſt direct thoſe particulars as he thought proper. Orders then were iſſued for diſpoſing the troops in battle-array. In the mean time *Carmagnola* had drawn up the *Venetians* to receive the enemy: *Tolletino* was ordered with two thouſand horſe to make a ſweep g round a hill on the left, and attack them in the rear as ſoon as both armies were engaged:

Macale *beſieged by the* Venetians.

[h] Blond. l. 6. d. 3. [i] Blond. Sabel. ubi ſupra. Boniten. l. [k] Abel. ibid. Blond. l. 6. d. 3.

then he ſtrongly lined all the hedges and ditches through which the enemy muſt paſs, himſelf taking poſt in a particular defile of great importance. Here the action began: *Sforza*, advancing with the light horſe, charged the *Venetians* in front, while *Carmagnola* ordered the firſt and ſecond lines to give way to the right and left, in encloſe him if he advanced; which accordingly happened: continuing, however, to preſs on with irreſiſtible vigour; *Carmagnola* made a fighting retreat to the main body of his army. Here *Sforza*, ſeconded by *Malateſte*, purſued, and a general engagement began, in which both ſides behaved with great intrepidity: but *Carmagnolo*'s diſpoſition gave him many advantages; his infantry, with which all the hedges were lined, gauled, and made prodigious ſlaughter amongſt the enemy's cavalry; while a great ſhout in the rear of *Malateſte*'s army announced their being charged in the rear by *Tolletino* with his two thouſand horſe. Thus being attacked in the rear by cavalry, in both flanks by infantry placed in the hedges, and in the front by the main body of the *Venetian* army under *Carmagnola*, the enemy were at laſt totally defeated, after many bold efforts to rally. Then began a dreadful carnage, the general not having power to reſtrain the rage of the *Venetian* ſoldiers. At laſt, the enemy endeavoured to appeaſe by intreaties the reſentment they could neither repel nor eſcape; they laid down their arms, and ſix thouſand infantry, with three thouſand horſe, were made priſoners at diſcretion [l]. Without doubt *Carmagnola* might have cruſhed *Philip* in conſequence of this deciſive victory, if he had not either from unaccountable whim, over-ſtrained generoſity, or treachery, ſet all the priſoners at liberty, without a ſingle condition. The *Milaneſe* army being totally broke, nothing could prevent his becoming maſter of the whole dutchy, had he been as ſkilful, or rather had he been as willing to purſue as to gain a victory. His only exploit after this battle was the taking of *Orges* by aſſault, all the other cities, towns, and forts of *Breſcia* paying a voluntary ſubmiſſion [m].

Philip's *army defeated.*

In the mean time *Sforza* and *Picinino* were buſied in collecting their ſcattered troops, and in making new levies: having joined theſe with the priſoners reſtored by *Carmagnola*, a formidable army was ſoon on foot, which immediately entered upon action. *Sforza* ſurpriſed a convoy of proviſions going to the enemy's camp: *Picinino* made an attempt at night to recover the town of *Pontaglio*, but was repulſed [n].

A. D. 1429. Besides the attempts of *Philip* to ſtop the progreſs of the *Venetians* by force, he was not idle by negociation: he endeavoured, by his intrigues, to excite the emperor *Sigiſmund* againſt the republic. His art ſucceeded with the duke of *Savoy*, who gave him his daughter in marriage [o]: however, not all his policy could prevent the neceſſity he was under of ſuing for peace, upon the loſs ſuſtained by the death of ſeveral of his beſt officers. A congreſs was accordingly appointed at *Ferrara*, the pope's legate preſiding, where the conditions were long debated, and at laſt adjuſted. The moſt material articles were, that *Breſcia*, with all the *Breſcian* and *Cremoneſe*, that part of the *Bergameſe* ſtretching towards the river *Adice*, together with the caſtles, towns, forts, &c. which they then held upon the *Cremoneſe*, ſhould in perpetuity be ceded to the *Venetians*. Little was granted to the *Florentines* beſides ſome trifling honours, ſuch as hoiſting their own flag at ſea inſtead of the *Piſan*.

*A peace.*

By this peace *Italy* was reſtored to a breathing of tranquility of a very unſettled nature: hoſtilities ceaſed, yet ſtill their mutual animoſities, jealouſies, and heart-burnings remained. The ceſſion of the *Cremoneſe* was never thoroughly reliſhed by *Philip*: his conduct at the time of ſigning the peace, as well as afterwards, intimated his reluctance to part with a diſtrict ſo commodious, which he regarded as hereditary in his family, although in truth his right was founded in conqueſt. This was one grievance, and might in time have produced a war had no other reaſons concurred [p]. Others, however, were not wanting, and they were accordingly made the pretext. *Philip* had perſecuted, with implacable hatred, the families of *Fregoſa* and *Fieſci*, in contempt of all the remonſtrances in their behalf from the republics of *Venice* and *Florence*, and even a promiſe that he would take them into his friendſhip: but the moſt open and avowed occaſion of taking arms aroſe from the following incident.

*PAOLO GUENESIO* had by his cunning, art, and policy, acquired an aſcendency almoſt deſpotic over the republic of *Lucca*: he conducted himſelf with ſo much conduct and prudence, that amidſt the broils in which all *Italy* beſides were engaged, *Lucca* alone taſted the ſweets of repoſe and tranquility; yet could he neither gain the hearts, nor even avoid the hatred of the principal perſons in that ſtate, which he had ſo ſkilfully ſteered through all the dangers and labyrinths of policy. Continual intrigues were carried on againſt him, and now a ſtorm was gathering which threatened deſtruction both to *Paolo* and the republic. The firſt attempt of the diſaffected was to ſtir up the people againſt him on account of his conniving at his ſon's deſertion of the ſervice of the ſtate to enter into that of *Florence*. Young *Ladiſlaus* had ſolicited for leave, but being denied he made his eſcape, and acquired great honour in the *Florentine* alliance with the *Bologneſe* againſt pope *Martin*. The diſaf-

[l] Blond. l. 7. d. 3. Sabel. l. 1. d. 3. [m] Ibid. [n] Mont. Com. l. 3. [o] Blond. ibid. Sabel. et Mont. ibid. [p] Sabel. l. 2. d. 3. Blond. l. 8. d. 3. Mont. l. 4.

a fected represented the danger there was of being embroiled in a quarrel with the holy see, by the rashness of *Ladislaus* and ambition of *Paolo*: however, their intrigues were undermined by the cunning of *Paolo*, who proved too hard for them on this as on many former occasions. The malcontents, finding their endeavours to stir up the people against *Paolo* were to no purpose, grew desperate: they never considered that violent measures must be accompanied with the ruin of their country; or rather, they were indifferent what became of *Lucca* so that *Guenesio* was destroyed: this they endeavoured to accomplish, by working on the ambition and natural fire of young *Stella*, nephew to *Brachio*, a young nobleman in the *Florentine* service. *Stella* was easily induced by their remonstrances to undertake what was perfectly agreeable to his active and enterprising spirit. Without farther reflection he made
b an incursion into the territories of *Lucca*, laying every thing waste to the gates of the city: he seized upon eight forts and castles belonging to *Paolo*, made the garrisons prisoners, and then encamped on the great plain near *Lucca*. His forces, which at first consisted of a few troops of *Florentine* horse, were soon increased by a great number of volunteers, who flocked from all quarters in expectation of honour or booty. When *Stella* entered upon action, he had no countenance from the republic of *Florence*, the few troops under his conduct being prevailed upon solely by his own influence to share his fortune. The *Florentines*, however, perceiving the rapidity of his conquests, and the unexpected increase of his forces, began to harbour ambitious designs, and to scheme the project of annexing *Lucca* to the territories of the republic by means of *Stella*. Instead therefore of recalling him and their soldiers, in
c consequence of a solemn ambassy from *Guenesio*, they encouraged *Stella* in the enterprize he had formed, which they desired might be prosecuted in the name of the republic, assuring him of ample supplies of men, money, and every other necessary.

Stella's *enterprize.*

A. D. 1430.

Stella *supported by the* Florentines.

*PAOLO* perceiving that nothing was to be expected but war from the *Florentines* had recourse to *Venice*; but the republic declining to interfere in a dispute in which she was not concerned, the ambassadors proceeded to the court of *Milan*. *Philip* joyfully espoused a cause in which he hoped to wreck his vengeance on the *Florentines*, ordered *Sforza* to levy a strong army, and march directly to the relief of *Lucca* [q]. This general, whose greatest pleasure was fighting, readily obeyed the mandate, raised an army, passed the *Alps*, and soon appeared before the city. Upon his approach *Stella* retired towards the confines of *Pisa*,
d not chusing to give battle to the enemy who he knew must soon be in want of provisions. By protracting the war he doubted not but *Sforza*'s assistance would become useless to *Guenesio*, as the country round being entirely destroyed, the *Milanese* army would only hasten the surrender of *Lucca*, by consuming the stores laid in for a siege.

Visconti *resolves to assist* Lucca.

In the mean time *Sforza* entered *Lucca* triumphantly, and was received by *Guenesio* as his deliverer and guardian angel. Here he made but a short stay, and then marched into *Pistoia*, where he took, plundered, and destroyed a number of forts and castles. In his absence the artful *Guenesio* began to ruminate upon the event; he considered how precarious was the support of auxiliaries, whose designs might have the same tendency as those of the avowed enemy; how much easier it was to treat with the *Florentines* for a peace, while his
e affairs were in a prosperous condition, than it would be after the departure or defeat of *Sforza*; he concluded, that now was the most adviseable time for him to enter into a treaty, and secure by a solid, though disadvantageous peace, that tranquility upon which his power and happiness depended [r].

Commissioners were in consequence secretly dispatched to *Stella* and *Florence* with proposals; but *Sforza* having intelligence of the design returned suddenly with a strong corps to *Lucca*, and seizing upon *Paolo* and his family, sent them prisoners to *Milan*, after he had distributed his money and rich moveables among the soldiers [s].

Scarce had he led his troops back to *Lombardy* when *Stella* returned to the siege of *Lucca*, where he was strongly reinforced by a body of horse and foot detached from *Florence*.
f This determined *Philip* to send *Picinino*, in the name of the *Genoese*, who were said to have received *Lucca* under their protection, to relieve the city. The news of his march and powerful army obliged the *Florentines* to apply to *Venice* for assistance, in consequence of a treaty offensive and defensive subsisting between the republics. Perceiving the danger which threatened their allies, the *Venetians* dispatched commissioners to *Philip* to acquaint him, that the republic could easily penetrate into his designs; that the *Venetians* were sensible the *Genoese* were incapable of raising such a force as *Picinino* was leading against the *Florentines* their allies; that it was absurd to pretend that a state, which itself was under his dominion, should have taken *Lucca* under its protection; and lastly, that if he did not recal his generals and troops, who incontestably composed the greater part of *Picinino*'s army, they would
g immediately march to the relief of their allies, and contrary to their inclinations, break the peace subsisting between the states. *Philip* gave no determinate answer to this peremptory

[q] Mont. Com. l. 4. [r] Ibid. etiam Sabel; et Blond. ubi supra. [s] Pasi. p. 74.

message,

meſſage, and the *Venetians* heſitated about entering upon war, until the news arrived that a
*Picinino* had defeated the *Florentines* before *Lucca*, which immediately produced a reſolution
of coming to a rupture [t].

THE *Venetians*, previous to hoſtilities, made divers attempts to draw *Franciſco Sforza* into
their intereſt, who had reſided at *Mirandola* from the time he left *Lucca*, without diſbanding
his army, or acknowledging any allegiance to *Philip*. The *Florentines* likewiſe left no means
untried to ſecure his friendſhip, to which *Sforza* was greatly diſpoſed, on account of the
mutual good offices which had long ſubſiſted between his father and the republic [u]. But *Phi-*
*lip* uſed the moſt forcible arguments to gain him, promiſing him his only daughter in mar-
riage, and the reverſion of his dominions if he ſhould die without male iſſue, as was proba-
ble. All their endeavours being baffled, the *Venetians* entered into a league with the mar- b
A. D. 1431. quis of *Montferrat*, to whom and ſome other petty princes they granted ſubſidies. The war
commenced with an attempt the *Florentines* made of reſuming the ſiege of *Lucca*, after the
departure of *Picinino*; but their deſign was fruſtrated by *Bartholomeo Fornari*, the *Genoeſe*
admiral, who lay at *Leghorn*, with a ſquadron of ſix gallies. *Fornari*'s vicinity obliged the
*Florentines* to garriſon *Piſa*, which they apprehended would revolt: the reſt of the army
were forced to retire on the approach of *Picinino*, who was returning to *Lucca* after he had
with wonderful rapidity over-run the country of the *Piſans*, and taken a great number of
forts and caſtles. So apprehenſive were the *Florentines* of loſing the city of *Piſa*, that they
paſſed a very extraordinary and cruel edict, to prevent their rebellion, viz. that all the in-
habitants, from the age of fifteen to ſixty years of age, ſhould depart the city before a c
candle, lighted up for the purpoſe, was conſumed, under penalty of their lives and confiſ-
cation of their effects [v]. *Picinino*, finding that *Lucca* was in no danger, marched into the
country of *Volterra*, where his conqueſts were no leſs rapid than before they had been in
the *Piſan* territories. Even the city of *Volterra* muſt muſt have fallen into his hands, had
not *Michaeli Attendulo* been ſeaſonably ſent with a ſtrong corps by pope *Eugenius* to its re-
lief, which obliged *Picinino* to abandon his deſign [x].

DURING theſe tranſactions, the *Venetian* army under *Carmagnola* took the field. This
general had ſome time remained encamped near *Orges*, watching an opportunity to enter
upon action with advantage: he now diſcovered a treaſonable correſpondence between the
governor of *Lodis* and the enemy, in which it was concerted that the caſtle ſhould be be- d
trayed to *Philip*. *Carmagnola* having prevented the deſign by hanging the governor, thought
of retaliating by a ſimilar conduct. He tampered with the chief officer of *Socinna*, that
the place might be delivered to him at a certain time agreed upon. The governor had
no ſooner touched *Carmagnola*'s money, than he ſent ſecret intelligence of the tranſaction
to *Philip*, who gave immediate orders to *Sforza* to march with all poſſible ſecrecy to *So-*
*cinna*, ſeize on all the paſſes, and lay a ſtrong ambuſcade for the *Venetians*. The troops
were diſpatched to take poſſeſſion of the place on the day appointed, *Carmagnola* remaining
with the army at ſome little diſtance: they no ſooner entered the town than they were ſur-
Carmagnola *defeated.* rounded by a body of *Milaneſe*, which had been admitted and concealed; *Sforza* at the ſame
time attacking the main army under *Carmagnola* ſo ſuddenly, and with ſo much vigour, that e
he quickly defeated it, the general with difficulty making his eſcape [y]. Thus *Carmagnola*
was taken in his own ſnare, with the loſs of a thouſand horſe, and the precipitate diſorderly
retreat of his whole army. To add to his mortification, he was upbraided by the governor
as a ſhallow ſuperficial plotter, a pretender to ſkill in the human heart, the baſeneſs of which
he eſtimated by the corruption of his own; falſely imagining that the love of money was the
firſt principle and ſpring of human actions [z]. The *Venetians* ſoon after received another de-
*The* Venetians *a ſecond time defeated.* feat in the *Cremoneſe*, where they loitered about in a diſorderly and irregular manner, with-
out diſcipline or conduct: but concerning this tranſaction *Sabellicus* alone ſpeaks, and he in
ſo conciſe a manner as would make the truth of it doubtful.

IN the mean time the *Florentines* were hard puſhed by *Picinino*: after this general had laid f
waſte *Volterra* he marched into the territories of *Arezzo*, where he very nearly ſurpriſed the
city. He battered forts, towns, and cities, many of which he took by force, ſome by ſtrata-
gem, while others voluntarily ſubmitted.

THE *Venetians*, not diſpirited with their loſſes, levied recruits with all poſſible diſpatch,
formed magazines, forged arms, and fitted out a ſquadron, which they ſent up the river with
ten thouſand men as far as *Cremona*. *Nicholao Treviſano* was made admiral, and the com-
mand of each ſhip given to a *Venetian* of birth. This fleet was furniſhed with a prodigious
number of warlike engines: it was likewiſe to be aſſiſted in its operations by *Carmagnola*,
who lay encamped near *Cremona* with twenty-four thouſand horſe and foot. *Philip* made
all the preparations he could to oppoſe ſo formidable an armament, though he was ſtill in-

[t] BLOND. l. 8. d. 3. SABEL. ibid. BONITEN. Com. p. 176. [u] SABEL. l. 2. d. 3. [w] SABEL. l. 2. d. 3.
BLOND. l. 8. d. 3. [x] Hiſtoire des Pap. F. 4. V. Eugen. [y] SABEL. l. 2. d. 3. [z] BLOND. l. 8. d 3.

ferior

a ferior in number of ſhips, a difference more than compenſated by the abilities of the admiral, and courage of the mariners and ſoldiers. The famous *Giovanni Grimaldi*, a *Genoeſe*, the greateſt ſea-officer of his time, commanded: he had choſen the beſt pilots, the beſt archers, and engineers that either *Philip* or *Genoa* could furniſh. *Picinino*'s return from *Tuſcany* had likewiſe greatly augmented the army; ſo that upon the whole *Grimaldi*, *Sforza*, and *Picinino* were a very equal match for *Carmagnola* and *Treviſano*. Much depended on the fate of a battle; the hopes and fears of both parties were proportioned to the conſequences of a defeat or victory. *Sforza* and *Picinino* to their ſtrength joined every thing which the policy and art of war could ſuggeſt: they made frequent attacks upon *Carmag-nola*'s trenches, as if they deſpiſed his army and the fleet that was advancing. The nearer
b *Treviſano* with the ſquadron approached, the more frequent and fierce were their aſſaults, at the ſame time that they conſulted with *Grimaldi* in what manner the *Venetian* fleet could be moſt advantageouſly attacked. *Grimaldi* propoſed, that *Picinino* with all the men at arms ſhould be embarked; that *Sforza* ſhould at the ſame time make a feint attack upon *Carmagnola*'s trenches, to prevent diſcovery of his weakneſs by the detachment under *Picinino*; and that the garriſon of *Cremona* ſhould aſſiſt by a vigorous ſally, while he fell down with the ſtream to give battle to *Treviſano* [a]. The *Venetians* deſiring nothing more than an engagement, rowed with all the force they could to meet the enemy; but as they approached *Picinino*, who advanced before the fleet with ſix gallies, they diſcovered the enemy's intention: finding they had to fight a land-army as well as a fleet, they ſent repeated accounts
c to *Carmagnola* of their ſituation; but he returned an anſwer reflecting on the courage of the admiral. The engagement in the mean while began, which both ſides ſuſtained with great conduct and valour. Towards ſun-ſet *Picinino* grappled with four *Venetian* gallies, who defended themſelves with courage, but enequal ſtrength or ſucceſs; for they were taken after an obſtinate reſiſtance: this induced *Treviſano* to retreat and fall back to the harbour from whence he had weighed anchor. *Grimaldi* purſued, and next day renewing the engagement, the *Venetians*, after an obſtinate conflict were defeated, not above five gallies, having eſcaped being either taken, ſunk, or deſtroyed. Two thouſand men were ſlain, and about ſix thouſand made priſoners, in which number were included thirteen ſenators. Prodigious booty fell into the enemy's hands, and the victory was in all reſpects complete
d and deciſive.

*A battle.*

*The* Venetians *retreat.*

THIS misfortune was attended with the revolt or deſertion of *Palavicini*, and diſmiſſion of *Carmagnola* from his office: indeed, he was ſo chagrined at this laſt accident, that he would voluntarily have reſigned the command; but the *Venetians* were ſo far from being daunted by the unfortunate defeat, that they reſolved to carry war into the bowels of the *Genoeſe* territories, as *Philip*'s fleet was commanded by an admiral of that country, and chiefly manned by *Genoeſe*. A ſquadron of eighteen gallies was immediately got ready for this purpoſe, compleatly manned, armed, and victualled. *Pietro Loretano*, a man of experience and conduct, was appointed to command the expedition, and every thing done that could render his ſucceſs probable [b]. He ſoon arrived at *Leghorn*, where he was joined
e by five *Florentine* gallies: there too he accepted of the offered ſervices of *Adorini* and *Fieſci*, two noblemen of *Genoa*, who for ſome time had lived in baniſhment, and whoſe powerful influence and connexions it was thought might induce the *Genoeſe* to attempt the recovery of their liberty: but ſuch conjectures proved deluſive; the *Genoeſe* had prepared for their defence a ſtrong fleet of twenty-four gallies, commanded by *Francis Spinola*, a man equally diſtinguiſhed by the nobility of his birth and his perſonal bravery [c]. The *Venetian* fleet was come within ten miles of *Genoa* before intelligence was received at *Genoa:* the news no ſooner arrived than *Spinola* ſailed in ſuch haſte to meet *Loretano*, that ſome of his ſhips could ſcarce overtake him before battle was joined. About day-break the fleets deſcried each other, and orders were given on both ſides to prepare for an engagement.
f *Spinola* encouraged his men by reminding them of their late ſucceſs, of their ſuperiority, and of the dejection of the enemy. On the contrary, *Loretano* exhorted his fleet to wipe off the diſgrace incurred by the loſs under *Treviſano* [d]: the enemy, he ſaid, was by no means contemptible, and to conquer would require an exertion of their courage; but then the honour of victory was proportionable, and they could have no hopes in flight from a fleet ſuperior and lighter [e]. *Spinola* having the advantage of the wind, ordered his ſhips to bear down on the enemy, which *Loretano* obſerving, thought it adviſeable to decline battle, until the curvature of the coaſt ſhould give him the weather-gage. The *Genoeſe* admiral attributing his retreat to fear, gave chace, and was juſt a-ſtern when *Loretano* put the helm round, engaged with great intrepidity, and was bravely received by *Spinola*. After an obſtinate

Loretano *admiral.*

*The* Genoeſe *prepare to fight* Loretano.

[a] BLOND. ibid. SABEL. ibid. apud SABEL. [b] BLOND. et MONTAN. [c] SABEL. l. 8. d. 3.
[d] BLOND. l. 8. d. 3. MONTAN. p. 201. [e] Ibid. BLOND. SABEL. et MONTAN. ibid.

Loretano *gains a complete victory.*

conflict, the *Venetians* having grappled with eight *Genoese* gallies, took them, together with a the admiral, whose fate produced a decisive victory, the particulars of which are not specified by historians.

*War in* Lombardy.

During these transactions by sea, the war went briskly on in *Lombardy*. *Philip*, puffed up with his success on the *Po*, came to *Cremona* to compliment his generals and the army upon their conduct. The *Venetians* were encamped at *Suma*, where he resolved to attack them if they could be brought to an engagement, which he apprehended would be difficult: but in this he was mistaken; they were impatient for an opportunity of wiping off the disgrace. The *Venetian* general ordered his army to be drawn up in battalia, firmly expecting the enemy's attack, which soon began with great vigour: they fought for the whole day, every company in both armies, horse and foot, having a share in the engage- b ment. Both sides, however, being tired out before either thought fit to yield the victory, a mutual retreat was sounded, after incredible slaughter, in which the loss was very equal. *Sabellicus* says, that *Carmagnola* commanded the *Venetians* in this engagement, though he is silent concerning the occasion of his being reinstated; but he would seem right from the following incident, which became an article of that general's impeachment. A few days after this last battle a scheme for surprising *Cremona* was proposed by the brave *Cavalcobovis*, a *Venetian* officer: it was so well concerted, and his assurance of success so strong, that *Carmagnola* could not refuse complying with his earnestness to make the experiment. In the middle of *October* this gentleman set out about midnight from the camp with a body of troops, concealing himself among the sedges and rushes which surrounded the moat at c the foot of the walls. As soon as day-light appeared, and that the centinels went off guard, he applied scaling-ladders to the ramparts, which his troops mounted unobserved: another corps, that had seasonably arrived to his support, followed, leaving a strong guard on the ladders, in order that *Carmagnola* might send further reinforcements. He then marched into the city, seized upon several guards, repulsed the inhabitants who assembled to oppose him, and took possession of the nearest gate: here he maintained his ground for eight hours, in spite of all the efforts of a numerous garrison, who attacked him from every quarter. He sent repeated messengers to *Carmagnola* to acquaint him with his success, and to request that he would enter with the army at the gate he kept open for him; but *Carmagnola*, pretending his apprehensions of some treachery, hesitated so long, that *Cavalcobovis*, unable d longer to sustain the enemy, abandoned the city [g]. This transaction clearly proves that *Carmagnola* commanded after the defeat on the *Po*, which happened three months before the attempt on *Cremona*. As it afterwards formed the chief article of his impeachment, it leaves no room for doubt concerning the name of the *Venetian* general, when this project of *Cavalcobovis* was put in execution.

Fiesci *and* Adorini *murdered.*

In the mean time *Fiesci* and *Adorini*, who had been left at *Reca*, when *Loretano* departed from thence, were treacherously slain in their way from *Pisa* to *Florence*. They were suddenly attacked by one *Buffettio* of *Pavia*, at the head of a troop of ruffians. Their defence was brave, and worthy of their birth and reputation; for after great slaughter made among the assassins, and several wounds received, they at length dropt down dead with e fatigue and loss of blood. This *Buffettio* was supposed to have been employed by *Philip*, for no personal animosity had subsisted between him and those unfortunate noblemen [h].

About this time, and soon after the defeat of the *Genoese* by *Loretano*, *Bernardo Adorini*, brother to *Adorini*, who was assassinated, had caused all the coast of *Genoa* to revolt. He made incursions all over the country with three hundred horse given him by the marquis of *Montferrat*; but was in the end defeated by *Picinino*, and the country reduced to its former obedience [i]. Historians relate barbarous instances of *Picinino*'s cruelty upon this occasion: instances which stain the great reputation he deservedly acquired by his extraordinary military atchievements. Besides the numbers he had slain in two battles, some hundreds of prisoners were put to death by a shocking variety of tortures. Having thus glutted his in- f humanity with blood, he had recourse to other methods of gratifying the natural cruelty of his disposition: he exposed to sale all the children, women, and priests, that fell into his hands, the soldiers having first indulged themselves in acts the most lascivious, wanton, and barbarous [k].

But to return to the affairs of *Chios*: the intended armament, consisting of fourteen gallies, ten ships of burthen, together with a great number of small vessels, being now in readiness, the command was given to *Andrea Mocenigo*. He sailed for the island, and immediately on his arrival invested the chief city by sea and land. This place, likewise called *Chios*, was strong by nature and art: the fortifications, for those times, were not only regular, but the garrison was numerous, and stores of every kind plentiful; insomuch that,

[g] Sabel. l. 8. d. 3. Blond. Flav. l. 8. d. 3. [h] Pasius apud Sabel. ibid. [i] Montan. Com. l. 4. p. 116. [k] Sabel. Blond. & Montan. ibid.

a after *Mocenigo* had battered the walls with all manner of engines then known, for the ſpace of two months, little or no impreſſion was made. Upon news of great preparations making at *Genoa* for the relief of the city, he thought it adviſeable to raiſe the ſiege, without hazarding farther loſſes. Before he embarked his troops, he laid waſte the whole iſland, deſtroying the corn-fields, and tearing up the vintages: unable to perform actions worthy of a great commander, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by others becoming the character of a ſavage and barbarian.

*The attempt upon* Chios *fails.*

THE following ſpring *Pietro Spinola* was detached thither by the *Genoeſe* with a fleet of fourteen gallies: hearing of this armament, the *Venetians* reinforced *Loretano*, and gave orders ſtrictly to watch the motions of the enemy. *Loretano* ſailed from *Corfu*, and with in- A D. 1432.
b credible diſpatch arrived at *Leghorn* a few days after the departure of the *Genoeſe* fleet. By their coaſting along *Sicily* he miſſed them; ſo that *Spinola* arrived at *Corfu* a ſhort time after the *Venetian* admiral quitted the iſland. The inhabitants were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation on ſight of the enemy, as their new fortifications, raiſed by the advice of *Loretano*, were incomplete, and the iſland in other reſpects but indifferently prepared for defence. Immediate intelligence of the deſtination of the *Genoeſe* was ſent to *Loretano* by the ſenate: he therefore diſpatched ſix of his beſt gallies double-manned, which, being joined by four more appointed by the ſenate, ſteered directly to *Corfu*.

*The* Genoeſe *arrive at* Corfu.

*PICININO*, in the mean while, having laid waſte the whole marquiſate of *Montferrat*, returned to the *Cremoneſe*, where he ſoon retook *Torcello* and *Bordellan*, both well garriſoned,
c and within a ſhort diſtance of the *Venetian* army. Every one was amazed at the conduct of *Carmagnola*; his ſloth and ſecurity while the enemy were employed in ſacking, burning, and ſeizing on the dominions of the republic, excited ſuſpicions of his fidelity. Some were of opinion that his reputation ought to ſtand unimpeached until proſs of his treachery appeared; others again thought, and among theſe were the procurators of St. *Mark*'s, that he ſhould be taken into cuſtody, and compelled either to clear his honour, or receive the juſt puniſhment of his perfidy: but all were ignorant that a decree of the ſenate had paſſed againſt him from the time of his defeat on the *Po*; ſo ſecret are all the tranſactions of that auguſt body. *Carmagnola* himſelf, though he had reſided for ſome weeks in *Venice*, and had numerous connections among the ſenators, was ſo far from ſuſpecting any deſigns againſt him, that he paid his compliments to the doge the very day he was taken into cuſtody. When
d he returned to *Venice* from the army, he was met as he came out of his gondola by a great number of ſenators, who conducted him to the prince's palace, where he was received with the ſame reſpect as if nothing againſt him had been determined (A). Before the decree was made public he was taken into cuſtody, and then the ſenate's reaſons ſignified to the people; after which he was put to the torture, convicted of a treaſonable correſpondence by his own letters and hand-writing, which he could not deny, beheaded, and his effects confiſcated to the public treaſure [l]. Thus ended the life of *Carmagnola*; glorious in its firſt career under *Philip* of *Milan*, but contaminated in the end by pride, avarice, and corruption. With a magnanimity becoming a hero he had a meanneſs unworthy of a man; his conduct plainly evinced, that when corruption once ſeizes the human heart, like a rank poiſon, it
e inſtantly deſtroys every principle of honour, honeſty, and virtue. Before his impriſonment the prince of *Mantua*, with *Cornaro Dandolo* as proveditor, had ſecret orders to repair to the army, to take upon him the command [m].

Carmagnola's *ſuſpicious conduct.*

Carmagnola *beheaded.*

*PICININO*, elated with his late ſucceſs, cloſely purſued the courſe of victory: a wound he received at the ſiege of *Pontoglio* firſt put a ſtop to his career; he was ſo dangerouſly ill that his life was deſpaired of, by which means *Philip* was for a time deprived of one of his beſt and moſt active officers [n]. Henceforward his affairs began to decline: *Tollentino*, who had entered into the pope's ſervice after deſerting *Philip*, was now diſmiſſed by his holineſs, and retained in the *Florentine* pay. He began his ſervices by fierce incurſions into the territory of *Sienna*, with great violence laying waſte all the ſea-coaſts of the enemy or
f their allies. After joining *Attendulo*, aſſociated with him in the command, he attacked ſome towns belonging to the *Siennois*, and, after reducing them, retook all the enemy's conqueſts in the *Piſan* territories. Soon after which he attacked *Philip*'s army commanded by *Ber-*

Picinino's *ſucceſs ſtopped by a wound.*

[l] SABEL. ibid. AMELOT. [m] BLOND. l. 9. d. 3. [n] BLOND, ibid.

(A) *Sabellicus* relates, that *Carmagnola* was at *Venice* the very night the decree againſt him paſſed in the ſenate, eight months before his trial: that the doge not returning before morning from the ſenate he was met by *Carmagnola*, who jocoſely aſked whether he was to wiſh his highneſs a good night or good morning: to which the prince ſmilingly replied, that the ſenate had ſat late, and often talked of him. In ſhort, this extreme caution, though it may give the reader a high opinion of the ſecrecy of the ſenate, will ſcarce prejudice him in favour of the ſincerity and honour of the individuals who compoſed it. There is ſomething extremely ſhocking, and really unneceſſary, in the ſpecious appearances of friendſhip from the doge and ſenate to this unfortunate man, at the very time, and for a continuance after, they had doomed his deſtruction.

*nardin*

*nardino Ubaldino*, defeated and took the general priſoner, with near three thouſand inferior officers and private men [o]. a

Sigiſmund *comes with an army into* Italy.

AT this time *Sigiſmund*, ſon to *Charles* of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*, came with an army to *Italy*, in conſequence of a treaty with *Philip*. He firſt marched to *Milan*, where he was crowned; after which he led his army towards *Lucca*, as had been concerted between him and *Philp*. *Tolletino* having intelligence of his deſign marched towards *Lucca*, to prevent his ſeizing upon the *Venetian* forts round the country. As both the armies lay encamped at ſome diſtance from the city, *Tolletino*'s camp was ſurpriſed in the night by a ſtrong body detached by *Sigiſmund*, and ſupported by a briſk aſſault upon another quarter from the city; but after a bloody diſpute the enemy were repulſed with great ſlaughter [p]. Some of the *Hungarians* penetrated as far as *Attendulo*'s tent, who, we are told, was attacked b by a trooper of enormous ſtature. The *Hungarian* ſtruck him a blow on the head that muſt infallibly have ended his life, had not the goodneſs of his helmet reſiſted it; but *Attendulo* ſoon recovering himſelf made a thruſt, which pierced the heart of the ſoldier and ended the diſpute [q]. *Sigiſmund* undertook no other exploits againſt *Tolletino*; for retiring to *Sienna*, he entered into ſome controverſies with the pope, which employed the remainder of the ſeaſon in negociations. After theſe were amicably terminated he went to *Rome*, and there was crowned emperor.

*The* Venetians *ſucceſs in* Lombardy.

IN *Lombardy* the *Venetians* had ſtill better ſucceſs, *Sanchio Venieri* and *Cornaro* having recovered *Bordellana*, *Ruminenga*, *Fontanelles*, and *Socinna*; after which both ſides began to talk of peace. The *Venetians*, at the requeſt of the marquis of *Montferrat*, ſent commiſ- c ſioners to *Ferrara* to treat of the conditions, and receive propoſals from the enemy: here two deputies from *Florence* and *Milan* arrived. During the congreſs the proveditori *Venieri* and *Cornaro* were puſhing their conqueſts [r]: they paſſed the mountains and reduced the valley of *Camona* and *Valtellina*. Then attempting to lay a bridge over the *Adda* they were fruſtrated in the deſign by the obſtinate reſiſtance of the enemy: *Cornaro*, however, kept poſſeſſion of part of *Valtellina*, and with a body of three thouſand horſe repulſed *Picinino*, called in by the *Gibelline* faction (B). But that ſubtle general effected by cunning what he could not compaſs by force. The day after his defeat he returned to the charge, as if he intended to renew the engagement: ſkirmiſhing briſkly with *Cornaro*'s troops, he began to give ground, as if unable to ſuſtain the power of the enemy, and maintained a d

*Venetians defeated.*

fighting retreat until he had drawn them into a ſtrong ambuſcade. Here the *Venetians*, attacked on every ſide were put to flight, about three hundred being made priſoners: among theſe were *Cornaro*, *Cæſar Martinenga*, *Thadeo D'Æſte*, *Baptiſta Capitio*, *Hulars* of *Friuli*, *Antonio Martinaſco*, and ſeveral other officers of diſtinction and great reputation. *Caſſel-Major* was likewiſe recovered by ſome of *Philip*'s officers, which was followed by the reduction of *Brixelles* [s].

Caſſel-Major *taken by* Philip.

*Peace treated of and concluded.*

THE winter now approaching, both armies retired into winter-quarters, and peace was more ſeriouſly treated of than before: at laſt it was concluded towards the following ſpring, on theſe conditions, that *Philip* ſhould reſtore all the towns and fortified places taken in *Breſcia* and the *Bergameſe*; that he made reſtitution to the *Florentines* of all he had taken in e the *Piſan* and *Volaterran* territories; that he ſhould exert his influence to oblige the *Siennois* to reſtore to *Florence* whatever they had ſeized from the republic; that he would ſurrender the eſtate of *Montferrat* to the marquis, making good the damage ſuſtained by that prince from the detention of his dominions; that he would grant a full pardon to *Vermio* and others who had carried arms in the *Venetian* ſervice. The article moſt diſputed was the town of *Pontremola*, which at length was ceded to *Philip*, on condition that all the plunder taken from the *Florentine* inhabitants ſhould be reſtored. Before the peace was ratified by the ſenate, an ambaſſy was diſpatched to demand *Cornaro*, who had not returned with the other priſoners, with orders to break off all that had been agreed upon, if *Philip* ſhould refuſe his releaſe. Upon their arrival they opened their inſtructions, and had an audience of f

*The brave* Cornaro *dies in priſon.*

the duke, who gravely told them he was ſorry for the reſolution of the ſenate, ſince it was not poſſible for him to comply with their requeſt. Upon this the ambaſſadors were proceeding to extremities, when he told them at length, that the body of *Cornaro* they might take back, but the ſoul, all that was valuable, had taken its flight two days before. It was indeed true, that *Cornaro* died of grief at his diſgrace in being made a priſoner. His bravery, his noble ſpirit, and generoſity, had acquired him the eſteem of *Philip*, by whom he was no leſs lamented than by his own countrymen. The ambaſſadors returning with the me-

[o] SABEL. l. 3. d. 3. MONTAN. 132. [p] BARRE Hiſt. Allem. V. t. 8. p. 226. [q] SABEL. ibid.
[r] BLOND. ibid. [s] SABEL. l. 3. d. 3.

(B) What the *Gibelline* and *Guelf* factions were, has been explained in the general hiſtory of *Italy*, vol. xxvi.

lancholy

a lancholly news the peace was ratified, and the mutual articles performed with all convenient expedition [t].

It is remarkable that in every treaty between the *Venetians* and *Philip*, though each party was heartily tired of war and desirous of peace, yet something always occurred to prevent its being solid and durable. One time an article was granted unwillingly, and soon became a cause of contention: another, a peace was made only to enable the parties to resume the war with fresh vigour: in the present case, some differences between *Philip* and the pope arose immediately after the congress at *Ferrara*, disturbed the public tranquility, and even prevented the effects of that treaty. The *Venetians* could not be idle spectators while their countryman was molested in his pontifical dignity. As *Eugenius* had ever since his pro-
b motion strongly supported them against *Philip*, gratitude obliged them now not to be indifferent to his interests. *Philip* had never acknowleged his authority; and now that he found himself disengaged from war, he could better pursue his dislike to the pope, which he did with great animosity and rancour [u]: but for the particulars of this war the reader must consult the volume above quoted.

During the war between the pope and *Visconti*, in which the *Venetians* acted only as auxiliaries, *Carrario*, who had been absent when his father was put to death at *Venice*, and ever since lived in *Germany*, was solicited by *Philip* to return to *Italy*, thinking by his means to stir up the *Paduans* against the republic. After an exile of thirty years he came back to his native country, where he remained for some months concealed, endeavouring to prevail up-
c on the *Paduans* to throw off the *Venetian* yoke, and receive him as their lawful prince. His promises were so liberal, and the expectations so great which he had raised in many, that his restoration was eagerly desired. The inhabitants of *Verona* and *Vicenza* were particularly disposed to favour him, and just ready to declare themselves, when the senate receiving intelligence of the design, gave orders he might be seized: accordingly *Carrario*, in the habit of a *German* merchant, and several of his friends and accomplices, were brought to *Venice*, convicted, and put to death [w].

This year it was that the *Genoese* resolved to throw off the dominion of *Philip*, who had A. D. 1433.
d governed them with a despotic sway for a great number of years, without the least regard or tenderness for their ancient customs and liberty. *Spinola*, who had been prisoner in *Venice* since the action with *Loretano*, was the great fomenter of this revolt: he had contracted *Spinola stirs up a rebellion.*
strict intimacies and warm friendships with several noble *Venetians* during his confinement: by them he was often exhorted and excited to encourage his countrymen to recover the liberty they had as foolishly as basely surrendered. They reminded him of the former splendor of the city before it was enslaved and subjected to the caprice and will of a tyrant: how mean and pitiful it was to give up the freedom which their ancestors had so bravely asserted at the hazard of their lives: how unbecoming that a city, herself the mistress of many other cities and large dominions, should be the slave, the vassal of a petty prince, inferior in power and glory to herself. In short, they gave him room to hope for strong supplies of men,
e money, and provisions, if he could persuade his countrymen to follow what their own interests, honour, and inclinations strongly dictated. They assured him, that both they and the *Florentines* were ready to hazard their own liberty to recover the freedom of *Genoa*, not only from the just resentment they bore to *Philip*, but from the natural regard that both states must have for a sister republic. Animated with these remonstrances, *Spinola* returned to *He returns to* Genoa.
*Genoa*, and immediately set every engine at work to effect a revolution: his success in inflaming the common people was so great, that nothing less than the influence of *Sigismund* could prevail with them longer to support the *Milanese* yoke, although perhaps to throw themselves into the power of another master less powerful, but equally proud and haughty: but the politic *Sigismund* foresaw that any revolution upon this occasion, while his hands
f were fully employed otherways, would be a total exclusion of his imperial dominion, exerted himself so heartily in behalf of *Visconti*, that the tumults excited by *Spinola* were for the time appeased, and all thoughts of a revolution deferred to a more convenient opportunity [x].

In the war between pope *Eugenius* and *Visconti*, *Sforza* commanded the troops of the holy see and the *Venetian* auxiliaries. Disputes arose between him and the republic respecting his pay: *Cosmo de Medicis* came purposely from *Florence* to *Venice*, in order to conciliate the parties; but his mediation proving abortive, *Sforza* made up his quarrel with *Philip*, and returned to his service. Both the *Venetians* and *Piccinino* were offended at this treaty; the latter was particularly enraged, and every where exclaimed against the ingratitude of *Philip*,
g as if a friendship for *Sforza* was an injury done to himself: but as if his resentment to *Philip* had excited himself to a more earnest discharge of his duty, he attacked *Ostasio Polentano*,

[t] Sabel. ibid. [u] Hist. de Papes. tom. iv. [w] Sabel. l. 3. d. 3. [x] Barre Hist. Allemagne. v. 8. Sabel. l. 3. d. 3 Blond. l. 9. d. 3.

prince of *Ravenna*, with ſo much vigour and ſucceſs, that he was at laſt compelled to forſake the *Venetian* alliance and embrace the party of *Philip*. Soon after this he took *Imola* and *Bologna* from the pope, and in every reſpect performed greater ſervices to the cauſe of *Viſconti* than he had ever done before his quarrel. It would be difficult to determine whether *Picinino*'s conduct was actuated by a rivalſhip of *Sforza*, by more generous motives, or by ſound policy and his endeavours to ſhew *Philip* the importance of his friendſhip, and force of his merit. All we know is, that he rendered *Viſconti* ſignal ſervices, and did the pope, *Venetians*, and their allies irreparable damage [y]. a

Mellato *commands the* Venetians.

*MELLATO*, who commanded the *Venetian* army, in the mean time, was not idle: after he had recovered all the places taken in the *Bergameſe* by *Picinino* in the laſt campaign, he entered the *Cremoneſe*, and every where carried with him terror and deſolation. *Picinino*, hearing of *Mellato*'s progreſs, recalled all his detachments, marched into the *Cremoneſe*, and encamped between the *Po* and the city *Cremona*. Paſſing the river, he went and beſieged *Caſſel-Major*, which he knew would divert *Mellato* from his other deſigns. The event anſwered his conjecture; for *Mellato* having ſtrongly garriſoned all the places he poſſeſſed in the *Cremoneſe*, marched to *Caſſel-Major*, and found means to throw in a reinforcement. Having fully ſupplied *Socinna*, a ſtrong place of equal conſequence, and placed centinels and corps du gard along the river, he encamped at *Bina*, twelve miles from *Caſſel*, his army not being ſtrong enough to raiſe the ſiege by a battle. *Picinino*, taking advantage of his ſuperior force, which conſiſted of twenty thouſand fine troops, almoſt double the number of *Mellato*'s army, proſecuted the ſiege with unwearied diligence, and great vigour [z]. For nineteen days ſucceſſively did he batter the walls, almoſt without intermiſſion, or any great ſucceſs. The ſenate entertained hopes that he might at length be forced to abandon the ſiege, both from the ſtrength of the place and the obſtinacy of the garriſon: but their expectations were ſoon diſappointed by the ſudden fall of a ſtrong tower, ſuppoſed to have been undermined by the treachery of ſome of the garriſon, corrupted by *Picinino*. So alarmed were the beſieged with this accident, that they hung out a flag of truce, and offered to capitulate upon reaſonable and moderate terms. Their propoſals were equivocally anſwered, which more ſtrongly confirmed the governor in his ſuſpicions. Mean while *Picinino* was ſcheming the deſtruction of the *Venetian* army: he delayed the capitulation, until the iſſue of an ambuſcade laid for *Mellato* ſhould appear; but the plot being diſcovered a capitulation was ſigned, and the garriſon permitted to march out with the honours of war, their arms, and ammunition. b

Picinino *beſieges* Caſſel-Major. c d

After *Gonzaga* had reſigned the command of the *Venetian* army, a report was propagated of his intention to enter into treaty with *Philip*: upon this the *Venetian* ſenate ſent ambaſſadors to him to diſſuade him from a deſign ſo injurious to the republic. Notwithſtanding he had reſigned his poſt of general, yet a conſiderable body of the *Mantuan* horſe acted under *Mellato*; and though *Gonzaga* generally reſided at *Mantua*, he often made excurſions, upon occaſions of conſequence, to the army, to aſſiſt *Mellato* with his advice and counſel. The ambaſſadors finding him at *Mantua*, received the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of his intention to preſerve the friendſhip of the *Venetians* inviolably, with which anſwer they returned fully ſatisfied. All this time *Gonzaga* maintained a ſecret correſpondence with *Picinino*, in which he agreed to aſſiſt the plan he had laid down for the ruin of *Mellato*, by withdrawing his forces and joining them to *Picinino*'s as ſoon as he began the propoſed attack. For this purpoſe he came to the *Venetian* camp, and ſtrongly adviſed *Mellato* to quit his preſent ſituation, and march into the enemy's country. He had ſo far gained upon the provedatori, by the ſpeciouſneſs of his manners and the force of his arguments, that they concurred with his opinion. *Picinino* arrived by a ſecret march upon the banks of the *Oglio*, and encamped at a ford about four miles diſtant from *Mellato*'s camp, where he diſpoſed every thing for an attack. The *Venetian* general ſuſpecting thoſe motions were only a feint to cover ſome other deſign, kept cloſe within his entrenchments, and took every neceſſary precaution. The frequent motions of the enemy ſtill more confirmed him in his opinion, that *Picinino* had ſome other deſign than to attack a camp ſtrongly fortified by nature and art. At laſt the courier between the treacherous *Gonzaga* and *Picinino* was taken, and the whole deſign diſcloſed to *Mellato*, who thinking it beſt to avoid coming to an explanation at that time, took his meaſures for deceiving *Gonzaga* and turning the tables: for this purpoſe he detached the *Mantuan* horſe under *Giovanni Tolentino*, with orders to croſs the river ſome miles above the enemy's camp, and to attack them in the rear, upon a ſignal given that the armies were engaged. Having thus diſengaged himſelf from the *Mantuans*, he gave orders for the army to decamp with the utmoſt ſilence, in the middle of the night, and marched with ſuch expedition, that by break of day he was twelve miles diſtant before the enemy was appriſed of his motions. In this manner did he proceed unmoleſted to *Bagnolo*, e

Gonzaga's *treachery*. f g

[y] Pass. apud Sabel. Mont. Comment. l. 4. [z] Blond. l. 9. d. 3.

where

a where he encamped and fortified himself in a situation almost inaccessible [b]. *Gonzaga*'s schemes being known at *Venice*, the senate resolved to punish his perfidy. With this intention, a prodigious fleet, consisting of sixty-five gallies, eight galliots, and a number of small vessels, was equipped with all possible dispatch, and the command given to *Pietro Lorotano*, the old and faithful favourite of the republic. He had orders to sail up the *Po*, and desolate the enemy's country. During the preparations at *Venice*, *Mellato* proposed sending part of his army to *Brescia*, both to refresh the troops and provide for the security of the town; he was strongly opposed by the inhabitants, who insisted upon its being left to their own defence. *Mellato* suspected their fidelity, until, by the influence of *Francisco Barbaro*, a leading person in the city, the inhabitants were persuaded to comply with his
b request, and the gates were put into the hands of the *Venetians*. *Barbaro*, at the same time, performed another signal service to the republic, reconciling, by his prudent conduct, the heads of a faction, whose animosity endangered the loss of the city [c].

*A fleet equipped against* Gonzaga.

*PICININO*, in the mean time, was concerting measures with *Gonzaga* and *Vermio* for shutting up the lake *Benac* and river *Mincia*, the only passes by which *Mellato* could supply his army with forage and provisions. Dividing his army into four columns, *Gonzaga* and *Vermio*, with two separate corps, entered the *Veronese*; and having, by the force of money made themselves masters of *Valeza*, they soon over-run all the country lying between the rivers *Adice* and *Mincia*. Here it was that *Giovanni Melavotte*, going from *Brescia* to *Verona*, with three hundred horse, fell into their hands after a brave resistance. They soon
c afterwards subdued the inhabitants of the lake *Benac*; and *Gonzaga* reduced *Pelcara*, situated at the rise of the *Mincia*, and *Lonata*, upon the *Brescian* mountains; forts which had formerly belonged to him, but were now garrisoned by *Venetians*. *Mellato*, having received reinforcements from *Brescia*, volunteers raised by *Barbaro*, and multitudes of mountaineers, his army was augmented to the number of twenty thousand strong; but finding that *Picinino*, by *Gonzaga*'s junction, was still superior, and suspecting the fidelity of several of his own officers, he waved his intention, and cantoned the army in the neighbouring towns and fortresses. *Picinino*, being thus at liberty to act as he pleased, led his army to besiege *Sales*; which, after some time lost, he was forced to relinquish, on account of the brave and obstinate defence of the garrison [d]. After this he drew near *Feliciana* and *Manubia*, by the
d terror of his arms compelling the *Forlani* and the inhabitants of *Monteclao* to embrace the cause of *Visconti*. Hence he marched to *Pontoglio*, which, with several other towns, he reduced before the end of the campaign.

*PHILIP*'s arms were no less successful in another quarter. In the valley of *Camona* he carried all before him, *Antonio Bechari*, his general there, having by force or persuasion, reduced all the inhabitants to his obedience: however, he did not long retain his conquests; for the diligent and faithful *Barbaro* of *Brescia* raised great bodies of mountaineers, whom he sent under the conduct of *Leonardo Martinenga* against *Bechari*. *Martinenga* soon drove the enemy out of the country with great slaughter; after which he over-ran the whole territory, destroying every thing with a barbarous fury, and severely punishing the cowardice
e and perfidy of the miserable inhabitants of the valley [e]. A. D. 1434.

During these exploits *Picinino* defeated *Gritti*, who was dispatched by *Mellato*, with a body of three hundred foot and two hundred horse, to reinforce *Chiava*, at that time besieged by the *Milanese* general; after which he invested *Rhoad*, but not before he had compleated the reduction of *Chiava*. *Mellato* apprehending the danger of the town from the weakness of the garrison, detached a body of troops, all volunteers, from the mountains of *Valhopia* and *Serotina*, to raise the siege, or at least to reinforce the garrison [f]. An ambuscade was laid for them by *Picinino*; but the *Venetian* general conducted his affairs so prudently that the enemy's scheme was baffled, a general engagement brought on between both armies, and the *Milanese* general forced to relinquish his enterprize. After an obsti-
f nate conflict a retreat was sounded by mutual consent, and the armies separated without victory's declaring for either; *Mellato* returned to *Brescia*, and *Picinino* to *Cologne* [g]. Policy and zeal, however, made *Barbaro* proclaim a complete victory all over *Brescia*; that *Picinino* was broken and repulsed with great slaughter, and that the night only had prevented the total destruction of his army. Nor was this report confined to *Brescia* only; it diffused itself to *Venice*, which excited so general a joy, that the people flocked to the market-place to congratulate each other upon the narrow escape of their army, and complete defeat of the enemy. The city at this time swarmed with sailors, raised for manning the fleet intended against *Gonzaga*: they soon became riotous in their mirth; they began with pulling down stalls and shops, to make fuel for their bonfires. At last the tumult
g became so great as to require the intervention of the magisterial authority; but this was likewise

*A tumult in* Venice.

[b] Blond. l. 9. d. 3. Blond. l. 9. d. 2. ibid.
[c] Sabel. l. 3. d. 3. [e] Blond. l. 9. d. 3.
[d] Mont. Com. l. 4. Pass. apud Sabel. l. 3. d. 3.
[f] Mont. ibid.
[g] Sabel. l. 3. d. 3. Blond.

likewiſe deſpiſed, and the mob continually increaſing, the whole city was in danger of a
being plundered and burnt, through the unruly and unbridled licentiouſneſs of the tumul-
*Appeaſed by* Loretano. tuous ſailors, when *Loretano* interpoſed: he was held in ſuch great veneration among them,
that their paſſions ſoon yielded to his arguments. The tumult was quelled, the mob diſ-
perſed, and public tranquility eſtabliſhed by this admiral, whoſe reputation and popularity
effected what the ſenate and doge found too difficult for their authority. He had for the
ſpace of twenty years been the conſtant and faithful ſervant of the republic: his mildneſs,
modeſty, liberality, and affability, had gained him the general eſteem: he was not more reſ-
pected by the people for his bravery and generoſity, than by the doge and ſenate for the
ſweetneſs of his manners, and zeal for the public ſervice. Notwithſtanding his great age,
he was now appointed to conduct one of the moſt formidable armaments ever equipped by b
the republic, and to execute a commiſſion of equal delicacy and importance.

*PICININO*, during the preparations at *Venice*, carried all before him by his vigilance,
Rhoad *taken by* Picinino. activity, and the ſuperiority of his army. Marching from *Coloignes* to *Rhoad* with all his
forces, he proſecuted the ſiege ſo vigorouſly, that the garriſon ſoon ſurrendered at diſcre-
tion. He then reduced *Bomedi*, *Paternia*, and *Paſſorini*. In the ſpace of one week he
forced the *Monticulans*, *Julians*, *Ornians*, and *Brienſes*, together with the forts of *Iſea* and
*Valhopia* to ſubmit to *Philip*. A few days after he poſſeſſed himſelf of all the *Breſcian* plains,
a great part of the mountains, and the whole territory, the new *Orges* excepted. His de-
ſign was to ſhut *Mellato* up in *Breſcia*, where, in a little time, for want of proviſions, he
muſt ſurrender [h]. The *Venetian*, ſuſpecting his intention, and aware of the conſequence of c
being pent up in that corner, left a ſtrong garriſon in the city, and, with the reſidue of
the army, began his march about the middle of the night towards *Verona*. *Blondus* ſays,
*Mellato* had with him five thouſand horſe and foot; but *Montano* and *Paſius* of *Arimini*,
who were both preſent in the whole war, affirm, that his army did not exceed three thou-
ſand. He firſt marched to the banks of the river *Mincia*, which he attempted to ford be-
fore *Valezia*; but was diſappointed on account of the depth of the water, and the oppoſi-
tion from the enemy. Upon this he returned to *Breſcia*, and was cloſely purſued by *Pici-
nino*, who might probably have ſurrounded the *Venetians*, had he taken the precaution of
ſending a body of troops to intercept their return, upon the preſumption that they would
be unable to advance. *Mellato*, finding it would be impoſſible to ſubſiſt longer in *Breſcia*, d
Mellato *propoſes croſſing the mountains.* determined to hazard every thing to avoid ſurrendering by famine [i]. He projected the
ſcheme of leading his troops to *Verona*, over mountains, and through foreſts which had al-
ways been deemed impaſſable. Nothing in hiſtory exceeds the difficulty of this march,
which was equal to *Hannibal*'s over the *Alps*. The army ſet out from *Breſcia* about mid-
night, paſſed through the vale of *Suabia* to the mountains, every ſoldier being furniſhed
with as much proviſion as he could conveniently carry. They continued their march through
rocks, bogs, foreſts, and deſerts for the whole night and all the ſucceeding day, without halt-
ing. The inhabitants of the valley of *Suabia*, ſubjected to the biſhop of *Trent*, knowing
their maſter's diſlike to the *Venetians*, took arms, and grievouſly harraſſed the rear of the
army. *Mellato*'s orders were, that the ſoldiers ſhould keep cloſe to their colours; but that e
was impoſſible in the difficulty of the roads, where frequently only one man could paſs,
while the horſes came tumbling down with their riders from precipices. This, and the fa-
tigue of the foot, occaſioned the loitering of numbers behind, who were conſtantly
knocked on the head by the *Suabians*. For the defence of the wearied infantry, *Mellato* or-
dered a troop of horſe to lead up the rear, and often to diſmount, in order to accommodate
ſoldiers unable to proceed. He was foremoſt in every danger, difficulty, and hardſhip.
The troops were animated by his example, and ſo affected with the goodneſs of their ge-
neral, that they chearfully performed exploits beyond their natural ſtrength. After hav-
ing travelled two days, the army halted to refreſh on the top of a mountain; and as ſoon
as the wearied ſoldiers had with food and ſleep recruited their exhauſted ſpirits, *Mellato* f
gave orders to proceed on their march by break of day. He knew the neceſſity of ex-
pedition, as the biſhop of *Trent* would not fail to take advantage of their deſperate ſitua-
tion. On this day's march he was joined by *Pario Lodron*, who followed him with a con-
ſiderable body of mountaineers from *Breſcia*, and had, in ſpite of fatigue and danger, re-
ſolved to ſhare the fortune of *Mellato* and the *Venetian* army.

*The terrible diſtreſs of the army.* In the mean time the biſhop of *Trent*, having notice that *Mellato* was paſſing through
his dominions, raiſed all the forces he could to block up the paſſes, and hem him in on every
ſide. This prelate ordered a ſtrong body of troops to ſeize upon the declivity of a ſteep
mountain, over which *Mellato* muſt neceſſarily march by an exceeding narrow path. With- g
out an enemy the place was horrible; two men could ſcarce paſs a-breaſt, and the moun-

[h] Blond. l. 9. d. 3. Mont. p. 27. [i] Montan. ibid. Sabel. et Blond. ubi ſupra.

a tain was almoſt perpendicular: above appeared nothing but ſtones and rocks; nor was the proſpect below leſs dreadful; the brain turned giddy, and the moſt reſolute courage was diſmayed: the leaſt ſlip of the foot, or the ſlighteſt accident would have ſent the paſſengers tumbling into eternity; how horrible then muſt it have been to encounter an enemy from above, and the immenſe ſtones they ſent rolling down with prodigious force! *Mellato* perceiving the troops quite diſheartened with the danger, advanced with a detachment againſt the enemy: he made a ſweep round the hill, and ſcrambled up with a ſpirit and reſolution that amazed his own troops, and confounded the enemy, who were ſoon broke and defeated. Having happily effected this he returned to the army, who impatiently waited the event of the expedition. To add to the miſery of this day's march, every little rivulet
b was ſwelled with the deluges of rain, and rendered ſcarce fordable. Nothing but neceſſity and an invincible courage could ſurmount the numberleſs difficulties that concurred; an enemy barbarous to a great degree, famine, fatigue, mountains, rocks, tempeſtuous weather, and almoſt impaſſable deſerts: theſe, together with ſickneſs, which now prevailed, made up the horrid catalogue. At length, after three days march, they deſcended to the plain on the banks of the river *Sarta*, which runs from the mountains of *Trent* to the lake *Benac*: here the army was obliged to ſtop, the fords being found too deep for the paſſage of the infantry. Next morning the oppoſite ſhore of the river was covered with *Vermio*'s troops, diſpatched by *Picinino* along the lake to oppoſe the paſſage of the *Venetians*: they were likewiſe purſued and attacked in the rear by the biſhop of *Trent*, who by this time had collected an *Attacked by the enemy.*
c army greatly ſuperior to *Mellato*'s. In this extremity the *Venetians* were relieved by the courage and conduct of a ſubaltern officer, who propoſed that in the night torches ſhould be tied to their lances, and the army march as if determined to attempt the paſſage of the river rather than periſh in their preſent ſituation. The enemy, who defended the paſs by which it was deſigned to eſcape, obſerved the *Venetians* make towards the river, and they doubted not but their intention was to open themſelves a way through it by the ſword. Without heſitation they poured down from the mountains to attack *Mellato* in the rear; but no ſooner moved than *Piloſus* ſeized upon their poſt with a ſmall party he had with him, and made a ſignal to the reſt of the forces, that he was in poſſeſſion. Immediately a ſhout of joy was heard all over the army, and the enemy perceiving their miſtake, endeavoured to regain Piloſus *ſaves the army.*
d the paſs; but they were received by *Piloſus* with a courage equal to his conduct, and repulſed with great ſlaughter. Then did *Mellato* purſue his march, croſſing the river without oppoſition, by which the army found themſelves next day in a plentiful country, after having long ſuſtained the utmoſt preſſure of fatigue and hunger in barren mountains. The change was a paradiſe to them, and *Piloſus* regarded as a tutelary angel both by the general and ſoldiers. *Mellato* was ſo ſenſible of his ſervices, that he immediately preferred him to the poſt of centurion, and recommended him to the ſenate as the preſerver of the *Venetian* army.

During theſe tranſactions in the mountains of *Trent*, *Loretano* with the *Venetian* fleet entered the *Po*; but found his paſſage oſtructed by *Gonzaga*, who had cauſed great piles to Loretano *enters the* Po.
e be driven in the river, upon which he laid ſtrong planks, building forts at every twenty paces diſtance, and filling up the ſpaces with ſtrong iron chains in ſuch a manner as made them impaſſable [k]. He likewiſe ſtrongly garriſoned *Sermena*, a ſtrong town upon the *Po*, and took his meaſures ſo well as effectually ſtopped *Loretano*. This admiral waited for three weeks, every day in expectation of the land-forces: at laſt wearied out, he reſolved to beſiege *Sermena*, but found the place too well prepared to entertain hopes of ſucceeding without a greater force of infantry. Chagrined with diſappointment *Loretano* fell ſick, and died univerſally regretted.

While *Mellato* was croſſing the mountains *Picinino* laid ſiege to *New Orges*, and carried it through the treachery and corruption of *Pietro Luca*, whom *Mellato* had diſpatched with
f three hundred horſe to reinforce the garriſon, and take upon him the command. After this he received orders from *Philip*, though late in the ſeaſon, to beſiege *Breſcia*, which had long Picinino *lays ſiege to* Breſcia.
been the object of his ambition. *Picinino* immediately led his army, conſiſting of twenty thouſand fighting men, and a great number of battering pieces, againſt this city, and without delay opened the trenches. Before this ſiege few hiſtorians take notice of cannon uſed by the *Italians*, though it is imagined the invention was known to the *Venetians* at the time when *Chioggia* was taken by the *Genoeſe*. *Baronius* expreſly mentions, that by means of them the ſiege of *Venice* was raiſed, and the *Genoeſe* blocked up in *Chioggia*. Upon the preſent occaſion we are told, that *Picinino* had pieces of cannon ſent him from *Milan*, which carried bullets of three hundred weight. His batteries played ſo furiouſly againſt the tower
g of *Mombellane*, and other parts of the city, that ſeveral breaches were made in the walls, and the garriſon began to talk of a capitulation [l]: however, *Barbaro* the governor, and ſome of

[k] Sabel. ibid. [l] Sabel. ibid.

the chief officers, ſtill determined to defend it to the laſt extremity. By agreement among a
them it was reſolved, that *Chriſtophoro Donato*, the chief civil magiſtrate, ſhould keep open
table, and generouſly entertain all degrees of men, that they might the better ſupport the
fatigues of the ſiege, and more ſecurely be fixed in their allegiance to the republic: that
*Barbaro*, who was the higheſt military magiſtrate, equally zealous for the public good, ge-
nerous, and brave, ſhould by the ſame means animate and ſupport the garriſon. *Barbaro*
omitted nothing which could prompt them to their duty: he even feigned letters and meſ-
ſages of ſpeedy ſuccour promiſed him, by which and his own example there was not an in-
dividual in the garriſon who had not rather periſh than ſubmit. Thus inſpirited he made
ſeveral ſucceſsful ſallies, whereby the enemy were often repulſed with great ſlaughter, and
their batteries deſtroyed. All the breaches made in the day were repaired at night, and the b
beſiegers ſurpriſed with finding complete walls next morning as they were preparing to ſtorm
the city: even the women laboured with indefatigable induſtry, danger, and the example of
*Barbaro* inſpiring them with unuſual magnanimity and courage. At laſt diſeaſe and famine
were near producing what neither the power or skill of the enemy could effect. To obviate
this inſupportable evil, proclamation was made for all thoſe unable or unwilling to bear arms
to retire from the city. In conſequence of this, one half of the inhabitants removed, with
their wives and families [m]. The city appeared in a manner deſolate; but the courage of
thoſe who remained was unappalled. Although the aſſaults of the enemy were more fre-
quent, and their hopes augmented in proportion as the number of the beſieged was diminiſhed,
yet they were always warmly received, and repulſed. At laſt the walls round the tower c
*Mombellane* being levelled to the ground, it was reſolved to ſtorm the garriſon: *Picinino*,
at the head of his beſt troops, began the aſſault, and continued it for the whole day without
intermiſſion; when, towards the evening, his ſoldiers, unable longer to withſtand the fury
of the beſieged, were broken and defeated. The attack was renewed for three days ſucceſ-
ſively; but always unſucceſsfully: the beſieged were not to be overcome either with fatigue,
danger, or any kind of hardſhip [n]. *Picinino*, perceiving they were reſolved to buy death
with the deſtruction of his army, reſolved to break up the ſiege, and ſave the remainder of
*Siege raiſed.* his broken forces. Thus, after ſpinning out the campaign to the middle of the winter, after
enduring all the extremities of cold and fatigue, after the loſs of near three thouſand of his
troops, beſides a great number of nobility and gentlemen of the firſt rank in *Italy*, after d
having exhauſted his whole ſtock of military skill and cunning, he was compelled to re-
tire from the walls of a city defended by a handful of brave militia.

DURING the ſiege of *Breſcia* *Mellato* was not idle: as ſoon as he had recovered the fatigue
of his late march he entered upon action. His firſt care was to try every method to ſuc-
cour *Breſcia*; but they all proving fruitleſs, he reduced *Bargo* and *Corvario*: here the brave
*Piloſus* received a contuſion, of which he died before the arrival of the phyſicians and ſur-
geons ſent to his aſſiſtance by the ſenate. The grief was general for the loſs of this hero,
though of private rank [o]: his body was brought to *Venice*, and interred at the public ex-
pence. Such were the many examples of public honours beſtowed upon private ſubjects, of
valour and merit, by that wiſe and politic ſtate. Upon this occaſion too the ſenate con- e
ferred the title and authority of general on *Mellato*, in acknowledgment of his late good
conduct, and in reward of his former exploits: nor was *Barbaro* forgot; his zeal, ſpirit,
and indefatigable induſtry met with a recompence and honours adequate to the high degree
of his merit, and the ſenſe the republic had of his unwearied loyalty and fidelity [p]. *Avo-*
A. D. 1435. *gadre*, a native of *Breſcia*, was ſoliciting the ſenate for the relief of his brave countrymen,
and the doge earneſtly exhorting them to ſend immediate ſupplies, when a meſſenger arrived
from *Barbaro* with the joyful intelligence that the ſiege was raiſed. Neither *Foſcari*, the ſe-
nate, or *Avogadre*, could credit the meſſenger before they had read *Barbaro*'s diſpatches:
they were then equally ſtruck with amazement and admiration at the obſtinate valour of the
garriſon. The whole city was in a blaze with bonfires, and a joy appeared every where, f
equal to what might be expected had *Venice* been relieved from a ſiege. A reward was ſent
to every individual in the garriſon; the wives of the dead were ordered to be ſupported at
the public charge, and particular honours decreed to *Barbaro* and the other officers.

AFTER the diſgrace before *Breſcia*, *Picinino* beſieged and reduced *Lodron*, aſſembled his
troops, and proceeded to *Romana*, which he inveſted; but this place, ſtrong by art and na-
ture, and well-provided and garriſoned, baffled all his attempts. Finding he could make
no impreſſion, he retired, with his troops, into their former winter-quarters [q].

DURING theſe tranſactions in the depth of winter, the ſenate, by the advice of *Nicholao*
*D'Eſte*, were taking meaſures to regain the friendſhip of *Sforza*, whom they now found to
be of more conſequence than they imagined [r]. They likewiſe laboured with all their might g

[m] BLOND. l. 9. d. 3. [n] SABEL. l. 3. d. 3. BLOND. ibid. [o] MONTAN. l. 5. [p] SABEL. l. 3. d. 3.
[q] SABEL. ibid. [r] Aut. cit. ubi ſupra.

to

a to engage the *Florentines* in their quarrel, this republic having, ſince the diſmiſſion of *Sforza*, been entirely neutral and inactive. *Sforza* was diſguſted with *Philip*'s prevarication about the promiſe of giving him his daughter in marriage. That prince had detached him from the alliance of *Venice* in ſuch a manner, that he thought no reſentment could induce him to enter again into a ſervice in which he had been ſo groſsly affronted. Some ſarcaſtical ſtrokes from his rival *Picinino*, added greatly to *Sforza*'s indignation. At the ſiege of *Breſcia*, *Picinino* being asked, to what purpoſe he laviſhed his own and the ſoldiers blood to procure a city which would ſoon come by inheritance to his rival? he replied, "Do you finiſh the "buſineſs, and we ſhall be time enough at *La Marca* to diſappoint this delicate bridegroom, "and turn the mirth to our own advantage." In ſhort, the duplicity of *Viſconti*, and his b animoſity to *Picinino*, determined this general to liſten to the *Venetians*, who were even profuſe in their offers of ſervice. *Montano* tells us, that a penſion of two hundred and twenty thouſand ducats, an incredible ſum in thoſe days, was aſſigned him [s].

THE *Florentines* withſtood all the exhortations, remonſtrances, and ſolicitations of the *Venetian* envoy, until they had certain aſſurance that *Sforza* was reconciled and engaged. Though they perfectly well knew that if *Philip* had once conquered the *Venetians*, his next attempt would be againſt themſelves, yet neither this or any other arguments could rouſe or ſtimulate them to their own defence. The elevation of *Viſconti* muſt prove their fall; the ballance of power in *Italy* would be loſt by the depreſſion of their ſiſter republic; but all arguments of reaſon and policy were ineffectual until *Sforza* had actually ſigned the alli- c ance with *Venice*. Whether their conduct proceeded from ſome ſecret connivance with *Sforza*, or aroſe from the confidence they had in his valour, hiſtory is ſilent; certain it is that they now firſt acceded to the treaty. The triple alliance was concluded about the middle of *February*: among other articles it was expreſly ſtipulated, that the two republics ſhould immediately remit to *Sforza* the pay of three thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe; that all the towns, forts, and cities, with their dependencies, conquered in courſe of the war, ſhould be given to *Sforza*, *Cremona* alone excepted, which was to revert to the *Venetians*; that if *Cremona* only ſhould be taken, it ſhould in this caſe become the property of *Sforza*, the general and commander in chief of the combined army; that any number of forces he ſhould think neceſſary, ſhould be levied at the joint expence of both ſtates; that *Sforza* d ſhould directly march into *Lombardy* to relieve the *Venetians*, who were hard puſhed in that quarter: *Nicholao D'Eſte* was likewiſe included in this treaty; and it was ſtipulated to ſupport, at the expence of the republics, *Guido Favalino* with fifteen hundred horſe and three hundred foot, together with his ſon *Borſia* with one thouſand horſe, as auxiliaries, to act by the direction of *Sforza* [t].

A. D. 1436.

*League between the* Venetians, Florentines, Sforza, *and* D'Æſte.

*PHILIP*, finding that he was miſtaken in his conjectures concerning *Sforza*, left no ſtone unturned to regain his friendſhip, but he was too far engaged to retract with honour; beſides, he paid little regard to promiſes, which had already ſo often been falſified. At *Venice*, although this league was eagerly deſired, it was ſuſpected; jealouſies were entertained of *Sforza*'s ſincerity: however, their preſent diſtreſs and the event juſtified the wiſdom of e the ſenate's conduct (A).

*PICININO*, underſtanding that the league was formed, took every precaution to withſtand the powerful army which he doubted not would be levied by the allies: he held conſultations with *Gonzaga* concerning the operations of the enſuing campaign: he thought if the war could be transferred into the *Paduan* or *Vincenzan* territories, that it would prove an advantage to *Philip*, and greatly diſtreſs the enemy. This ſeemed a plan eaſily executed, if a fortreſs or two in which to form magazines could be ſeized. The whole plan was afterwards found to be *Gonzaga*'s, who intended nothing more by it than to remove the ſeat of war at a diſtance from himſelf: he farther propoſed, that the fleet upon the *Po* might be brought either by land or water to the river *Adice*, by means of which he could greatly diſ-

A. D. 1437.

[s] L. 5. PASSIUS apud SABEL. l. 3. d. 3. [t] SABEL. ibid. BLOND. l. 9. d. 3.

(A) While the league was in agitation, a very extraordinary propoſal was made to the ſenate by a native of *Candia*, one *Sorbolla*, of carrying a fleet over land to the lake *Benac*, for the relief of *Breſcia*, at that time cloſely beſieged by *Picinino*. *Sorbolla* was a mechanic of a buſy, enterpriſing, and projecting diſpoſition; but withal ingenious and ſenſible. The ſcheme was firſt received as an impracticable and wild whim of the imagination, ſuggeſted by folly and madneſs: but after the ſenate had peruſed and weighed *Sorbolla*'s memorial, they began to entertain ſome notion of the propoſal, and an high opinion of the projector. At length the experiment was reſolved upon, and the conduct of the whole committed to the artiſt, who was to be ſupplied with every thing neceſſary for the execution. *Sorbolla* immediately ſet to work: he firſt had the fleet, conſiſting, according to *Blondus*, of two gallies, three galliots, and twenty-five ſmall veſſels, towed up againſt the ſtream of the river *Adice* to *Verona*, and from thence to *Mora*. By land the ſhips were moved by engines upon rollers of a ſmooth hard wood for the ſpace of ſix miles from *Mora* to the lake of *St. Andrew*'s. At length, three months after he left *Venice*, he arrived at *Torbolles* with his fleet, to the infinite fatigue of himſelf, and amazement of all who beheld him. Before his arrival the ſiege of *Breſcia* was raiſed, and *Sorbolla*'s expedition was attended with advantage only to himſelf, who was well rewarded for his ingenuity.

treſs

treſs and harraſs the enemy [u]. But ſecretly as this project was concerted, *Mellato* obtained a
ſome intelligence of it, which he immediately tranſmitted to *Venice*; but his accounts were
diſregarded. Thus *Gonzaga*, having built eight gallies at *Hoſtilia*, ſent them with infinite
expence and labour to the river *Adice*. *Marino Contarini* and *Lodovico Molino* were diſpatch-
ed by *Mellato* with a few ſhips, to ſtop their progreſs, if poſſible. Their firſt attempt began
at *Caſtagnaria*: here vigorous ſkirmiſhes daily happened; but the *Venetian* forces being in-
*A ſea-fight.* conſiderable, the enemy at length gained their point, and appeared on the *Adice*. Some
days after the two fleets came to an engagement, in which neither ſide claimed victory,
though the *Venetians* retired firſt, for which the commanding officers were diſgraced [w]. In
conſequence of the retreat of the *Venetians*, *Picinino* laid ſiege to *Lenaga*, and reduced the
beſieged to the neceſſity of capitulating. b

In this ſtate were affairs when an engagement happened near the lake *Benac*, which ter-
minated more to the advantage of the *Venetians* than the laſt encounter. *Ittalus* lay at *Sales*
with a conſiderable body of horſe and foot, and was oppoſed by a corps greatly inferior to
his own under *Avogadre*. They met at *Moderna*, a town to which *Ittalus* propoſed laying
ſiege. The battle began with vigour, and was maintained with obſtinacy and conduct for
the whole day: neither ſide ſeemed to have any chance for victory, until *Zeno*, the *Venetian*
admiral on the lake, bringing his ſhips as cloſe as poſſible to the ſhore, landed a body of
*The Venetians victorious.* ſeamen, who ſoon turned the ſcale in favour of *Avogadre*. The ſailors attacked *Ittalus* in
the rear, and ſo galled him, that, unable longer to keep the field, he retreated in diſorder,
leaving behind a great number of ſlain, wounded, and priſoners, to the amount of one thou- c
ſand five hundred ſoldiers. Himſelf eſcaped under favour of a dark night; but fifty of his
chief officers were taken [x].

A. D. 1438. In the mean time *Sforza* ſet out for the army from *La Marca*, attended by a numerous
retinue of young nobility and gentry. On his arrival at *Arimini*, the head-quarters
fixed for the army, he ordered a general muſter, when the troops were found com-
plete. He had heard of *Picinino* and *Gonzaga*'s intention of removing the war into *Padua*
and *Vincenza*, and reſolved, if poſſible, to anticipate their project, by puſhing into *Lom-*
*bardy* [y]. His firſt attempt was upon *Forlimpopoli*, which he ſoon reduced; thence marching
to *Ravenna*, news was brought him, that the enemy had ſeized upon all the territories of
*Verona* and *Vincenza*. The city *Verona* was cloſely beſieged, and the burghers of both ca- d
pitals had mutinied and expelled the *Venetian* garriſons: in ſhort, without the utmoſt ex-
pedition and good fortune, thoſe cities, it was feared, muſt fall into the hands of the enemy.
The commotions aroſe from the wanton oppreſſion of the garriſon, who treated the inhabi-
tants with unbridled licentiouſneſs and rapacity. The *Paduans* were ſoon perſuaded to pa-
cific meaſures upon the return of their governor; but the *Vincenzans* were more obſtinate.
They ſaid, that they wanted no foreign defence; that their loyalty to the republic, and their
own bravery, were ſufficient for the ſecurity of their city, and to repulſe all the attacks of
their enemies. The *Venetian* ſenate had many proofs of their fidelity and affection, which
were ſtronger barriers againſt *Philip*'s power than thouſands of hireling troops. *Mellato*,
hearing of the expulſion of the garriſon, haſtened thither; but finding the *Vincenzans* firmly e
attached to the *Venetians*, and that only a noble reſentment of the inſults and wrongs ſuſtained
from the troops, occaſioned the preſent troubles, he greatly commended their ſpirit and
zeal, aſſured them of the protection of the republic, and left the inhabitants to defend their
own city [z].

Sforza *marches to the* Veroneſe. The intelligence *Sforza* had received from *Padua* and the *Veroneſe* made him change his
meaſures: quitting *Ravenna* he went to *Rancannes*, where he obliged *Guido* and *Franciſco*,
*Picinino*'s ſons, to retire with a large body of cavalry to *Forli*. Hence, through the *Bologneſe*,
he paſſed to *Bodina*, where, ſhipping his heavy baggage on the *Po*, he proceeded thro'
*Ferrara* to *Adria*, and arrived in the *Paduan* territories, having croſſed four great rivers, in
half the time expected. Another muſter of his army was made, and it amounted to ſix f
thouſand two hundred and forty-four horſe, and eight thouſand ſix hundred foot, complete
and fit for action. His firſt care was to effect a junction with the troops under *Mellato*,
which was happily accompliſhed by the good conduct of both generals. *Sforza*'s army now
amounted to fourteen thouſand horſe and eight thouſand foot, a force ſufficient to carry on
the war offenſively [a].

*The diſtreſs of* Breſcia. During theſe tranſactions in the *Paduan* and *Veroneſe*, *Breſcia* was reduced to great ex-
tremities, inſomuch that nothing but the invincible zeal and courage of *Barbaro* could
maintain the inhabitants in their allegiance. Although *Picinino* had raiſed the ſiege in *Jan-*
*uary*, yet during the whole winter and ſpring the *Breſcians* were infeſted by perpetual in-

[u] Montan. ubi ſupra. [w] Sabel. l. 3. d. 3 [x] Montan. Com. l. 5. Passius apud Sabel. d. 3. l. 3.
[y] Sabel. l. 3. d. 3. [z] Sabel. l. 3. d. 3. [a] Montan. l. 5. Sabel. ibid.

a curſions of parties: the paſſes by which they could receive proviſion and forage were ſhut up; money was ſcarce, as the *Venetians* had remitted none for ſeveral months, ſo exhauſted were the finances of the republic; and to crown their miſery, diſeaſe and famine prevailed to a great degree. In this ſituation *Barbaro* was indefatigable, his ſpirit invincible, and his invention inexhauſtible: he raiſed money upon his own credit for the payment of his troops; laid in great ſtocks of cheſnuts, roots, and fruits, to ſupply the want of wheat and corn; he deceived his own troops and the enemy by feigned letters and correſpondences; he converſed affably with all degrees of the inhabitants, and liberally ſpent his fortune in their ſupport; his houſe was open to relieve the hungry of every degree; he procured troops of horſe to enter the city in the night with bags ſtuffed with hay, to perſuade the inhabitants
b into a hope of freſh ſupplies, and then the next day made a diſtribution of wheat and barley, which he had reſerved for his own uſe; he carried his patriotic artifice ſo far as to have arrows, with ſcrolls of paper, ſtuck at night in ſome of the high towers and ſteeples, as if they had been ſhot by his friends without, to acquaint him with their intentions of affording him ſpeedy relief.

*ITTALUS* had by this time encamped within a few miles of the city, with a conſiderable body of troops; and *Barbaro*, on promiſe of being powerfully ſupported by the mountaineers, reſolved to diſlodge him and ſet fire to a part of the enemy's fleet upon the lake [b]: but tho' the plan for both was concerted with all the foreſight which human prudence could direct, yet the execution failed, through ſome unaccountable circumſtances, and *Barbaro*
c was repulſed with loſs [c].

*BRESCIA* was ſituated in this manner while *Sforza*'s approach obliged the enemy to raiſe the ſiege of *Verona* and retire to *Savi*, a town on the confines of the *Veroneſe*. *Sforza* then beſieged *Longina*, and after ſeveral aſſaults, in which he loſt two of his intimate friends, obliged it to ſurrender. This ſo incenſed him that he razed the walls to the ground, but had the humanity not to put the garriſon to the ſword: then drawing up his army in a hollow ſquare he marched againſt the enemy, who were encamped a few miles diſtant; but they declining battle, he turned towards *Vincenza*, and ſoon recovered all the towns which had been taken from the republic.

Sforza *raiſes the ſiege of* Verona, *and reduces* Longina.

Although the enemy had raiſed the ſiege of *Verona*, they continued to keep it blocked
d up by entrenchments, which *Sforza*, without great danger and imprudence, could not force. He therefore determined to relieve the city by paſſes over the mountains, which he effected, after a dangerous and tedious march.

In the mean time both *Picinino* and *Sforza* exerted all their ſkill about *Breſcia*, the one to diſtreſs, and the other to relieve *Barbaro*. The former relied chiefly on his perfect knowlege of the country, ſnares, ambuſhes, and intrigues. *Sforza*'s genius and comprehenſion were greatly ſuperior: his ſchemes were extenſive, great, and worthy of a renowned commander; but then he neglected the minutiæ, on which often depend the fate of the fineſt laid ſchemes. The ſenate of *Venice* was under the utmoſt concern about a city that had ſo long and faithfully ſuſtained all the preſſure of extreme miſery: they ſent the moſt poſitive
e orders to *Sforza* to leave no means untried to relieve the truſty *Barbaro* and his brave garriſon. At laſt it was happily effected by the defeat of *Picinino*, and deſtruction of his army. Before the engagement began, *Sforza* animated his troops with every argument that could inflame their courage; he ſet before them the example of the *Breſcians*, and the fair proſpect of immortal glory, and booty, the ſtrongeſt inducements of any to a ſoldier [d]. His diſpoſition was ſo judicious, his choice of the ground ſo excellent, and his courage, throughout the engagement, ſo conſpicuous, that the ſucceſs could not be attributed to the fate of war. It was the natural conſequence of that aſtoniſhing diſplay of the fineſt talents and capacity. He was ſupported by his army with all the courage he could deſire; and a ſort of rivalſhip ſeemed to prevail who ſhould beſt execute their general's commands.
f *Picinino*, after his right wing gave way, made one deſperate puſh againſt the *Venetian* infantry on the right, which they were unable to withſtand: they were broken and put in confuſion, when *Sforza* arrived with a freſh corps, who ſuſtained the enemy while he was rallying the diſordered lines. This effected, he renewed the attack with ſuch impetuoſity, as baffled all reſiſtance, broke the enemy, and made prodigious ſlaughter, *Picinino* eſcaping with difficulty in a mean diſguiſe. *Sforza* imagined he had been among the priſoners; but finding that he was miſtaken, he offered a reward of five thouſand crowns to whoever ſhould take him alive [e]. Near four thouſand priſoners were made, and among them a great number of nobility and officers of the firſt diſtinction.

*Parallel between* Sforza *and* Picinino.

Picinino *defeated.*

*ZENO*, with the *Venetian* fleet on the lake *Benac*, was, during this time, leſs ſucceſsful:
g after a variety of ſlight encounters with the enemy, he was at laſt defeated, made priſoner, and his whole fleet taken, not one ſhip having eſcaped: *Sanſeverino* commanded the enemy's

Zeno *defeated.*

[b] Ibid. [c] Sabel. l. 3. d. 3. [d] Sabel. l. 3. d. 3. [e] Ibid. Montan. l. 5. Pass. apud. Sabel.

fleet, and *Ittalus* a land army upon the banks of the lake. The latter made ſo good uſe of a
the victory, that he ſoon reduced the ſtrong caſtle of *Moderna*.

As to *Sforza* he was called from purſuing his victory to relieve *Verona*, cloſely beſieged by a ſtrong detachment *Picinino* had ſent for that purpoſe before the engagement. Before he could arrive the enemy were in poſſeſſion, by means of a ſtratagem which ſucceeded, and *Gonzaga* was proclaimed prince of *Verona*. The citadel and ſome forts were ſtill in the hands of the *Venetians*, and defended againſt all the arts and power of the enemy. *Sforza* ordered lines of circumvallation to be formed, to prevent *Gonzaga*'s eſcape or ſuccour, and the works were proſecuted with ſo great diligence, that in four days the trenches were open-
ed, and the batteries began to play with prodigious fury upon the walls. There was ſome-
thing extraordinary in the ſituation of the enemy, who were beſieging the citadel at the very b
time they were beſieged in the city. In this condition it was not poſſible they could hold out long: nor in effect did they, for the third day after the batteries were opened a breach was made, and *Sforza* ordered it to be ſtormed [f]. The troops mounted with ſo much reſo-
lution, and were ſo well ſupported by a ſally from the citadel, that the town was ſoon enter-
ed, and the enemy chaſed with great ſlaughter about the ſtreets. The inhabitants had kept themſelves cloſe in their houſes, without joining with either party, until the enemy were de-
feated: then they began to give proofs of their courage and loyalty, by inſulting the dead and wounded, and knocking on the head the few ſtragglers that remained: but this would not ſatisfy *Sforza*; he demanded clearer proofs of their fidelity, and examined every cir-
cumſtance concerning the ſtratagem by which the enemy gained poſſeſſion. The inquiry c
did not turn out greatly in favour of the citizens, many of whom were convicted of treaſon-
able practices, and puniſhed accordingly; others were pardoned, and the whole exhorted to a more faithful diſcharge of their duty [g]. The news of *Sforza*'s ſucceſs was received with great joy at *Venice*, and a ſolemn ambaſſy ſent to compliment him upon his conduct; and henceforward the fortune of the republic began to riſe, while that of *Philip* and *Picinino*
A. D. 1440. viſibly declined. In conſequence of *Sforza*'s victories *Breſcia* was relieved, and an inter-
courſe opened between all the parts of the *Venetian* dominions.

*PHILIP* ſoon recruited *Picinino*'s broken army, took meaſures for protracting the war by a ſecret contract with *Cornetano* the pope's general: herein it was ſtipulated, that *Corne-
tano* ſhould invade *La Marca*, while *Picinino*, croſſing the *Po*, ſhould enter *Tuſcany*. The d
pope, ſuſpecting his general's fidelity, narrowly watched his conduct, which was at laſt fully cleared up by ſome intercepted letters; in conſequence of which *Cornetano* was ſeized and committed to the caſtle of St. *Angelo* [h]. This detection diſconcerted *Philip*'s plan, but he was not daunted. *Picinino* entered *Flaminia*, and laid every place waſte with fire and ſword, though he could make no impreſſion on the fortified towns, which were bravely defended.

His holineſs in the mean time ordered *Lodovico*, one of his biſhops, to lead the army, late *Cornetano*'s, to *Tuſcany*, in quality of apoſtolical legate, and join the *Florentines*; a proceeding which it was ſuppoſed would fruſtrate *Picinino*'s intention [i]. But this general, after he had been repulſed by *Piſani* in his attempt upon *Primotoria*, marched directly with deſign to croſs the *Apennines*. All poſſible precautions were uſed by the *Florentines* to guard e
the paſſes, which *Picinino* found means, however, to avoid, by marching over mountains
Picinino *enters* Tuſcany. almoſt impervious. In this manner did he get to *Politiana*, which he beſieged, to the great terror of the *Florentines*, who every minute expected him at their gates. This city he took, and inſtead of marching to *Florence* turned his arms againſt the *Caſſentines*, ruining and de-
ſtroying every place he paſſed through. *Picinino*'s overſight produced a fatal alteration in his affairs; for before he came from his excurſion againſt this people, the *Florentines* had joined the pope's forces, and were in a condition to act offenſively [k]. Early in the ſpring *Sforza* marched with a prodigious army to *Tuſcany*. He propoſed making his way through the midſt of the enemy's troops and garriſons, in order to act in conjunction with *Contarini*, who commanded the *Venetian* fleet upon the lake *Benac*. The chief ſtrength of the enemy f
had always been directed againſt *Breſcia*, which ſtill was in great want, notwithſtanding the ſuccours received. *Sforza* determined, at all events, to relieve it; but herein he foreſaw numberleſs difficulties: the greateſt of which was, the almoſt impoſſibility of ſupplying his army with proviſion and forage. When he came to the river *Mincia*, he called a council, to conſult what was beſt to be done in this critical ſituation; whether or not he ought to paſs the river, the conſequence of which would be a neceſſity of opening his way to *Breſcia* by the ſword? The council was unanimouſly of opinion, that every thing was to be hazarded for the relief of a city, which had, through ſuch a ſeries of calamities, maintained
its fidelity.

BEFORE we trace *Sforza* farther, it will be neceſſary we mention ſomething concerning g
*Contarini*, and the fleet upon the lake *Benac*. The ſenate having ſent all the neceſſaries for

[f] MONTAN. l. 5. SABEL. l. 3. d. 3. [g] SABEL. ibid. BLOND. ibid. [h] Hiſt. des Papes, t. 4. La Vie Eugene. [i] Hiſt. des Papes, t. 4. SABEL. l. 3. d. 3. [k] BLOND. ibid.

equi pping

a equipping a fleet in carts to *Torbolles*, the carpenters fell to work with the utmoſt diligence, and, in a ſhort time, launched ſix gallies. With theſe *Contareni* ſailed againſt the enemy, who were near double the number, commanded by *Blaſio Aſſereta*, a *Genoeſe*. *Contareni* took on board ſix companies of ſoldiers, to annoy the enemy with their arrows and ſmall arms. The ſecond day he met and engaged the enemy with a ſpirit, intrepidity, and conduct, that ſoon made him victorious. The battle was very bloody while it laſted; the very elements combined to increaſe the horror of the ſcene, it blowing a ſtorm during the whole engagement. In the end the enemy were totally broken, routed, and diſperſed, two of their gallies, with their crews, were ſunk, and two more taken. *Contareni*, purſuing his victory with prudence equal to his courage, attacked and reduced *Riva*, *La Garda*, *Laciza*, and *Bardolin*, b in order to open a communication with *Breſcia*. The news of this victory greatly animated the *Breſcians*: they now did not doubt of immediate and effectual ſuccours, from the efforts of *Contareni* on the one ſide, and of *Sforza* on the other [l].

Contareni *defeats* Philip's *fleet on the lake*

*SFORZA*, before he had intelligence of this victory, had croſſed the *Mincia*, and reduced *Montzabena*, *Salles*, and *Rivoltella*: here, by the advice of the brave *Barbaro*, he reſolved, inſtead of marching directly to *Breſcia*, to ſeek the enemy's main army, and give it battle, knowing, if he was victorious, that it would be a great ſtep not only to the relief of *Breſcia*, but towards finiſhing the war [m]. Hearing that *Sanſeverino*, *Ittalus*, and *Vermio* were entrenched near *Socinna*, he departed in the night, and furiouſly attacked their entrenchments. After the aſſault had continued for ſome hours he began to fall back, as if his troops were unable c to ſtand the charge: having drawn the enemy out of their trenches, he returned fiercely to the attack, broke and entirely routed them with the loſs of three thouſand men killed and taken priſoners. *Paſius* of *Arimini*, quoted by *Sabellicus*, ſays, that he entered the town of *Socinna* pell mell with the fugitives, and took it without reſiſtance [n]. In conſequence of this victory the *New Orges*, and all the cities, towns, forts, and caſtles of the *Breſcian*, *Bergameſe*, and valley of *Cremona*, returned to the obedience of the republic. Croſſing the *Oglio*, *Sforza* reduced *Caſſel-Major*, *Bregnan*, *Rinolea*, and other towns in the territories of *Ghiradadda* and the *Cremoneſe* [o]. In a word, his conqueſts were ſo rapid, that *Philip* reſolved to recal *Picinino* out of *Tuſcany*, for the defence of the *Milaneſe*, which was greatly alarmed by the vicinity of *Sforza*. This general, knowing the importance of leaving the *Florentines* and d pope's forces unoppoſed, and that the loſs of the places he had taken would neceſſarily enſue, reſolved to give the allies battle before his departure. With this intention he marched to *Anglare*, where they were encamped at the bottom of the *Apennines*. The *Florentines* could not ſtand the firſt ſhock, but were put in ſome confuſion, when the pope's forces, pouring in upon the enemy with great vigour, retrieved the battle. *Picinino* had purſued the *Florentines* too far; he was now attacked in the flank and rear by the pope's army: theſe, aſſiſted by the *Florentine* horſe, fell upon him every where, during his purſuit of the *Florentine* infantry: thus, hemmed in on every ſide, he was broke and put in confuſion, great ſlaughter was made, and an incredible number of priſoners were taken. His intimate friend *Aſturio Faventino* was among the latter, a circumſtance that affected *Picinino* more e than the loſs of the battle [p]. We are told by *Sabellicus*, that ſo great was the reciprocal affection of thoſe friends, that they were with difficulty prevented from falling on their ſwords when they were ſeparated.

Sforza *defeats* Ittalus *and* Vermio.

Picinino *gives battle to the* Florentines, *and is defeated.*

*SFORZA* in the mean time purſued his conqueſts, having taken *Cavanza* after an obſtinate defence, together with *Azola* and *Caneda*, towns belonging to *Gonzaga*, which made but a ſlight reſiſtance [q]. From thence he proceeded and laid ſiege to *Peſcara*, a city ſeated at the mouth of the river *Mincia*: *Nicholao D'Æſte* came to the camp, offering his mediation for a peace. *D'Æſte* farther aſſured *Sforza* that *Philip* would willingly give him his daughter in marriage, and even ſend her with her portion to him, if required. It was *Sforza*'s anſwer, that peace would be equally agreeable to the *Venetians* and to himſelf, not- f withſtanding their rapid courſe of proſperity, could it be obtained on equitable and honourable conditions [r]. *D'Æſte* returned to *Philip* with this anſwer, and during his abſence *Peſcara* ſurrendered at diſcretion.

*PICININO*, after his defeat, retired with his broken army into *Flaminia*; from thence he ſet out by long marches for *Milan*, where he was in a ſhort time recruited and enabled to take the field. Nothing material, beſides the ſurrender of *Ravenna* to the *Venetians*, happened during the remainder of this campaign. *Sforza*, having put his army into winter-quarters, went to *Venice*; where he was received with a profuſion of honours, worthy of his great merit and ſervices [s]. He was run after, and gazed upon as a prodigy. When he came to the gates of the city, the ſenate, the ſeignory, and all the nobility went out to meet and

Sforza *goes to* Venice.

[l] Pass. apud Sabel. Blond. ibid. [m] Ibid. etiam Montan. l. 5. [n] Pass. apud. Sabel. Montan. l. 5. Blond. l. 9. d. 3. [o] Sansov Cron. Ven. [p] Sabel. l. 3. d. 3. etiam Blond. ibid. [q] Blond. l. 9. d. 3. [r] Ibid. Sabel. l. 3. d. 3. [s] Ibid.

conduct

conduct him to the palace, where he was entertained by the doge with the utmoſt diſtinction and magnificence. *Barbaro*, and an hundred *Breſcian* gentlemen, were likewiſe come to *Venice*, to compliment the republic on the late ſucceſs of her arms, and do honour to the marriage of *Jacomo Foſcari*, ſon to the doge. In ſhort, nothing but mirth and feſtivity was thought of, when intelligence arrived of the ſudden march of *Picinino* into the *Breſcian*, where he laid waſte every thing, and ſpread conſternation and ruin all over the face of the country [t]. *Sforza* immediately ſet out to aſſemble his army; but, in ſpite of his expedition, *Picinino* had poſſeſſed himſelf of all the champain country, the *Venetian* dominions on the banks of the *Adda*, and the *Bergameſe*, before a body ſufficient to oppoſe him could be collected. a

*Sforza marches againſt* Picinino.

THE enemy, finding that *Sforza* was taking effectual meaſures to attack them, ſeized upon a ſtrong camp near *Agleſia*, defended by the river *Seriolles* in front, the mountains in both flanks, and in the rear by the *Oglio*. In this ſituation did *Picinino* watch the motions of *Sforza*, who did not long heſitate about giving him battle under all diſadvantages. Having viewed the ground, *Sforza* ordered the bridge on the *Oglio* to be attacked, at the ſame time advancing with the main army on the enemy's front, he forded the *Seriolles* [u]. The engagement laſted for two hours with great fury, when night coming on, ſeparated the combatants, and probably ſaved *Picinino*'s army (A). The carnage was conſiderable, neither ſide giving or receiving quarter. Immediately after this battle *Sforza* led his troops againſt *Martinenga*, which he inveſted with the moſt complete army the *Venetians* had ever raiſed: the troops amounted to thirty thouſand fighting men, well cloathed, paid, and attended with a fine train of artillery. Though the trenches were ſoon opened, and the batteries began to play with execution, yet the ſiege was drawn out to a great length: ſome attributed this to ſecret practices between *Picinino* and *Sforza*, who, they alleged, were more intent upon dividing the provinces among themſelves, than on the intereſt of the ſtates by whom they were employed: others ſaid it was owing to the ſtrength of the place, the numerous garriſon within, and *Picinino*'s army without, which omitted no opportunity of harraſſing and incommoding the beſiegers [x]. Certain it is, that the ſenate entertained no diſtruſt of *Sforza*'s fidelity: but the caſe with *Philip* was different; he began to harbour ſuſpicions of both, and thought it unſafe to commit ſuch vaſt armies to men whoſe ambition might uſe them to the utter extinction of both the contending powers. Impelled by theſe reaſons, wearied with the intolerable expence of the war, and, as ſome affirm, out of patience with the haughty demands of *Picinino*, he reſolved upon peace: for which purpoſe he diſpatched a meſſenger with great ſecrecy to *Venice*, to ſound the diſpoſition of the ſenate (B). At the ſame time he treated with *Sforza*; and the propoſals he made were ſo advantageous to the republic, that hoſtilities ceaſed the day after the arrival of *Philip*'s courier in the camp [y]. *Picinino* highly reſented this treatment, and openly complained of the ingratitude and infidelity of *Philip*, for having preſumed to treat of peace without his conſent or knowlege. But, without paying any regard to his remonſtrances and indignation, the following articles, after violent debates, were agreed to, or rather were determined by *Sforza*, who was appointed umpire of the differences: that the *Breſcian* and *Bergameſe* ſhould unalterably remain to the republic; that *Ravenna*, *Riva*, *Torbolles*, and *Penetra*, cities of which they were poſſeſſed by right of conqueſt, ſhould become a part of the *Venetian* dominions; that *Martinenga*, with all the cities, forts, and caſtles of *Ghiradadda*, ſhould be ceded to *Philip*; that all the *Mantuan* confines and territories ſhould be given up to *Gonzaga*; that *Cremona* and the *Cremoneſe* ſhould be the portion of *Sforza*, with *Bienca*, *Philip*'s daughter (C); that *Eugenius* the pope ſhould in two years have *Bologna* ſurrendered to him; that the *Genoeſe* ſhould be reſtored to their liberty, and *Philip* exert no farther authority over that republic; that the *Florentines* ſhould releaſe *Faventino*, upon his reſtoring to them all the places he had taken during the war; and laſtly, that the cities *Peſcara* and *Lomado*, the articles moſt diſputed in the treaty, ſhould belong to the *Venetians* [z]. b c d e f

*A battle.*

A. D. 1441.

*Treaty of peace with* Philip.

[t] SABEL. l. 5. d. 3. [u] Ibid. BLOND. l. 9. d. 3. [x] MONTAN. Comment. l. 4. SABEL. ibid. [y] BLOND. ibid. [z] SABEL. l. 5. d. 3. BLOND. l. 10. d. 3. MONTAN. Com. ibid.

(A) Hiſtorians differ greatly concerning the event of this battle. *Montano* ſays, that *Picinino* did not quit his camp until after the taking of *Portoglia*. *Paſſius* affirms, on the contrary, that, unable to withſtand the ſhock of *Sforza*'s impetuoſity, he decamped before the morning, and paſſed the *Oglio*, the bridge of which had been obſtinately defended by the body he had left there. However, *Sabellicus* ſeems to prefer the former opinion, and by his judgment the reader may probably be determined.

(B) *Sabellicus* ſays, that the peace was concluded by *Sforza* before any intimation was ſent to the ſenate. That though the *Venetians* did not diſlike the terms, they could not but wonder at the ſuddenneſs of *Philip*'s reſolution. We are told, that ſo great was the deſire in both camps of a reconciliation, that the ſoldiers ran mutually and embraced each other, with all the tokens of eſteem and affection.

(C) This lady was ſent to *Cremona* to meet the bridegroom. Here their nuptials were celebrated with the utmoſt magnificence and pomp; after which *Sforza* ſet out, with his bride, for *Venice*.

a THESE terms were agreed to and ſigned by all parties, the pope's nuncio excepted, who retired from the congreſs in a rage, and ſet out for *Rome*, complaining that the holy ſee was unjuſtly treated and robbed of its patrimony. Thus the public tranquility was reſtored, and the ruinous war with *Philip* concluded, to the mutual ſatisfaction of the *Venetians* and *Viſconti* [a] (D). For three days public rejoicings were made at *Venice* and *Milan*, the people expreſſing the utmoſt joy at the proſpect of a ſolid and laſting pacification between the republic and duchy of *Milan*. *Venice* never preſented a more beautiful and wealthy ſcene than on this occaſion, all the merchants from the *Rialto* to St. *Mark*'s expoſing their richeſt furniture, merchandize, and plate, to public view; and the treaſure of that noble church, by order of the procurators, being laid out in the moſt elegant
b manner for the entertainment of ſtrangers and the people [b].

THE remainder of this year produced nothing of conſequence, the attention of the republic being employed wholly upon the civil policy This winter it was that the procurators of St. *Mark*'s were augmented in number, when, inſtead of ſix, nine of thoſe high magiſtrates were appointed [c]. An extraordinary overflowing of the ſea, or deluge, as *Sabellicus* calls it, happened towards the vernal æquinox, which deſtroyed a great number of houſes, ſhops, and warehouſes, the loſs of which was computed at a million of ducats. About this time a war againſt ſome piratical ſtates was commenced. The firſt *Venetian* fleet was deſtroyed in a ſtorm; but another ſoon after equipped, had the good fortune to clear the ſeas in a ſhort time, and ſecure the public commerce. *War with pirates.*

c EARLY in the ſpring, a fleet, at the expence of *Eugenius*, was equipped at *Venice*, to proceed againſt the *Turks*, who were rapidly purſuing their conqueſts in *Europe*. Of this armament we are told nothing beſides its having blocked up the ſtraits dividing *Europe* from *Aſia*, which for a time checked the progreſs of *Amurath* the *Turkiſh* emperor. As to the affairs of *Italy*, they were now, as uſual after every peace, diſturbed with the diſcontent of ſome of the parties concerned. The pope openly declared his reſentment againſt *Sforza*, for having kept him out of the poſſeſſion of *Bologna*. *Alphonſo* of *Arragon* and *Sforza* began to renew a quarrel, hereditary in their families, and the former found means to draw *Philip* into a league againſt his ſon-in-law. However, though theſe wars diſturbed the peace of the neighbouring powers for the ſpace of five years, the *Venetians* kept them-
d ſelves quiet until the year one thouſand four hundred and forty-ſix, at which time they found it expedient to join *Sforza* againſt *Philip*. Young *Picinino*'s beſieging *Cremona* was the immediate cauſe of their taking part in the quarrel: they firſt ſent an envoy to *Philip*, to acquaint him with their intentions, if *Picinino* did not relinquiſh the ſiege. The haughty anſwer given to their miniſter occaſioned the ſenate to iſſue orders to their general *Michaeli Attendulo*, to march directly to *Cremona* and give battle to *Picinino*. *Attendulo* executed his inſtructions with ſucceſs, a battle being fought in *Ghiradadda*, in which *Picinino* was defeated with great ſlaughter of his troops, and the loſs of four thouſand priſoners, his camp and artillery. Another battle ſoon paſſed, in which *Attendulo* was a ſecond time victorious, and *Picinino*'s defeat little leſs complete than the former [d]. Two ſuch ſignal victo-
e tories excited the jealouſy of *Sforza*, though upon the whole he was to reap the advantage: *Alphonſo* and the pope was likewiſe envious of the ſucceſs and growing greatneſs of the republic on the continent. They therefore left nothing untried to induce *Sforza* to break with the *Venetians* and go over to *Philip*: upon this he reſolved without ſcruple; but the *Venetians* ſuſpecting his deſign committed his envoy to priſon, and revoked all the grants and decrees of the ſenate in his favour [e]. Now it was that the republic had occaſion for the full exertion of that unſhaken reſolution ever diſcovered upon all hazardous conjunctures. The ſenate accordingly ordered the army to be augmented, the paſſes to and from *Lombardy* to be ſtrictly guarded, and every other meaſure for vigorouſly proſecuting the war intended. *Attendulo*, after the victory upon the *Adda*, carried terror and devaſtation where-
f ever he marched: *Crema* and *Lodes* were the only towns left to *Philip*, the whole of the province beſides he reduced under the obedience of the republic. He even over-ran ſome part of the *Milaneſe*, his cavalry making incurſions to the very gates of *Milan*. Reinforced by a conſiderable corps under *Carolo Montone*, ſon to *Brachio*, the implacable enemy of *Philip* and *Sforza*, he took *Caſſel-Major* and other fortified places. *Brandelino*, with a ſtrong detachment, erected the *Venetian* ſtandard within ſight of *Milan*, inviting the inhabitants to the recovery of their liberty, which they not caring or daring to accept, he returned to the main army, laying deſolate the whole country [f]. *Philip* ſtruck with the good fortune and

A. D. 1446. *War with* Philip *of* Milan. Attendulo, *the* Venetian *general defeats* Picinino. Sforza *goes over to* Philip.

[a] Ibid. [b] SABEL. l. 5. d. 3. [c] SANSOV. delle V. Foſca. [d] BLOND. l. 10. d. 3. SABEL. ibid.
[e] Ibid. etiam MONT. ubi ſupra. [f] BLOND. SABEL. et MONTAN. ubi ſupra.

(D) *Sabellicus* dates this peace, A. D. 1440, though, according to *Sanſovino* and others, it was not concluded before *September*, 1441.

boldneſs of the *Venetians*, ſent agents to treat of a peace; but after they had reſided for a a
month in the city they were diſmiſſed without effecting their purpoſe. *Attendulo* was all
this while purſuing his conqueſts: he beſieged and took *Brebia*, ſcoured and laid waſte the
country of the *Briantines*, ſurpriſed and ruined *Barri*, and in ſhort extended the dominions
of the republic from the *Adda* to *Coma*, on both ſides the lake of that name.

Philip *dies.* THESE ſucceſſes were ſoon followed by the death of *Philip* duke of *Milan*, the greateſt politician and warrior the family of *Viſconti* had ever produced [g]. His death occaſioned a variety of ſentiments among his ſubjects and party; ſome were for peace, ſome for liberty, and others for war. The inhabitants of *Lodes* and *Plaiſantia* or *Placentia*, tired of the ducal yoke, opened their gates to the *Venetians*, and received the troops of the republic; but the *Milaneſe* determined to continue the war in their own name: for this purpoſe they b
augmented their troops, and appointed *Sforza* captain general, on condition, that if he was fortunate enough to reduce *Breſcia*, that city and its appendages ſhould be his reward; but that if he ſucceeded againſt *Verona* likewiſe, the former ſhould revert to the *Milaneſe*, and
A. D. 1447. the latter, with the whole *Veroneſe*, be ceded to his family. This general quitted the *Parmeſan*, and ſet out with four thouſand horſe and two thouſand foot, to join the *Milaneſe* army
Attendulo *retires.* under *Franciſco* and *Giacomo Picinino*, ſons to the late general of that name, ſo long the rival and enemy of *Sforza*. The *Venetian* army, greatly inferior to the enemy in number, retired towards *Lodi*, and there ſtrongly entrenched itſelf. No leſs than three different ambaſſadors were ſent to *Venice*, to demand, in the name of *Sforza* and the *Milaneſe*, reſtitution of all thoſe places they had diſmembered from the dominions of *Philip*. The ſenate c
adhered to their firſt anſwer, that though by the right of war thoſe places were the juſt dominions of the republic, yet, to ſhew the world their pacific inclinations, they would reſtore them on being reimburſed the expences of the war. This the ambaſſadors refuſed, and accordingly returned, without having brought their buſineſs to any concluſion [h]. Aware of the importance of the quarrel in which they were engaged, the ſenate determined to uſe their utmoſt efforts by ſea and land. It was decreed to equip a fleet, which ſhould ſail up the *Po*, to make a diverſion in favour of *Attendulo*, who was too weak to offer the enemy battle.

DURING theſe preparations at *Venice*, *Sforza* marched ſuddenly to *Placentia*, and after d
having beat down the walls by his batteries, ſtormed the city, reduced it, and gave it to his army to be plundered. *Gerardo Dandolo* and *Thadeo D'Eſte*, who commanded the garriſon, were made priſoners, together with one thouſand horſe and foot. *Attendulo*, tho' his force was not ſufficient to raiſe the ſiege, determined, however, not to lie idle: he entered the territories of *Pavia* while *Sforza* beſieged *Placentia*, from which he returned loaded with rich booty. After this he ravaged and plundered the *Milaneſe*, and, according to *Montano*, took the city *Melſa* or *Meliſſa*. Having finiſhed theſe exploits he reſolved on the ſiege of *Cremona*, but was prevented by the ſurrender of *Placentia* and rigour of the ſeaſon, upon which he retired with his army into winter-quarters [i].

Now negociations of peace were again renewed, and commiſſioners from each party met e
at *Bergamo*, to diſcuſs the conditions of accommodation. Pope *Nicolas* V. uſed all his endeavours to promote the conferences; notwithſtanding which, and the mediation of ſome other powers, the commiſſioners parted without coming to any determination, both ſides unalterably adhering to certain articles which could not be ceded by the oppoſite party.

WHILE the congreſs ſat at *Bergamo*, the *Venetian* fleet was employed againſt the pirates, who had inſulted their coaſts and plundered their merchant ſhips. The eager purſuit of the pirates drew on the republic the reſentment of *Alphonſo* of *Arragon*, greatly incenſed at the *Venetian* fleet for preſuming to attack and deſtroy the enemy in his harbours. In revenge the king ordered all the *Venetians* in his dominions to be impriſoned, their ſhips ſtopped, and merchandize to be ſeized and brought to his warehouſes; but finding the ſenate reſolved upon a war, he ſet the priſoners at liberty and reſtored their effects [k]. f

A. D. 1448. EARLY in the ſpring both armies took the field, and *Sforza* beſieged and took *Mozaniga*; after which marching into *Ghiradadda* he reduced the whole country, the city of *Caravaggio* excepted: he then ſurpriſed *Caſſan*, and thence proceeded to the *Cremoneſe* to ſtop the ravages of *Quirini* and the *Venetian* fleet. Here he got together about twenty-eight galliots, with which and his army he ſurrounded *Quirini*. The *Venetian* fleet fought with ob-
*Defeats the Venetian fleet.* ſtinacy, but in the end was defeated and broken. To prevent his ſhips falling into the enemy's hands *Quirini* ſet fire to them; for which, and his miſconduct in the engagement, he was recalled, delivered over to the civil power, and impriſoned for life. After this victory g
*Sforza* laid ſiege to *Caravaggio*, to which place *Attendulo* followed him, with intention, if poſſible, to raiſe the ſiege. After various debates in the *Venetian* camp, it was at length re-

[g] BARON. t. 8. [h] BARON. ubi ſupra. FLAV. l. 10. d. 3. SABEL. l. 5. d. 3. [i] MONTAN. Comment. l. 6. SABEL. & BLOND. ibid. [k] SABEL. l. 6. d 3.

a ſolved ſecretly to attack *Sforza* by croſſing the marſhes in the rear of his camp, which was but ſlightly guarded, on account of the natural ſtrength of the ſituation. The ſcheme was planned with conduct, and executed with courage; but ſupported by a force unequal to the undertaking. The firſt onſet was furious, the attack and defence being made with equal intrepidity and vigour: after the battle had continued for ſeveral hours, and the *Venetians* had forced the entrenchments, oppreſſed with numbers, they were forced to retreat with precipitation [l]. Here it was that *Sforza*'s army began the ſlaughter; the *Venetians* crowding upon each other to avoid the enemy's blows, met that death from each other which they thought to eſcape from the enemy. They no ſooner began to give way than the two *Picinino*'s, iſſuing forth from another quarter, marched directly, with a ſtrong corps, to attack
b the *Venetian* camp, which they eaſily took, the whole army being engaged in forcing *Sforza*'s entrenchments: in ſhort, *Atteńdulo* was entirely defeated, having loſt near three thouſand of his beſt troops, all his baggage, tents, and artillery, together with two thouſand waggons of proviſion and forage. After this defeat he retired to *Breſcia*, where, in a ſhort time, he was purſued by *Sforza*, after he had firſt reduced *Caraovaggio*, *Caſſel-Major*, and ſome other places [m].

*Defeats the land forces.*

THE republic ſoon recruited her army, having for that purpoſe decreed a large bounty to all able-bodied men who ſhould enter into the ſervice. The pay of the troops was likewiſe augmented, and conſiderable ſubſidies granted to ſeveral petty princes who entered into her alliance: but her greateſt ſecurity aroſe from ſome jealouſies which aroſe among the
c enemy. The *Milaneſe* began to harbour ſuſpicions that *Sforza* affected the ſovereignty of his father in-law's dominions, and having but juſt taſted the ſweets of liberty they were the more willing to preſerve that precious gift of Providence. *Sforza* diſcovering their ſuſpicions, reſolved to avenge himſelf, by concluding an alliance with their enemies: with this deſign he gave the ſenate to underſtand that he was not averſe to peace; to which the republic gave a willing ear, notwithſtanding the *Venetian* army was now in a condition to act offenſively, by means of the number of levies and ſtrong reinforcements from *Florence*. *Maſtropietro* was in conſequence privately ſent to treat with *Sforza*, between whom it was agreed, that not only a peace but a ſtrict alliance ſhould take place [n]; that the ſenate ſhould ſupply him with four thouſand horſe and two thouſand foot, until he had reduced *Milan*; that
d thirty thouſand crowns per month ſhould be allowed for his table; and laſtly, that all the places poſſeſſed by *Philip* beyond the *Adda* ſhould belong to the *Venetians*. This treaty being ratified, *Sforza* ſet the priſoners at liberty, and croſſing the *Adda*, marched into the *Milaneſe*. After reducing all the country between the rivers *Adda* and *Theſin*, he pitched his camp five miles from *Milan*. Before he entered upon the ſiege of the capital, he took, by the aſſiſtance and good conduct of *Marcello*, who commanded the *Venetian* auxiliaries, *Novara*, *Alexandria*, and *Parma*: then he laid ſiege to *Milan*; but, previous to his opening the trenches, intelligence was received that *Lewis* of *Savoy*, having entered into treaty with the *Milaneſe*, had ſent an army under the conduct of *John Campenſio* to their aſſiſtance. *Campenſio* had reached *Novara*, when *Sforza* detached *Coyoni* with a ſtrong corps to oppoſe him,
e who immediately attacking the army of *Lewis* defeated it, making *Campenſio* and about four hundred horſe priſoners.

Sforza *quits the* Milaneſe *ſervice, and joins the* Venetians.

WHILE *Sforza* was battering the fort *Mellignana*, the *Milaneſe* within the city put to death a number of perſons of all ranks, whom they imagined eſpouſed his cauſe; after which the inhabitants aſſembled to the number of ſixty thouſand, and marched out of the city to give battle. *Sforza* having intelligence of all their motions drew up his army, and diſplayed ſo much capacity and judgment in his diſpoſition, that the *Milaneſe*, with all their ſuperiority of troops, not caring to hazard an engagement, retired into the city. Upon this he inveſted *Milan* more cloſely; but the number of inhabitants being ſo great he propoſed reducing the city by famine, it being abſurd to pretend aſſaulting it with an inferior
f body of troops.

IN this ſituation lay *Sforza* when jealouſies between the *Venetians* and him began to appear, which produced propoſals for an accommodation between the republics of *Venice* and *Milan*. After the terms had been debated and agreed upon they were referred to the arbitration of *Sforza*, conditionally, that he accepted of ſeven cities, not ſpecified, for his ſhare of *Philip*'s dominions, leaving the people in poſſeſſion of all the reſt. The other articles were, that the *Venetians* ſhould maintain ſix thouſand, the *Milaneſe* two thouſand, and *Sforza* only one thouſand troops in his ſervice; that if he accepted of theſe terms he ſhould be eſteemed the friend and ally of both ſtates; if not he ſhould be declared an enemy, and war againſt him proſecuted with all the forces of both republics. Theſe articles being pre-
g ſented to *Sforza*, he expreſſed juſt indignation againſt the *Venetians*, who, after all his im-

A. D. 1449.

[l] BLOND. ibid. Aut. citat. [m] Aut. citat. ibid. [n] SABEL. l. 6. d. 3. etiam BLOND. l. 10. d. 3.

portant

*Treaty between* Milan *and* Venice.

portant ſervices to the republic, now made him the ſacrifice of a peace with their enemies. However, the republics proceeded to the concluſion of their treaty, and *Sforza* rejecting the terms, war was denounced againſt him [n]. a

Sforza *makes war on* Venice *and* Milan.

GREAT preparations were made by both republics, and the *Venetians* put a ſtop to all trade and intercourſe with *Florence*, on her refuſal to join in the alliance againſt her old general. *Sigiſmund Malateſte* was appointed general of the republican forces: his firſt attempt was upon the forts which *Sforza* had built to block up *Brebia*. Two of theſe he burnt and deſtroyed, and the reſt would have ſhared the ſame fate had not *Sforza*'s approach obliged him to retire beyond the *Adda*. All this while *Sforza* continued the blockade of *Milan*, which, in deſpite of the efforts of the *Venetians*, was reduced to great extremities. *Malateſte* having joined the corps under *Coyoni*, did all in his power to draw *Sforza* to a battle, which that wiſe general avoided, knowing the fate of *Milan* depended on his draw- b

A. D. 1450. ing the war out to ſome length. At laſt the *Milaneſe*, conquered by famine, and ſtarved into ſubmiſſion, murdered *Venieri* the *Venetian* ambaſſador, and ſaluted *Sforza* prince, open-

Sforza *declared duke of* Milan.

ing their gates, and receiving him with the ſame demonſtrations of joy they would the ſon of their lawful ſovereign [o]. Thus, by a change as ſudden as amazing, he inſtantly became the ſovereign and protector of a people he had but the day before perſecuted with all the rancour of an inveterate enemy. The *Milaneſe* having changed ſides, the *Venetians* reſolved to conclude a treaty of alliance with *Alphonſo*, who deſired nothing more than a war with *Milan*, and an opportunity of humbling *Sforza*. This was effected by the good conduct and addreſs of *Paſcali Maſtropietro*, the *Venetian* envoy at *Naples* [p]. Intelligence of the treaty c being received at *Milan*, *Sforza* reſolved to gain the *Venetians* by acts of generoſity and kindneſs; for this purpoſe he ordered all the *Venetians* who were impriſoned upon the late change of meaſures, to be ſet at liberty, and loaded with preſents and good offices, hinting to them at the ſame time his deſire of cultivating the friendſhip of the republic (E): but theſe overtures coming to nothing, both ſides prepared for a vigorous war. *Alphonſo* and the *Venetians* opened the campaign by ſeizing on *Coyoni* and a detachment of fifteen hundred horſe [q]. Some attacks were likewiſe made on the *Florentines* for having aſſiſted *Sforza* with

A. D. 1451. money. For the better ſupporting the war a tax was laid by the ſenate on all perſons holding places and enjoying penſions from the government: they were likewiſe obliged upon their diſmiſſion to ſerve the government for ſix months at their own expence in the field. d Little progreſs was made by either ſide the firſt year of the war; but early the following ſpring both armies entered upon vigorous meaſures. *Leoneſio* the *Venetian* general, after he waſted the country about *Lodes*, and reduced ſeveral ſmall forts, marched directly to *Milan*, upon an aſſurance from ſome of the inhabitants of being ſtrongly ſupported: but finding that no inſurrection was like to appear, he went and laid ſiege to *Socinna*. Having battered the town for ſeveral days, a breach was made, which he ſtormed and carried after a bloody action. *Sforza* marched too late to the relief of this place: the armies being encamped for ſeveral days within a ſmall diſtance of each other, frequent ſkirmiſhes and briſk encounters paſſed, though no general battle enſued.

DURING theſe tranſactions on the river *Adda*, *William* of *Montferrat*, with four thouſand e horſe, ſpread terror and deſolation every where in the territory of *Alexandria*. From thence marching to *Tortona* and *Pavia*, he deſtroyed the whole country, and was in this manner

Montferrat *defeated.*

proceeding in his conqueſts when *Sacromer Viſconti*, ſent by *Sforza*, ſuddenly attacked, defeated, and obliged him to retire to *Caſtlenovo*.

IN the mean time *Alphonſo*'s general *Ferdinand* was not idle: having laid ſiege to *Forlano*, he took and deſtroyed it, after having forty days inceſſantly battered the walls. During the ſiege he twice routed *Faventino*, with the ſlaughter of two thouſand of his men, as he was attempting to relieve the garriſon: then marching into the territory of *Sienna* he inveſted *Caſtlelina*; but the fortifications being ſtrong, and the garriſon proving obſtinate, he

[n] BLOND. l. 10. d. 3. BARON. t. 8. [o] Ibid. etiam BARON. U. H. t. 8. [p] SANSOV. del v. Prin. p. 262. [q] SABEL. l. 6. d. 3.

(E) This year pope *Nicholas* conferred ſome particular honours on the doge; ſuch as a golden ſword, a crown ſet with diamonds, &c. Preſents likewiſe to the ſtate were ſent by the king of *Boſnia*, and the vaivod of *Croatia*. The duke of *Auſtria* viſited *Venice*, and was magnificently received; but the entertainment and reception given to the emperor *Frederic* exceeded every thing of that kind, ever ſeen in *Venice*, both in grandeur and elegance. The ſenate, ſeignory, and whole city, went in the bucentauro, gondoles, ganzares, and other veſſels, richly adorned, to meet the emperor; whilſt the ladies, with no leſs pomp, waited on *Leonora* the empreſs. On their arrival on ſhore, they found the whole city and ſtreets hung with ſcarlet, purple, and the richeſt ſilks and cloths. Nothing but muſical inſtruments and the fineſt voices ſaluted the ear with ſongs of rejoicing and congratulation. They were both preſented by the ſenate with crowns of gold, richly ſet with jewels; a child's coat and cradle ſtudded with gold, jewels, and pearls, was given by the ladies to the empreſs, and other preſents, valued at a million of money. This entertainment in the palace was magnificent beyond deſcription, the richneſs of *Venice* vying with the taſte and elegance of *Italy*. Their imperial majeſties expreſſed the utmoſt ſatisfaction, and departed highly delighted with the power, wealth, ſplendor, and hoſpitality of the republic. *Sabel.* ibid.

abandoned

a abandoned it, and retired into winter-quarters. A detachment from *Leoneſio*'s army defeated a corps of the *Milaneſe* ſent by *Sforza* to ſurpriſe him, and this little ſkirmiſh proved the prelude to a battle. *Aleſſandro* was detached by *Sforza* with four thouſand horſe and one thouſand foot, to ſtop the incurſions of the *Venetians* into the *Milaneſe*; and the *Venetian* general having intelligence of their rout ſent *Carolo Montone* to attack him, which he did with ſuch vigour that *Aleſſandro* was defeated, his army diſperſed, and only himſelf with a ſmall number of attendants eſcaped to *Sforza*'s camp, which then lay before *Calviſiana* [r]. The *Venetians* uſed every expedient for the relief of this place, without which the enemy could not winter in their dominions: but all their endeavours proved fruitleſs, though they afforded the officers many opportunities of diſplaying their valour. Among others one in

b particular deſerves notice: *Leoneſio* being apprized of a convoy of one thouſand horſe going to the enemy's camp, he detached *Gonzaga* and *Brandolino* to make an attempt on it: they met the enemy near *Iſſea* in the *Breſcian*, and fell upon them with ſo much intrepidity, that they ſoon were maſters of the convoy. *Sforza* receiving timely notice of the loſs, detached a ſtrong body to recover the booty. The *Venetians* ſuſtained the enemy with great bravery, but would at length have been overpowered with numbers, had not *Leoneſio* with the reſt of the army come up to their relief. The ſcale was now turned, and the enemy would infallibly have been defeated, but that *Sforza* arrived to their ſupport: here a general and obſtinate engagement began, which continuing for ſeveral hours, was at length ended by the darkneſs of the night. The only mark of victory on either ſide that appeared was,

c the *Venetians* carrying off the convoy [s]: however, it did not raiſe the ſiege; on the contrary, *Sforza* aſſulted the town with redoubled vigour, and the garriſon, unable to withſtand his efforts, ſurrendered priſoners of war. Thus, by the acquiſition of *Calviſiana*, did he eſtabliſh winter-quarters in the enemy's territories. The *Venetian* writers affirm, that before the armies left the field, *Leoneſia* frequently offered battle to *Sforza*, which he as conſtantly declined. Hence they take occaſion to reflect on the courage of this great officer, without conſidering that it was *Sforza*'s buſineſs to avoid a battle, ſince a defeat in the enemy's country muſt be attended with the ruin of his affairs.

Alleſſandro *defeated by the* Venetians.

*A battle.*

The winter as uſual was ſpent in treaties, negociations, and alliances. *Sforza* and the *Florentines* ſent to the *French* king to requeſt he would uſe his intereſt with the duke of

d *Savoy* to break with the *Venetians*, and likewiſe prevail on *Renatus* of *Anjou* to attempt the recovery of his kingdom of *Sicily*, promiſing him liberal ſupplies of money. By this means they intended to divert *Alphonſo* from proſecuting the war againſt the *Florentines*. The king undertook their cauſe, and by his intereſt perſuaded the duke of *Savoy* to lay down his arms, and *Renatus* to paſs into *Italy*, purſue his claim to *Sicily*, and carry on war againſt *Alphonſo*.

The *Florentines* ſtill continued in the alliance of *Sforza*, and entering upon action early A. D. 1452. in the ſpring recovered *Fogliani*, which had been taken from them laſt campaign. *Manerba* was beſieged by the *Venetians*, which they continued in ſpite of all the efforts of *Sforza* to relieve, until the brave *Leoneſio* was killed in a ſally from the town by a random

e arrow in the purſuit. The command of the army devolving upon *Picinino*, he proſecuted the ſiege ſo vigorouſly that the garriſon, finding they could expect no relief from *Sforza*, ſurrendered priſoners of war. This event was followed by the reduction of *Quinzeno* and *Pontevico*; after which he undertook the ſiege of *Seniga*, but was forced to raiſe it on the approach of *Sforza* with an army greatly ſuperior. A number of ſkirmiſhes daily paſſed, when *Renatus* with four thouſand horſe joined *Sforza*. The enemy being thus reinforced, *Picinino* was obliged to ſtand on the defenſive, during which time *Sforza* ſoon recovered *Manerba*, and all the other places loſt in the beginning of the campaign. Indeed the whole *Cremoneſe* and *Breſcian*, except the two capitals, were reduced under his obedience, or rather voluntarily ſubmitted. *Picinino* marched with the utmoſt diligence to the *Breſcian*, to ſtop the

f progreſs of the enemy, and to defend the mountains, the inhabitants of which had as yet remained firm in their duty: here he fixed upon a ſtrong camp, ſo advantageouſly ſituated as to cover the paſſes to the mountains, and at the ſame time render all approaches to him difficult and hazardous. This put a ſtop to the progreſs of both armies, until the rigour of the ſeaſon obliged them to quit the field and retire into quarters [t].

During the winter, the *Venetians*, the pope, and *Alphonſo*, were buſied in preparing a fleet to oppoſe the Grand Seignor, who had reſolved on the ſiege of *Conſtantinople* early in the ſpring. The ſenate firſt decreed ten gallies and two argozais, of two thouſand tons each, to be ſent to *Greece*. Afterwards ten more were equipped, and theſe, joined to the pope's and A. D. 1453. *Alphonſo*'s fleets, made in all forty-two ſail, under the command of *Jacomo Loretano*: but

g before his arrival, *Othoman* had opened his trenches, and was laying ſiege to the city with Conſtantinople.

*Fleet againſt the* Turks.

Turks *beſiege*

[r] Blond. l. 10. d. 3. Pass. apud. Sabel. ibid. [s] Montan. l. 5. etiam Aut. citat. [t] Sabel. l. 7. d. 3.

a prodigious fleet and army. *Loretano* was obliged to fight his way through the *Turkiſh* a
fleet to enter the harbour, which he did with a conduct and reſolution altogether aſtoniſh-
ing. It would be unſeaſonable to enter on the particulars of this ſiege; ſufficient it is for
our preſent purpoſe, that *Loretano*, perceiving the whole dependence of the enemy was on
the land-forces, and that the *Turkiſh* fleet could be of little uſe, determined to ſail to *Ne-
gropont* for the defence of the iſland, and there wait for a reinforcement ſufficient to engage
the enemy [u].

While the *Venetian* fleet remained in the *Levant*, their army was upon the defenſive, *Sforza* carrying all before him in *Lombardy*. He took *Rhoads*, *Romagna*, *Martinenga*, and *Briſança*; then he reduced the *New Orges*, *Romanenga*, and *Socina*. Towards the end of the campaign he began the ſiege of *Iſola*; but the heavy rains falling, made it impoſſible b
for him to keep the field. *Picinino*'s army was too weak to cover all thoſe places; and in-
deed he was kept in awe by a ſtrong detachment, which *Sforza* had ſent to watch his motions;
ſo that the winter came on before he was in a condition to enter upon action [w].

The pope now laboured hard to mediate a peace, in order that the chriſtian forces might unite in defence of *Conſtantine Paleologus* and the *Greek* empire: but the endeavours of his holineſs proved of no effect; though the peace was concluded by means of a mediator of leſs conſequence [x]. *Simon Camertes*, a hermit, was ſo indefatigable and eloquent, that he brought all parties to accede to the following terms: That *Sforza* ſhould reſtore to the *Venetians* whatever he had taken from them in the war, the territory of *Ghiradadda* excepted: that the marquis of *Mantua* ſhould reinſtate his brother *Caroli* in all his dominions: that *Alphonſo* c
ſhould reſtore his conqueſts to the *Florentines*; with other articles of leſs importance. For the further ſecurity of the public tranquility it was expreſly mentioned, that if any future differences among the parties ſhould ariſe, the pope ſhould have ample and full powers to
A. D. 1454. determine them, his holineſs taking upon him to be guarantee of the treaty [y]. The city of *Venice* received with great joy the news that a war was terminated in which they had been hard preſſed by the vigour, conduct, and intrepidity of *Sforza*. Public thankſgivings were offered, and proceſſions made, attended by the doge, ſenate, and all the clergy, with images and relics of ſaints. *Marcello* was likewiſe ſent to *Conſtantinople*, to execute a treaty with *Mahomet*; and he returned, loaded with preſents and expreſſions of the friendſhip of that great monarch for the republic. d

*Peace with* Sforza.

Foſcari *depoſed.*

From this time to the year one thouſand four hundred and fifty-ſeven the republic en-
joyed profound peace, when *Foſcari*, after a glorious adminiſtration of thirty-four years, was, at the age of ninety, laid aſide as ſuperannuated and unfit for the diſcharge of his im-
portant office: an inſtance of ingratitude conſiſtent, perhaps, with the meaſures of ſound policy, but very contradictory to the dictates of humanity. He was a prince of a noble and pleaſing aſpect, poſſeſſed a prodigious memory, flowing eloquence, ready wit, and ſound judgment, according to *Baronius* and the *Italian* writers. At this remarkable age he en-
joyed good health, the perfect uſe of his limbs and faculties, remembered every incident from his childhood, had a ſweetneſs, and at the ſame time a majeſty and authority in his manner that equally commanded love and reſpect. He had greatly extended the power and e
dominions of the republic, and was no leſs loved by his ſubjects than eſteemed and feared by ſtrangers and his neighbours; yet was this valuable and venerable prince ſacrificed to the politics of an ungrateful multitude: happy fruits, ſays *Baronius*, of a republican conſtitution! The cardinal informs ns, that his depoſition, as well as his acceſſion to the ſupreme magi-
ſtracy, had been predicted; the latter by a gypſy in his father's life-time, the former by an aſtrologer at *Venice*, ſome months before it was thought of by the ſenate. He was no ſooner diveſted of the ſupreme authority, than leaving the palace with indignation he retired to a private houſe, where falling ill with grief, he died, univerſally lamented and eſteemed [z] (F).

## *Pasqual Malipiero*, Doge LXVI. f

A. D. 1457. Paſqual Malipiero, *doge* LXVI.

*FOSCARI* was ſucceeded in his dogeſhip by *Paſqual Malipiero*, then aged ſeventy-two. This prince attended the obſequies of his predeceſſor, which were performed with the ut-
moſt magnificence and funeral pomp. Nothing memorable happened dnring the four years and ſeven months of his adminiſtration. *Malipiero* maintained with great care the

[u] Baron. l. 8. A. 1453. [w] Sabel. l. 7. d. 3. [x] La Vie des Papes, t. 8. [y] Montan. l. 5. Sabel. l. 7. d. 3. Pass. Arim. ibid. [z] Sabel. l. 7. d. 3. Sansov. del. v. p. 263. Baron. Sabel. An. præſent.

(F) *Jacomo Foſcari*, his ſon, was cited by the council of ten to anſwer to ſome accuſations lodged againſt him of conſpiring to ſubvert the government. *Jacomo* was then abſent, and not appearing on the day appointed, orders were iſſued for ſeizing him. He was then put to the torture; but ſtill continuing to deny the allega-
tions, he was condemned to perpetual baniſhment; in which, in ſpite of all the remonſtrances of his father, he ended a miſerable life. *Baron.* p. 520, tit. 13.

a tranquility handed down by *Foscari*, executed the laws with justice and moderation, tempered the severity of old age with the innocent mirth and dissipation of youth, and blended the dignity of the prince with the ease and freedom of the companion: in short, he was a prince of great and shining virtues; of a penetrating judgment; open, sincere, and candid; a lover of peace, but profoundly skilled in the art of war [y]. In a word, all we have transmitted of this prince is a panegyric on his wisdom, prudence, bravery, and clemency, without facts to illustrate or confirm these virtues. Historians relate that he patronized men of letters and ingenuity, an instance of which they give in the kindness they shewed to *Nicolo Jenson Tedescho*, who first introduced the art of printing in *Venice* [z]. The doge made him very handsome and liberal presents; had the satisfaction of perusing some splendid editions b of the classics and other books issued from the *Venetian* press. Thus, amidst employments useful to the public and glorious to himself *Malipiero* died, to the great affliction of the whole republic. In his room the senate substituted *Christoforo Moro*, a procurator of St. *Mark*, equally beloved for his disposition and admired for his capacity. A. D. 1462.

## SECT. V.

*Containing the Origin and Progress of the* Turkish *War*; *the Rise of the War with the* Trieſtines; *Death of* Moro; *and the Transactions which occurred during the Ad-*
c *ministration of* Nicolo Throno, *and others of his Successors.*

### *CHRISTOFORO MORO*, Doge LXVII.

THE first year of *Moro*'s administration was spent in acts of civil discipline. *Sansovino*, indeed, tells us of a kind of war with the *Trieſtines*, which was soon made up at the pope's intercession [a]; but of this we find no mention in any other historian. The winter was taken up in preparations to oppose the *Turks*, who, after the surrender of *Constantinople*, and ruin of the *Grecian* empire, were desirous of seizing on the *Morea* as a dependency on their conquests. *Thomas* and *Demetrius*, the princes of this province, had three years before d offered the *Venetians* to put the *Morea* into their hands, for an equivalent in *Italy* [b]; but *Demetrius* giving his daughter in marriage to *Mahomet*, and going over to the *Turks*, frustrated that design. *Thomas* made some resistance near the streights, to the incursions of *Othoman*; but finding himself unequal to the power of that monarch he fled into *Italy*. The *Grecian* dominion being extinct in the *Morea*, the *Venetians* still held the towns they long possessed in that province: however, the encroachments of *Othoman* obliged them at length to take arms in defence of the trade and subjects of the republic in that quarter. It was with great caution the *Venetians* entered upon this important war: *Victor Capello*, their admiral, refused to succour *Lesbos* and *Mitylene*, though both islands offered to put themselves under the protection of the republic. The senate even passed over *Othoman*'s infractions of e the late treaty, by crossing the streights of *Gallipolis*, lest thereby they should draw on a war with this potent monarch. They proceeded so far in their pacific measures as to be taxed with indifference and coolness for the Christian religion; but they wisely withstood all attempts to engage themselves in war, until the defence of their own rights and property rendered it unavoidable. Now a strong fleet under *Loretano* was equipped, and an army of fifteen thousand land forces sent to besiege *Argers* (A), lately taken by the *Turks*. *Bertoldo D'Este*, who commanded the army, soon made himself master of this city, defended by a small garrison, and gave it to be plundered by the soldiers. *Basilia* (B) was next reduced, after which he marched through the territory of *Corinth*, and encamped on the sea-coast, where *Loretano* rode at anchor with the fleet. Here *D'Este* and *Loretano* began a very la-f borious and useful work, which they completed in fifteen days: they fortified with a wall and double moat the whole length of the streights, from the *Ægean* to the *Ionian* sea, about four thousand paces. Thirty thousand men, we are told, were employed in this work, finished with no less strength than expedition [d]. Six thousand *Turks* who lay before *Corinth* endeavoured all in their power to obstruct the workmen, but they were constantly repulsed with great slaughter. In the mean time *D'Æste* sent *Coyoni* with a detachment to seize upon *Misistrate*, where after having reduced the country round, and taken the town, he was killed in an assault upon the citadel. The city of *Londaria* was likewise seized by another detachment, after which *D'Æste* marched with the whole army to besiege *Corinth*:

Christoforo Moro, *doge* LXVII. A. D. 1463.

*War in the* Morea.

Turks *defeated.*

[y] Sansov. del. vit. de princip. [z] Sabel. l. 7. d. 3. [a] Cron. Venet. [b] Sabel. l. 8. d. 3. etiam Cæpio Com. apud Sabel. [d] Sabel. ibid. Cæpio apud Sabel. Montan. l. 5.

(A) *Argers*, or *Argo*, a city a few miles south of *Corinth*.

(B) *Basilia*, or *Basilico*, a fortified town North of *Corinth*, situated on the coast of the gulph of *Lepanto*. It would seem from *D'Æste*'s first attacking *Argers*, that the fleet sailed up the gulph of *Napoli*, the army marching along the banks of the river on which the town is situated.

the

the attack was made on the weſt, north, and eaſt ſides; that on the latter ſucceeded, for *Attelano* having broke down the walls with his cannon, ſtormed the breach, and effected a lodgment. D'*Æſte* in viewing of the batteries was killed the next day by a cannot ſhot, which with a furious ſally of the enemy, and the approach of the *Turkiſh* army, determined the *Venetians* to abandon the ſiege and retire to *Napoli* (C), where they were ſoon followed by an army of fifty thouſand horſe and thirty thouſand foot [e]. The *Turks* immediately undertook the ſiege, and cut off a party of the garriſon that had with more bravery than conduct ſallied out upon them; but *Bertino*, who ſucceeded D'*Æſte* in the command, exerted himſelf ſo vigorouſly, that with his ſmall army he forced the *Turks* to abandon the ſiege. D'*Æſte* was deſervedly blamed for abandoning the line he drew croſs the *Iſtmus*; though in fact this miſconduct ought to be attributed to *Bertino*, D'*Æſte* being killed before the ſiege of *Corinth* was relinquiſhed.

*The* Turks *beſiege* Napoli.

THE *Turks* having raiſed the ſiege of *Napoli* ravaged the territory of *Modon*, and cloſely inveſted *Zanchio*, an enterprize which the bravery of *Giovanni Craſſo* the governor fruſtrated. Upon this they retired out of the *Morea*, and left the *Venetians* at liberty to ſack and deſtroy the towns garriſoned by *Turks* [f].

*Raiſe the ſiege.*

To keep the republic in full employment, a war with the *Trieſtines* aroſe. The *German* merchants trading to *Iſtria* uſed to bring their goods to *Cap-Iſtria*, and other towns of the province, paſſing over *Trieſte*, on account of a particular impoſition on all foreign commodities. This was perceived by the *Trieſtines*, and that their trade declined: inſtead of taking off the tax, they had recourſe to the emperor *Frederic*, beſeeching that he would oblige the *German* merchants to frequent their markets, and prohibit the commodities of the empire to be carried to any other town within the province. The emperor paying no great attention to their requeſt, they determined to uſe force; upon which the inhabitants of *Cap-Iſtria* ſent ambaſſadors to beg the protection of the doge and ſenate of *Venice*. An envoy was immediately ſent to the *Trieſtines*, to deſire they would abſtain from moleſting the inhabitants of *Cap-Iſtria*; at the ſame time a ſquadron was ordered to anchor in the gulph of *Trieſte*, to keep the city in awe and give weight to the ambaſſy. The *Trieſtines*, however, continued their meaſures, which made the ſenate reſolve upon ſending a land army to lay ſiege to the city: for this purpoſe three thouſand horſe, four thouſand foot, and a train of artillery, were ſhipped under the conduct of four *Venetian* nobility. The city was immediately inveſted, and the ſiege carried on with great vigour for the greater part of the autumn: ſeveral ſharp ſallies were made from the town; and the *Venetians*, on the other hand, having made a breach in the walls, repeated their aſſaults: at laſt, the pope interfering, at his mediation the ſiege was raiſed, on condition that his holineſs would abſtain from proſecuting *Sigiſmund Malateſte*, whom he at that time blocked up in *Arimini*. Thus did the *Trieſtine* war end with the operations of one campaign, after the garriſon had been reduced to great extremities [g].

*War with the* Trieſtines.

A. D. 1464.

THE *Venetian* fleet and army having wintered in the *Morea*, were ready early in the ſpring to take the field; but orders were ſent that they ſhould wait for the arrival of *Urſo Juſtiniano*, appointed to take the command of the fleet and army from *Loretano* and *Bertino*. Before his arrival an encounter happened, in which the *Venetians* loſt fifteen hundred of their men, with *Attendulo* who commanded, near *Modon*. *Urſo* arrived at *Modon* a few days after, and taking upon him the command of the fleet left part of the forces in the *Morea* with *Bertino*, and ſailed with the reſt directly to *Mitylene*, which he attacked with great vigour. This was the capital of the iſland of that name in the *Archipelago*, taken a few years before by the *Turks*. A breach being made in the walls, *Urſo* ordered it to be ſtormed, where, after a bloody action for ſome hours, he was at laſt repulſed with great loſs, and forced to abandon the enterprize [h]. Quitting *Mitylene* he went to *Nigrepont*, where, reflecting on his miſcarriage, he died of a lowneſs and oppreſſion of ſpirits. *Giacomo Loretano* was ſent to take the command of the fleet, which ſailed upon the death of *Urſo* to the *Morea*. *Sigiſmund Malateſte* was appointed general of the army, and both the commanders immediately ſet out with a ſmall ſquadron and a reinforcement of one thouſand horſe to join the forces. *Malateſte* found the army in a miſerable condition after the death of *Attendulo*: he complained loudly of the injury done his reputation in appointing him general of a handful of diſeaſed broken troops, oppoſed to a numerous and powerful enemy: however, reſolved to make the moſt of his condition, he marched and laid ſiege to *Sparta*; but, after continuing two months before the walls, he was forced to abandon the enterprize [i]. During the ſiege of *Sparta*, *Loretano* with the fleet made a deſcent on *Rhodes*, returning

*The* Venetians lay *ſiege to* Mitylene.

Sparta *beſieged.*

[e] Aut. cit. ibid. [f] SABEL. ibid. Cæpio ibid. BARRE. Hiſt. Allemagn. v. 5. [g] SABEL. l. 8. d. 3.
[h] SABEL. ibid. [i] AMELOT. Hiſt. Venet. vol. 2. p. 2.

(C) We are left at a loſs by hiſtorians whether this city was *Napoli di Romagnia*, ſituated at the head of the gulph, or *Napoli de Malvaſia*, a city further ſouth, at the extremity of the *Morea*; probably it was the former.

after

a after he had waſted the iſland to *Nigropont*. Thus ended the campaign without any memorable action performed ſince the arrival of *Malateſte* and *Loretano*.

EARLY in the ſpring *Loretano* reſolved to paſs the ſtreights of *Gallipoli*, but was fruſtrated in the attempt by the ſtrength of the *Turkiſh* forts on each coaſt. The whole ſummer was ſpent in expectation of the event of pope *Pius*'s endeavours to excite the other Chriſtian powers againſt the *Turks*; but his holineſs dying at *Ancona*, where he arrived to meet the ambaſſadors of different potentates, the whole enterprize ended in ſending a ſlender remittance of money to *Matthias* of *Hungary* [k]. The plague raging in *Napoli di Romagnia*, *Malateſte* retired with the army to *Laconia*, where he wintered, having attempted nothing during the whole ſeaſon. *Victor Capello* was ſent the next year to ſucceed *Loretano*; but no rein- A. D. 1465.

b forcement was given to *Malateſte*. *Capello* ſailed to *Aulida*, which, with *Larſa*, he took, after a vigorous reſiſtance. He afterwards paſſed into the gulph of *Corinth*, upon the promiſe of the inhabitants to deſtroy the garriſon, and put the town of *Patras* into his hands. Here *Barbadico*, the proveditor, landed, and entering *Patras*, the ſoldiers immediately fell a pillaging, during which they were attacked by a body of *Turkiſh* horſe, and defeated; not above a thouſand, out of four times that number, eſcaping. *Barbadico* was killed in the tumult, and being afterwards known by his armour, his body was impaled [l]. *Capello*, not diſcouraged with this loſs, landed all the forces, and briſkly attacked the city; but was repulſed by a vigorous ſally, and forced, after great ſlaughter of his men, to ſeek refuge on board the fleet. He was ſo much affected with this loſs, that he fell ſick and died a few

c days after [m] (D). A. D. 1466. Venetians *defeated before* Patras.

THE republic, in the mean time, was involved in a war in *Italy* in ſupport of *Bartholomeo* of *Bergamo*, who came to a rupture with *Ferdinand* of *Naples*. However, before their troops joined him, a battle was fought, which brought on a peace. The next year was memorable for the loſs of *Nigropont*, which the *Turks* took in deſpite of all the attempts of the *Venetian* fleet, and obſtinate defence of the garriſon. All the garriſon was put to the ſword, and not even the ſick, the decripid, women, or children, ſpared [n]. This loſs greatly af- A. D. 1467.

fected the republic: the barrier of *Italy* was now in the hands of the enemy; and nothing remained but to lament the indolence, inactivity, and avarice, which had produced the calamity. The ſenate, when it was too late, augmented the fleet with forty-five additional

d ſail; a force more than ſufficient to have protected this important place, though unable to recover it. *Nicolao Canalis*, who commanded the fleet, determining, if poſſible, to regain the public eſteem, which he had undeſervedly forfeited for not covering *Nigropont*, to which his ſtrength was inadequate, ſailed immediately in queſt of the *Turkiſh* fleet, which had quitted *Nigropont* a few days before he was joined by *Venieri*, and the fleet from *Venice*. He got ſight of the enemy at *Chios*; but the *Turkiſh* admiral found means to elude an engagement. He then ſteered his courſe back to *Nigropont*, in hopes to ſurpriſe it; but the attempt miſcarried, with the loſs of two hundred men, and *Giovanni Trono*, one of the braveſt officers of the fleet. Here he was ſuperſeded by *Pietro Mocenigo*, to whom *Canalis* ſaid, that had he remained longer in his office, he doubted not of recovering *Nigropont*.

e *Mocenigo* replied, that if his hopes were well founded, he would willingly ſuſpend his authority for the good of the public; and at the ſame time offered him all the aſſiſtance he could in a ſubaltern capacity: an inſtance of public ſpirit rarely compatible with private ambition [o]. *Canalis*, upon this, declined continuing in a ſtation of which he was deprived by the republic, and returned to *Venice*; from whence, immediately on his arrival, he was baniſhed for life. Thus did this unfortunate officer fall a victim to popular diſcontent, and the miſconduct of the adminiſtration [p].

*MOCENIGO* no ſooner aſſumed the command than he returned with the fleet to the *Morea*, there to winter, deferring to enter upon action until the ſpring. *Othoman* ſpent the winter endeavouring to conclude a peace with the *Venetians*; for this politic prince appre-

f hended, leſt his having poſſeſſion of *Nigropont* might excite other Chriſtian powers againſt him: he was therefore deſirous of taking off the chief maritime ſtate by a peace, or, if no-

[k] Hiſt. des Papes. la vie de Pio. BARON. t. 8. Ha. præf. [l] SABEL. l. 8. d. 3. [m] Ibid. etiam. SANSOV. Cron. Venet. [n] SABEL. ibid. CARCOL. l. 3. apud. BARON. [o] SABEL. l. 9. d. 3. AMELOT. Hiſt. Venet. t. 2. p. 2. [p] Ibid.

(D) This year died the brave *Franciſco Sforza*, duke of *Milan*, in the ſixty-fifth year of his age. Hiſtorians are profuſe in his praiſes; and indeed his actions beſpeak him one of the greateſt men ever *Italy* produced. *Sabellicus* equals him with *Julius Cæſar*; and perhaps not unjuſtly, had his ſituation admitted of actions ſo glaringly ſtriking as thoſe of the dictator: *Baronius* (1) ſays, he never loſt a battle, and calls him eloquent, juſt, chaſte, and pious. How far he might deſerve ſome of theſe epithets, the reader muſt judge from what we have related. Certain it is, that ambition and pride were ſtrong ingredients in his character.

(1) *Baron.* 594. *t.* 8. *tit.* 6.

thing was concluded, to amuſe the republic by negociations from paying all the attention a to their armaments they otherwiſe might. How long this treaty which *Othoman* ſet on foot might have laſted, we know not: from this time to the death of the doge nothing is related by hiſtorians beſides an alliance formed with the ſophi of *Perſia* [q], which was concluded a few months before *Moro* died, and three years after the loſs of *Nigropont*. *Moro*'s reign was
A. D. 1470. unfortunate, owing chiefly to his indolence and want of vigour. A ſort of ſlow cautious prudence ſeemed to characterize him, and produce the meaſures which had nearly terminated in the ruin of the republic: had *Othoman* been leſs employed in *Hungary*, he would undoubtedly have made his advantage of the important acquiſition of *Nigropont*.

## *NICOLAO TRONO*, Doge LXVIII.

b

Nicolao Trono, *doge* LXVIII. A. D. 1471.

*NICOLAO TRONO* was elected by the unanimous conſent of the ſenate and people to the ſupreme magiſtracy: his reign, though not very long, was proſperous, the event confirming the judicious choice of the ſenate. Upon his acceſſion, with the conſent and approbation of the republic, he ſent ambaſſadors to the pope and *Ferdinand*, to exhort them to arm againſt the common enemy of *Chriſtendom*: he likewiſe diſpatched an envoy to the king of *Cyprus*, with ſimilar inſtructions, all of whom received the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of powerful ſuccours.

A. D. 1472. LITTLE was performed this year by the fleet under *Mocenigo*, beſides the ſurpriſal of ſome unimportant places in *Ionia*, and protecting *Lemnos*, upon which the *Turks* meditated a deſcent. Early in the ſpring he ſet ſail for *Aſia Minor*, where he waſted, deſtroyed, and c
ſpread terror all over the coaſts, defeating the enemy in ſeveral encounters and ſkirmiſhes. On his return to the *Morea* he was joined by *Ferdinand*'s admiral: having victualled the fleet at *Modon*, without waiting for the pope's auxiliaries, he ſailed directly for *Rhodes*, where he defeated a *Turkiſh* ſquadron that lay before the chief city, and blocked up the Chriſtian inhabitants: having likewiſe deſtroyed all the enemy's forts and works in the iſland, he ſet ſail for *Capraria*, and joined the pope's fleet under the conduct of a legate [r]. Mutual compliments and congratulations having paſſed, *Mocenigo* ſailed with his whole fleet, conſiſting of forty-ſix *Venetian* gallies, thirty-ſeven auxiliary veſſels, and two gallies
Venetians *attack and deſtroy* Satalia. from *Rhodes*, in all eighty-five gallies, for *Satalia*, which city he reſolved to attack. The troops being landed the trenches were opened, and the city taken in a few days: all the d
rich merchandize of the Eaſt, cinnamon, cloves, and ſpices, with great quantities of rich ſilks, were burnt and plundered by the ſoldiers, after which the citadel was ſtormed. The firſt wall was taken after a bloody encounter; but the ſcaling ladders proving too ſhort for the interior wall, *Mocenigo* was forced to raiſe the ſiege, which he did with great reluctance [s]. Thence he ſailed to *Rhodes*, where he met with the *Perſian* ambaſſador, who came to ſolicit fire arms and a train of artillery for his maſter to begin the war with the *Turks*, which *Mocenigo* promiſing, diſmiſſed him highly ſatisfied with the ſucceſs of his ambaſſy, and the power of the republic [t].

Turks *enter* Italy. THE *Turks* in the mean time were not idle; for a large corps entering *Italy* croſſed the river *Sancino*, and ſpread terror and deſolation over the whole country of *Friuli*, but ad- e
vanced no farther. *Paul* the ſecond ſeeing the danger to which *Italy* and the church were expoſed ſummoned a council, at which the ambaſſadors of a great number of princes and ſtates attended. *Paolo Moroſini* was ſent by the republic: this miniſter repreſented, in an elegant and pathetic oration, the ſhare the republic had for a ſeries of years taken in oppoſing the *Turks*, and defending the Chriſtian religion: he affirmed, that *Venice* alone had ſuſtained the whole weight of the *Othoman* power in *Thrace*, *Illyrium*, and the iſlands of the *Archipelago*; but that the enemy was now, through the indolence of the Chriſtian princes, arrived at ſuch a pitch of power, as not only threatened the extinction of the republic, but of *Italy*, and even of all *Europe*. *Frederic* the third was preſent; to him *Moroſini* chiefly addreſſed himſelf, affirming there was now a poſſibility of cruſhing the proud *Othoman*, if his f
imperial majeſty would undertake the Chriſtan cauſe with chearfulneſs equal to his great power. *Baronius* relates, that the emperor ſlept while the ſecurity of the church was debated, ſo ſoundly, that not the noiſe of the *Turkiſh* cannon could have waked him. Indeed, ſays *Campanus*, nothing could have withſtood *Frederic* had he fought half ſo vigorouſly as he ſnored: ſuch was the reſult of the council from which ſo much was expected.

*MOCENIGO* was in the mean time ravaging the coaſts of *Aſia* towards *Chios* and the promontory of *Thermena*: here *Ferdinand*'s fleet parted with him and retired for the winter, notwithſtanding which *Mocenigo* reſolved to lay ſiege to *Smyrna*. Sailing from *Neſſo* the fleet arrived in three days before the city, to the no leſs aſtoniſhment than confuſion of the in-
Mocenigo *takes* Smyrna. habitants: willing to make the moſt of their conſternation *Mocenigo* landed the troops, and g
inſtantly aſſaulted the walls with irreſiſtible vigour. The ſoldiers no ſooner entered the

[q] BARON. t. 8. SABEL. [r] Vie des Papes, t. 4. [s] SABEL. l. 9. d. 3. [t] BARON. ubi ſupra.

town

a town than a horrible ſlaughter began without diſtinction of age or ſex: all were put to the ſword, in deſpite of *Mocenigo*'s endeavours to prevent this maſſacre; the city was laid waſte, and immenſe ſums of gold and ſilver coin, plate, jewels, and other rich booty taken. The governor of the province having collected a conſiderable army marched againſt the *Venetians*, who firmly renewing the attack gave him ſo warm a reception, that the *Turks* were utterly defeated and broke, though the action was not of ſufficient duration to make the number of ſlain conſiderable. After this the *Venetians* returned to the city, and in revenge laid it in aſhes [u]. Thence the fleet ſteered to *Clazomene*, which having plundered, *Mocenigo* returned to *Napoli* in the *Morea* to winter (E). The pope's legate returned with his fleet to *Italy*, after paying the higheſt compliments to the *Venetian* admiral upon his con-
b duct and ſucceſs. *Mocenigo* diſpatched the *Perſian* ambaſſador in a galley to *Venice*: upon which the ſenate not only granted his demand, of a large train of artillery and ſtores; but likewiſe ſent great quantities of gold and ſilver, curiouſly wrought plate, a ſum of gold ducats, and ſeveral pieces of fine *Verona* ſcarlet cloth to *Uſſan Caſſan*.

*Defeats the Turks.*

AFTERWARDS *Mocenigo* ſteered his courſe towards *Cilicia*, and entering the harbour of *Theodora*, near *Selucia*, he met ambaſſadors from *Caſſambet*, the *Caramanian*, brother to *Piraneet*, king of *Cilicia*, to requeſt his aſſiſtance in the reduction of *Sechin*, *Coria*, and *Selucia*. *Caſſambet* doubted not but the ſurrender of thoſe three cities would re-eſtabliſh his family in the regal dignity, from which they were expelled by *Othoman*. The plan of the operations of the fleet and army being ſettled, *Sechin* was attacked with great fury, and carried through
c the vigour and conduct of *Mocenigo*. *Coria* and *Selucia* ſhared the ſame fate ſoon after, tho' the *Turks* exerted all the ſkill, courage, and power they were poſſeſſed of in their defence [w]. Thus the *Caraman* brothers were reinſtated in the kingdom of *Cilicia*, and *Othoman* deprived of one of his richeſt provinces by the vigour, addreſs, and intrepidity of the *Venetian* admiral. From hence he ſailed to *Cyprus*, where he found *James*, the old ally and friend of the republic, on his death-bed. The king, who was married to *Catherine Zeno*, a *Venetian* lady of quality, recommended his queen to the protection of *Mocenigo* and the republic, in oppoſition to his ſiſter *Charlotta*, who claimed the kingdom, in the moſt pathetic and moving terms; and *Charlotta*, upon the death of her brother, ſent an ambaſſy to *Mocenigo*, acquainting him with her claim, and requeſting his aſſiſtance. *Mocenigo* anſwered the ambaſſadors
d with great reſpect, informed them of the king's will and his own promiſe, as well as the duty of the republic, to protect *Catherine*. During his ſtay at *Cyprus* the queen was delivered of a ſon, of whom ſhe was pregnant at the death of the king; and a few days afterwards advice arrived of the death of the doge [x], who, during a ſhort adminiſtration of two years, had diſplayed every quality which could gain the hearts of the people, and the eſteem and reſpect of foreign ſtates: his reign was remarkably ſucceſsful, owing to his own wiſe conduct and judicious choice of admirals.

*Takes* Sechin, Coria, *and* Selucia.

## *NICOLAO MARCELLO*, Doge LXIX.

THE ſenate elected *Nicolao Marcello*, a nobleman of great prudence, to the ducal chair,
e with no leſs applauſe than they had done his predeceſſor. *Marcello* purſued the plan laid down by *Trono*, and was too wiſe to change men and meaſures, which were attended with all imaginable ſucceſs.

Nicolao Marcello, *doge* LXIX.

AFTER the doge's death *Mocenigo* departed towards the end of autumn to the *Morea*, and wintered at *Modon*, leaving a ſquadron at *Cyprus* under *Cornaro* for the defence and ſecurity of the iſland. In the beginning of the ſummer he received advice of commotions and factions excited in *Cyprus*, which endangered the ſafety of the queen and kingdom. The juncture was too critical to admit of delay; he haſtened thither, but before his arrival, *Cornaro*, with his nephew *Bembo*, were murthered in a conſpiracy formed by the biſhops, the queen's phyſician, and other perſons of diſtinction: the queen herſelf was likewiſe cloſely be-
f ſieged in the citadel. *Souranza*, the proveditor, who was diſpatched with eight gallies, arrived ſome days before the fleet; but finding his force too ſlender to compel the conſpirators, he had recourſe to negociations, which, however, terminated in nothing. *Mocenigo* at laſt arriving ſtruck ſuch terror into the rebels, that they quitted the ſiege, and many left the iſland; but the diligence of the admiral was ſo great, that he ſeized upon the ringleaders

[u] SABEL. l. 9. d. 3. La Vie des Pap. t. 4. [w] SABEL. l. 9. d. 3. BARON. t. 8. ſal. An. hoc. [x] SABEL. l. 10. d. 3. CAMPAN. apud. BARON. ibid.

(E) While *Mocenigo* lay at *Napoli*, a young *Sicilian*, who had been taken by the *Turks* and carried to *Gallipoli*, having made his eſcape, came to him and undertook to ſet fire to the *Turkiſh* fleet and magazines, if he would give his conſent. The admiral commending his courage he departed, and had actually ſet fire to both. The flames were ſoon extinguiſhed, and the *Sicilian* taken and carried before *Othoman*, where he behaved with incredible magnanimity. Being put to death, the ſenate ſettled a penſion on his family in reward of his bravery.

of the rebellion and murtherers of *Cornaro*, all of whom he inſtantly put to death. Soon after he received a commiſſion from the doge and ſenate, appointing him governor of *Cyprus* [y]. After he had reſtored tranquility in the iſland, thinking it more for the advantage of the republic that he ſhould enter upon action, he departed to relieve *Scutari*, then beſieged by a powerful *Turkiſh* fleet and army, leaving *Souranza* with a ſufficient force, deputy-governor, for the protection of the queen and kingdom (F). a

Turks *beſiege* Scutari.

*OTHOMAN*, who thought the poſſeſſion of *Scutari* a neceſſary ſtep towards acquiring the dominion of *Italy*, to which he aſpired, ſent *Soliman* with ten thouſand janiſſaries and ſeventy thouſand other troops, with a prodigious train of artillery, and a ſtrong fleet, to inveſt this city. The trenches were opened, a bridge thrown over the river *Bojana*, and the batteries played furiouſly againſt the walls. At this time *Mocenigo* [a], ſailing up the *Bojana*, as far as was navigable, landed the troops, and encamped within five miles of the city, giving notice by rockets of his approach. The *Turks* endeavouring to block up the fleet brought on an action, in which they were totally defeated, leaving *Mocenigo* maſter of the river. *Cornovich* of *Sclavonia* being ſlow in the operations, and the city hard preſſed, the admiral reſolved to ſuccour it at all events, which he effected with a conduct and reſolution hardly to be paralleled in hiſtory [z]. Seizing on the bridge *Soliman* had thrown over the river, which was defended by ſtrong batteries and a large body of troops, he forced two thouſand men, with a conſiderable quantity of proviſion and ammunition, into the city, amidſt the enemy's fire, and thro' a quarter of their camp commanded by *Ali Beg*. This reinforcement enabled *Loretano* the governor to ſuſtain the general aſſault the next day. *Soliman* thinking the breach conſiderable enough ordered it to be ſtormed by ten thouſand janiſſaries, ſupported by the reſt of the army. The action was dreadful for near two hours, when at length the *Turks* were driven from the walls with great ſlaughter: the garriſon ſallying out after them ſlew the confuſed *Turks* in heaps, leaving about four thouſand dead upon the field, after which they returned into the city laden with rich booty and glory. In a word, *Soliman*, tired out with the obſtinacy of the beſieged, broke up his camp and retired to *Macedonia*, after he had ſpent three months and loſt twenty thouſand of his beſt troops before *Scutari* [b] (G). b c

A. D. 1474. Turks *defeated.*

*MOCENIGO* on account of his health returned to *Venice*, as ſoon as he had accompliſhed his buſineſs at *Scutari*, and *Marepietro*, who was left with the fleet, retired to a wholeſomer air, the crews being ſickly, owing to the moiſt air of the river, and the unwholſome vapours exhaled from the marſhes. Great rejoicings were made at *Venice* on advice that *Scutari* was relieved: preſents were ſent to the governor *Loretano*, and the whole garriſon was rewarded according to their merit. As to *Mocenigo* he was received with the moſt extraordinary honours; preſents were heaped upon him, and a few days after his arrival he received the juſt reward of his fidelity, intrepidity, and prudence; for *Marcello* dying, he was unanimouſly appointed his ſucceſſor [c]. *Marcello*'s reign was ſhort, not exceeding a year and two months: he died much regretted and eſteemed, but his loſs was the leſs obſerved on account of the ſhining qualities and extraordinary virtues of *Mocenigo*. He was buried with great ſolemnity and pomp before the ſenate proceeded to the election of a new doge, the ſovereign authority remaining in them during this ſhort inter-regnum [d]. d e

## *PIETRO MOCENIGO*, Doge LXX.

Pietro Mocenigo, *d.* LXX.

*MOCENIGO*, on his acceſſion to the ducal throne, reſolved to take vigorous meaſures for proſecuting the *Turkiſh* war: his firſt act of authority was appointing *Loretano*, who had ſo bravely defended *Scutari* to be captain of the gallies. In the ſpring *Soliman* undertook the ſiege of *Lepanto*, with an army of thirty thouſand men, of which *Loretano* receiving intelligence ſailed from *Pola*, where he wintered, to the relief of the city. On his way thither he took and ſunk a large *Genoeſe* argozoy, laden with *Turkiſh* merchandize of immenſe value; then ſailing to *Lepanto* he entered the harbour, and ſupplied the town ſo plentifully, that *Soliman*'s attempts were baffled, after he had ſpent four months in the ſiege, and loſt near five thouſand men [e]. The *Turkiſh* fleet ſteered for *Lemnos*, and laying ſiege to *Coccina* furiouſly battered the walls: the enemy were preparing to ſtorm the town, when *Loretano* ſeaſonably arrived, and conſtrained the infidels to raiſe the ſiege and abandon the f

[y] Sabel. l. 10. d. 3. Cepio apud. Sabel. ibid. [z] Baron. l. 8. [a] Sansov. del. v. p. Sabel. l. 10. d. 3. [b] Sabel. l. 10. d. 3. [c] Sansov. del. v. p. [d] Sansov. ibid. [e] Sabel. l. 10. d. 3.

(F) *Scutari*, the ancient *Scodra*, ſtands on the river *Bojana*, iſſuing from the lake *Scutari*, on the eaſt ſide of the gulph of *Venice*, almoſt oppoſite to the gulph of *Mamredonia*, on the *Italian* coaſt. The country where it ſtands was the ancient *Epirus*, now part of *Dalmatia*, commonly diſtinguiſhed by the name *Albania*. The city ſtands on the declivity of a hill of difficult aſcent, and is ſtrong both by art and nature.---*Atlas Univerſelle*.

(G) The greateſt diſtreſs the garriſon felt was from the want of water, which muſt have compelled them to ſurrender had *Soliman* perſiſted a few days longer. So eager were they for this element, that the *Turks* were no ſooner retired than the ſoldiers crowded in heaps to the river, where they drank to ſuch exceſs that many of them periſhed.

iſland

ifland f (H): after this nothing was done for the remainder of the ſeaſon. Before the ſucceeding ſpring *Mocenigo* died, with the reputation of the braveſt captain and wiſeſt politician *Venice* had produced for a great number of years. There was a modeſty and moderation in his carriage and conduct peculiar to real merit; nor did his virtues appear until they were drawn forth into action, his diffidence and reſerve throwing a cloud over his great abilities: it was ſaid of him that chance only gained him reputation; for had not the occaſions of the ſtate furniſhed an opportunity of diſplaying his capacity and courage, he would have died as low in the eſteem of mankind as now he was deſervedly exalted. His extreme baſhfulneſs gave him an air of timidity and weakneſs, which only his extraordinary actions could prevent men's conſtruing to his prejudice. In ſhort, no man ever more faithfully ſerved
b his country, and no ſtate ever returned his ſervices with more gratitude and eſteem g.

## *ANDREA VENDRAMINO*, Doge LXXI.

Andrea Vendramino, *doge* LXXI.

THE funeral obſequies of this valuable prince having been duly celebrated, the ſenate met for the election of a ſucceſſor. Their choice fell upon *Andrea Vendramino*, more remarkable for his age than any qualities of his mind, he being at this time in his eighty-fourth year. He was not long eſtabliſhed in his authority when the *Turks* laid ſiege to *Croia*, a city of *Albania*. The army of the beſiegers conſiſted of ten thouſand horſe and foot, with a numerous train of artillery: they had battered the walls for two months before the garriſon had any proſpect of relief. At laſt *Antoniato Doria* and *Lodovico Teſernato* aſſembled a corps of
c two thouſand *Venetians* and other *Italians*, with which ſmall force they determined to hazard a battle h. On approaching the enemy they drew up in a ſquare, the foot being intermixed with the horſe: in this manner they advanced againſt the infidels, who came out of their lines to meet them. The battle began, and courage and addreſs was oppoſed to multitudes: the *Turks* at laſt began to give way; their ranks once broke, they found it impoſſible to rally, the *Venetians* preſſed them ſo cloſe. In this manner were they driven to their intrenchments, where they were purſued and entirely defeated with the loſs of one half of their army: their camp was taken, and in it an incredible rich booty, which was wholly divided among the ſoldiers, in reward of their bravery, the commanders generouſly reſigning their ſhare to the private men i.

Turks *beſiege* Croia.

*Are defeated.*

d NEXT day the *Turks*, having joined their detachments, returned and aſſailed the *Venetians* with great fury: they were, notwithſtanding the ſuddeneſs of the attack, received with bravery, and would have been defeated a ſecond time had the cavalry done their duty; but the horſe being put in diſorder abandoned the field, leaving the foot to ſuſtain the whole force of the enemy. This they did, animated by the example of *Contareni* the proveditor and other officers, with amazing firmneſs: but their number being greatly diminiſhed, and *Contareni* killed, they were intirely ſurrounded. Reſolved to make one more effort, they formed themſelves into a wedge, and puſhed through the enemy's ranks, with prodigious ſlaughter on both ſides: by this means a few of thoſe brave men eſcaped, and what is remarkable, carried off their ſhare of the booty. The *Turks*, though they were maſters
e of the field, did not care to reſume the ſiege, but encamped at ſome diſtance from *Croia*, waiting for reinforcements k.

*Return to the charge and beat the* Venetians.

THE death of *Contareni*, and ſo many intrepid ſoldiers, was greatly lamented at *Venice*, nor was the ſafety of *Croia* eſteemed equivalent to this loſs; but what augmented the conſternation and grief of the ſenate, was intelligence that the *Turks*, in ſpite of all their precaution, had broke a ſecond time into *Italy*. A. D. 1476.

WHEN the *Turks* were retired, after their firſt incurſion into the province of *Friuli*, the *Venetians* drew a line and ſtrong works from the bridge at *Goricia* to the marſhes of *Aquileia*: this they imagined would be a ſufficient barrier againſt the further attempts of the infidels; but they were no leſs amazed than terrified at hearing that a powerful army was
f encamped on the banks of the river *Lizonza*. The troops who defended the works behaved with all imaginable courage, and would have foiled the endeavours of the enemy, had they eſcaped a ſnare laid for them by the *Turkiſh* general. The *Venetians* being defeated, though with great ſlaughter of the enemy, the *Turks* were at liberty to proceed, which they did, laying waſte the whole province l. Immediately the ſenate diſpatched a fleet and body of forces to oppoſe their progreſs, but the *Turks* were retired before their arrival. As the

Turks *enter* Italy.

f SABEL. l. 10. d. 3. g BARON. t. 8. SANSOV. del. v. p. h SABEL. ibid. i SABEL. l. 10. d. 3.
k CEPIO apud Sabel. ibid. l MOROSIN. Hiſt. l. 6. SABEL. l. 10. d. 3.

(H) *Sabellicus* relates an extraordinary inſtance of filial duty and courage in a young lady on this occaſion: her father being wounded in an attack, ſhe took his ſword and target, and fought with an intrepidity that amazed every one, drove the *Turks* from the walls, and ſaved the city. Hence the hiſtorian concludes, that however the cuſtoms of the iſland may be altered, the diſpoſition of the women is ſtill the ſame, the *Lemnian* ladies having always been diſtinguiſhed for their courage. L. 10. d. 3.

A. D. 1477. doge was taking meaſures to relieve and ſecure the province from future invaſions, he died, a after a reign of one year and eight months [m] (I).

## *GIOVANNI MOCENIGO*, Doge LXXII.

Giovanni Mocenigo, *doge* LXXII.

*GIOVANNI MOCENIGO*, brother to *Pietro*, a man ſcarce inferior in merit to that excellent prince, was raiſed to the ducal dignity, to the great ſatisfaction of the people, who equally reſpected him for his own virtue and his brother's memory.

Croia *taken*.

THE *Turks*, after their retreat from *Friuli*, reſumed the ſiege of *Croia*, and at laſt reduced the place after an amazing obſtinate defence. Immediately they again inveſted *Scutari*, with an army of forty thouſand men, provided with every neceſſary: *Othoman* himſelf arrived before the trenches were opened, with another army ſtill more numerous. Though b the garriſon did not exceed two thouſand men, yet, relying on the ſtrength of the place and ſpeedy aſſiſtance, they made preparations for a vigorous defence. *Othoman*'s batteries began to play, and ſoon effected a breach, which he ordered to be ſtormed. The aſſault was furious and the defence valiant; *Antonio Legiero*, the proveditor, who commanded in chief, omitted nothing which became an experienced and good officer. The *Turks*, we are told, ſhot ſuch quantities of arrows in the different aſſaults, that the garriſon for months uſed no other fuel. The moats round the town were filled with heaps of ſlain, which produced a ſtench intolerable to the beſiegers, and was one cauſe of *Mahomet's* relinquiſhing the enterprize: he made ſeveral attempts to cleanſe the ditch, but was always attacked with ſo much reſolution as obliged him to retire. At laſt, wearied out with the tediouſneſs of the ſiege, and c perceiving the great diminution of his army, he ordered a retreat to be ſounded, and broke up his camp with precipitation, the invincible garriſon ſallying out on his rear, and deſtroying multitudes of his troops [n]. Hiſtorians tell us that the ſiege laſted eight months, and coſt *Othoman* no leſs than thirty thouſand men, a number almoſt incredible, if we conſider the ſmall force of the garriſon.

A. D. 1478.

*Difficult march of the* Turks *over the* Alps.

DURING the ſiege of *Scutari*, *Othoman* detached a body of thirty thouſand men to enter *Italy* by the forts of *Lizonza*; but finding theſe ſtrictly guarded, the infidels turned towards *Meſan*, marching to the foot of the mountains, and propoſing to enter *Germany* by paths thought impaſſable: they proceeded, horſe and foot, over precipices and mountains almoſt incredible. One circumſtance which *Sabellicus* relates exceeds any thing performed by d *Hannibal*, if not probability itſelf: he ſays, that ſome of the rocks were ſo ſteep as rendered it impoſſible for horſes either to mount or deſcend them: here they had recourſe to engines, by means of which the cavalry were drawn up or let down at pleaſure; a method which muſt have protracted their march to a great length, as their horſe amounted to twelve thouſand. Having thus conquered one part of the *Alps*, they deſcended to the foot of mount *Cargna*: here they received intelligence that the next mountain was defended by a great number of the natives, through which they muſt either fight their way or return. Determining upon the former, they began climbing the mountains by means of hooks and grapples contrived for the purpoſe, with which the natives were ſo terrified, that they abandoned their poſts, leaving the *Turks* at liberty to purſue their march. In this manner did they e enter *Germany*, where they committed horrid devaſtations, and ſuch as were truly worthy of barbarians [o].

*Peace with the* Turks.

*OTHOMAN*, having raiſed the ſiege of *Scutari*, inveſted *Liſſa*, on the banks of the river *Drimon*, and took it, and two *Venetian* gallies which lay in the harbour (K). Here commiſſioners were ſent to treat about peace, which at length was concluded, upon theſe conditions, that *Scutari*, together with *Tenarus*, a promontory in *Laconia*, ſhould be ceded to *Othoman*, and that the ſenate ſhould annually ſend him a tribute of eight thouſand crowns: he, on the other hand, granting the *Venetian* merchants particular commercial privileges within his dominions [p]. *Scutari* was accordingly ſurrendered, and of two thouſand men who compoſed the garriſon when the ſiege began, only four hundred and fifty remained: they f choſe rather to abandon the town and ſeek their fortune in the *Morea* than live under *Othoman*, though out of their regard for their courage, he offered them very extraordinary and tempting immunities and rewards.

THE iſland of *Zant* was like to be the occaſion of renewing the war; the *Turkiſh* fleet having made a deſcent upon it, when *Loretano* the *Venetian* admiral coming up, forced them

[m] SANSOV. del. v. p. [n] SABEL. l. 10. d. 2. CORIOLAN. l. 3. BARON. [o] SABEL. l. 10. d. 3 [p] BARON. ibid. SABEL. ibid.

(I) It was in this prince's reign that fine paintings were firſt ſeen in *Venice*. *Gentile Bellino* finiſhed the beautiful ceilings and pieces in the council-chamber. After peace was proclaimed with the *Turks*, *Mahomet* hearing of his fame ſent for him, and upon his executing ſome maſterly pieces, conferred very extraordinary honours and preſents on him.

(K) He ordered all the priſoners, amounting to two thouſand, to be carried to *Marbeg*, and there maſſacred in cold blood.

to

a to relinquiſh the enterprize. *Othoman* would have puniſhed his officers for an infraction of the peace; but they excuſed themſelves, by affirming they were ignorant of the treaty [q].

BEFORE the republic was clear of this dangerous war ſhe found herſelf involved in another, in defence of the liberties of her ally the republic of *Florence*. The occaſion was a conſpiracy formed againſt the family of *Medicis*, by which *Juliano de Medicis* was murthered, and his brother *Lorenzo* in imminent danger of his life. *Salveato*, archbiſhop of *Piſa*, was the author of this plot; him the *Florentines* immediately hanged, and impriſoned a nephew of pope *Sixtus*, who was ſuppoſed to be a confederate in the conſpiracy. The pope, enraged againſt the republic for the affront offered his nephew, firſt interdicted the *Florentines*, and then raiſed an army to inflict temporal puniſhment. *Frederic* of *Urbino*, and *Alphonſo* b duke of *Calabria*, the inveterate enemies of *Florence*, were appointed generals, with orders to march directly into *Tuſcany* [r]. The *Florentines*, finding themſelves unable to cope with this powerful army, ſolicited the ſuccour of the *Venetians*, which at that time they were not capable of affording in a manner ſuitable to their inclinations and the majeſty of the republic: but the *Turkiſh* war being ended, next ſeaſon they ſent a powerful body of horſe, under the conduct of *Carolo Montone* to their aſſiſtance. Upon his death, which happened a few days after his arrival on the continent, *Roberto Malateſte* was appointed to the command: he croſſed the lake *Pergia*, making furious incurſions into the country of the *Peruſins*, and taking ſeveral towns of ſmall importance. About the middle of the ſummer, *Malateſte* meeting with the army under *Matthao Campana*, governor of *Rome* and nephew to pope c *Sixtus*, a bloody battle was fought near mount *Sparalla*. The victory was warmly diſputed for the ſpace of two hours; but the enemy's firſt line falling back, the whole army was put into confuſion, and *Malateſte* left maſter of the field, their artillery, baggage, and a conſiderable number of priſoners: after this exploit he waſted the *Peruſin* and *Siennois* territories, then returning into winter-quarters [s]. The *Florentines* were ſoon after defeated by the *Neapolitan* forces, which produced a peace, and occaſioned the republic of *Venice* to recal *Malateſte* and their army into *Lombardy*.

*War with the pope.*

*Malateſte defeats the pope's army.*

FOR the two following years we find the republic but little concerned in foreign tranſactions: her care was employed in relieving and alleviating domeſtic calamities, which befel her at this period. In the year 1480 a plague broke out with the utmoſt fury, ſweeping off d 300 perſons in a day, and deſolating the city, until the ſeverity of the winter checked its ravages. A dreadful fire, which conſumed a great part of the doge's palace, St. *Mark*'s church, and the great hall of the pregadi, with an infinite quantity of rich furniture and moveables, rendered the next year unfortunate. As a ſmall alleviation of theſe calamities, the iſland of *Coritia*, or *Veia*, in *Dalmatia*, was annexed to the *Venetian* dominions: it had been given in the time of *Riniero-Zeno* to count *Schinchinello*, ſurnamed *Frangipane*, whoſe poſterity poſſeſſed the ſupreme juriſdiction for the ſpace of two hundred years, acknowleging their tenure of the republic by a ſmall tribute: they had afterwards, during the troubles in *Dalmatia*, been ſubject to a variety of maſters: now, upon ſome diſputes ariſing between *Maerblaiſius* the prince and his people, he reſolved to quit the authority, and ſurrender the e iſland into the hands of the *Venetians*, which he executed, himſelf retiring to *Venice*, where he had a penſion ſettled for life. The *Hungarians* made an attempt to ſeize on the iſland, but were fruſtrated by the arrival of *Victor Souranza*, who ſecured it to the republic [u].

*A plague at Venice.*

*A fire.*

Coritia *annexed to the dominions of the republic.*

A. D. 1482.

SO extenſive were the connections of the republic, that the *Venetians* did not remain long diſengaged from foreign wars. A quarrel now aroſe with *Hercules* duke of *Ferrara*, the particular cauſe of which it will be neceſſary to recite: *Borſia*, the father of *Hercules*, and indeed all the dukes of *Ferrara*, had for a ſeries of years been cloſely cemented in intereſt and friendſhip with the republic. *Hercules* ſeemed to inherit the diſpoſition of his predeceſſors, until his marriage with *Leonora*, daughter of king *Ferdinand*, had wrought a change in his ſentiments, and produced a coldneſs towards the *Venetians*. The firſt action declara- f tive of this alteration was the permitting the ſalt works at *Commachia* to be opened, contrary to an expreſs treaty with the republic: he next laid a tax upon all *Venetian* merchandize imported to his dominions, though for time immemorial the commerce of the republic had been exempted from all impoſitions and duties. At laſt he proceeded to extremities, built a fort at *Cap Dargre*, a groſs infraction of the compact ſubſiſting with the *Venetians*; and not contented with this inſtance of defiance, drove out of the city all the *Venetians*, ordering the biſhop at the ſame time to excommunicate the ſubjects of the republic. This extraordinary conduct can only be accounted for by aſcribing it to the influence of *Leonora* and intrigues of *Ferdinand* [w]. The ſenate remonſtrated with *Hercules*, ſent frequent ambaſſies to him, and even employed pope *Sixtus* to mediate the differences between the two ſtates; but every endeavour of theirs was ſuperſeded by the cunning of *Leonora* and pride of *Hercules*,

*Diſputes with the duke of Ferrara.*

[q] SABEL. ibid. [r] BARON. t. 8. [s] Hiſt. des Papes, vid. ſub. Annot. [t] SANSOV. Cron. [u] BARRE Hiſt. de Allem. ſub. hoc. An. FOUGASSES, t. 1. p. 498. [w] BEMBO, l. 3. p. 14.

*cules*,

*Debates in the ſenate concerning the meaſures to be taken with* Hercules.

*cules*, who inſolently attributed the patience of the ſenate to puſillanimity. Violent debates upon his conduct aroſe in the ſenate; ſome were for bearing with every inſult rather than be provoked into a war, at a time when they dreaded the power of *Othoman*, and lived upon ſo precarious terms with the moſt powerful monarch in the univerſe: they likewiſe alledged the hazard of a war with a warlike prince, allied by blood and marriage to two potent princes, who would not fail to embrace his quarrel, as a fair opportunity of wreaking their vengeance on the republic, whoſe proſperity they envied [x]. A majority anſwered, that theſe were the arguments of fear and puſillanimity; that the city had ſupported wars of more conſequence than this, and entered upon them with leſs provocation; that patience under ſuch indignities would only draw upon them contempt and inſults from other petty princes, and make the world imagine that the ſpirit which had raiſed the republic to its grandeur was degenerated. It was then affirmed, that the finances were never in better order, and that the ſhort peace they enjoyed had more than reimburſed the whole expences of the *Turkiſh* war; that the power of *Ferdinand* was greatly magnified, and the *Hungarian* fully engaged in his war with the emperor: but, admitting the power of *Ferdinand*, it was aſked what aid could he afford to his ſon-in-law? He had his own coaſts to protect from the incurſions of the *Venetian* fleet; and, as for his land forces, the pope's dominions, *Sabinia*, *Spoleta*, *La Marca*, and all *Italy* from the mouth of *Tiber* to *Ancona*, was a ſufficient barrier againſt his entrance into *Lombardy*. The pope, the *Genoeſe*, and the prince of *Montferrat*, would out of policy join the *Venetians* [y]. In ſhort, theſe and a number of other arguments were urged, which in the end prevailed and determined the republic to come to a rupture with *Hercules*. War was accordingly denounced, with the uſual ſolemnities, and the inclinations of the people were viſible in the univerſal joy with which this proof of the ſpirit of the republic was received.

*War declared againſt* Ferrara.

Two fleets were immediately equipped, the one to enter the *Po* and the enemy's country, the other to keep *Ferdinand* in awe, and, if he took the field, to ravage the coaſts of *Calabria* and *Apulia*: this laſt was committed to *Souranza*, the conduct of the other to *Damiano Moro*, both officers of repute and experience. Two land armies were likewiſe raiſed to carry on the war on both ſides the *Po*: *Malateſte* commanded in chief, and under him *Sanſeverino*. Volunteers from all corners of *Italy* flocked to the *Venetian* ſtandards, and the levies were completed in an incredible ſhort time. *Sanſeverino*, who commanded the army north of the *Po*, reſolved to paſs into the enemy's country, which he effected, and immediately laid ſiege to *Miraſole* on the *Po*: his army conſiſted of twenty thouſand men, who aſſaulted the town ſo vigorouſly that the garriſon made but a ſhort defence [z]. Upon his approach the enemy abandoned *Tracenta* and other places, which encouraged *Sanſeverino* to march to *Caſſelnuovo*, which he reduced in three days: here he received intelligence that a numerous army of the enemy lay at *Oſtiglia*, under the command of *Frederic* of *Urbino*, appointed general of the *Ferrareſe* and *Arragonian* forces. After ordering the cauſeways and banks between *Miraſole* and *Oſtiglia* to be broke down, to prevent the incurſions of the enemy, he beſieged *Figarola* [a].

While *Sanſeverino* was engaged before this town, the fleet under *Moro* took *Hadria* by ſcalade, and ſubdued in conſequence *Commachio* and all the adjacent country. *Moro* had in his voyage up the *Po* taken three forts, built to obſtruct his paſſage: here likewiſe he defeated a body of forces, under the conduct of *Sigiſmund D'Eſte*, brother to *Hercules*, and

A. D. 1482. *Giovanni Bentivoglio* of *Bologna*. Afterwards he joined the army at *Figarola*, and the place was inveſted by land and water, but powerfully ſupported by *Frederic*, encamped on the oppoſite ſide, who found means not only to annoy the *Venetians* with his artillery, but to ſupply the town plentifully with every neceſſary. We are told, that at this ſiege *Frederic* continued an inceſſant fire day and night from his artillery; upon which *Sanſeverino* ſent a trumpet, acquainting him, that if he did not deſiſt from ſo unuſual a method of making war, he would turn his cannon upon his camp [b]. It was then agreed that *Frederic* ſhould only ſerve his cannon while the *Venetian* batteries played upon the town. At laſt, after a great number of ſkirmiſhes between both camps, and a variety of aſſaults, the town was taken by ſtorm, after having ſuſtained a ſiege of ſix weeks: few priſoners were made, moſt of the garriſon being killed in the action, or drowned endeavouring to eſcape [c]. As *Sanſeverino* was repairing the walls, both he and *Loretano* the proveditor falling ſick, they were carried to *Padua*, where the latter expired: *Moro* too was forced to return for his health to *Venice*, and died. Indeed a prodigious mortality raged over the whole fleet and army, no leſs than fifteen thouſand men having periſhed of fluxes and fevers during the campaign.

*Pope beſieged in* Rome.

In the mean time the pope was beſieged in *Rome* by *Alphonſo* duke of *Calabria*. Reſolving to ſuccour his brother-in-law *Hercules*, he was under the neceſſity of marching through

[x] Hiſt. Allem. t. 8. [y] Bembus. l. 1. p. 18. etiam Fougass. t. 1. p. 499. [z] Ibid. etiam Bembus. l. 1.
[a] Fougass. t. 1. p. 499. [b] Fougass. [c] Ibid. Bemb. l. 1.

the

a the pope's dominions: in this reſolution he was ſtrongly ſupported by the powerful families of the *Coloneſſi* and *Savelli*, who had long been the implacable enemies of the holy ſee. Two cardinals of theſe families were impriſoned by the pope's order: a circumſtance that redoubled the diligence of their friends to aſſiſt *Alphonſo* [d]. The pope, thus blocked up, wrote to the ſenate for ſuccours: in conſequence of which *Malateſte* was ordered to march to *Rome*; *Souranza* to lay waſte the coaſts of *Calabria* and *Apulia*, and the *Venetian* ambaſſador at *Rome* empowered to levy forces at the expence of the republic. *Malateſte* haſtened by long marches to the capital, where, after an obſtinate battle, he defeated *Alphonſo*, and raiſed the ſiege. Here he died in a few days, owing to the fatigue he underwent during the engagement [e]. *Beſieger's defeated by* Malateſte.

b WHILE the *Venetians* were gaining laurels in the pope's dominions, their officers were not idle on the *Po*: a detachment from *Sanſeverino*'s army, under his ſon *Fracaſſo*, in conjunction with *Victor Souranzo*, obtained a complete victory over *Sigiſmund D'Æſte*, making ſeventy officers of diſtinction priſoners, with a prodigious number of ſoldiers. *Sanſeverino* himſelf, as ſoon as he recovered his health, returned to the army, and marching from *Figarola*, laid a bridge over the *Po*, and proceeded directly to *Ferrara*: encamping within a mile of the city, he repaired a fort the enemy had abandoned, drew lines of circumvallation, and the natural ſituation being ſtrong, fortified them with ſo much art as not only ſecured his own camp from ſallies, but greatly diſtreſſed *Ferrara* [f]. In this manner was *Hercules*
c incloſed within the walls of his capital, when *Sixtus*, unmindful of his late obligations to the republic, by an unaccountable policy, fell off from the *Venetians*, and joined the enemy. *Franciſco Diedo*, the *Venetian* reſident at *Rome*, ſoon perceived this alteration in his holineſs, A. D. 1483. and acquainted the ſenate with his ſuſpicions. Every means was employed to preſerve the friendſhip of *Sixtus*, but to no effect, his holineſs not only joining the enemy but commanding the republic to lay down her arms and reſtore to *Hercules* all her conqueſts. Unwilling to loſe the fruits of a war undertaken with juſtice, deſirous of keeping upon terms with his holineſs, and likewiſe of ſhewing the world the motives of their conduct, the ſenate employed *Bernardo Juſtiniano*, the greateſt orator of his age, to draw up a memorial to be preſented
d at all the foreign courts. In ſubſtance this memorial contained an aſſurance that they had declared war not only with the pope's conſent but at his inſtigation, and after numberleſs injuries and affronts; that now they not only preferred peace to war but even to victory, could it be obtained on terms not injurious to the honour of the republic; that though the *Venetians* were willing to treat his holineſs with reſpect, yet they feared his conduct on this occaſion would be conſtrued into a cunning and ſubtle policy, unbecoming the ſimplicity and openneſs of the head of Chriſt's church; that while the *Venetians*, for twenty years, withſtood the weight of the *Turkiſh* power, not one *Italian* prince thought themſelves obliged to engage in a quarrel which affected their religion: now that property became the object in diſpute they were ready to unite in oppreſſing that ſtate which had been the bulwark of the li-
e berties of *Italy*. The ſenate requeſted of his holineſs diſpaſſionately to weigh their circumſtances, to follow the dictates of his own underſtanding, and not be miſled by the artifices of certain perſons, whoſe intereſt was the rule of their conduct. As to themſelves, they were determined to proſecute a war begun at his ſolicitation, and after repeated injuries; the event they committed to Providence. *Conduct of pope* Sixtus.

*SIXTUS*, inſtead of admitting or even deigning to anſwer their arguments, immediately excommunicated the ſenate, and entered into a cloſe alliance with *Ferdinand* and the other enemies of the republic. A congreſs was held at *Caſſel-Maggiore*, and a ſtrong confederacy formed againſt the *Venetians* by all the powers in *Italy*, the *Genoeſe* excepted: the duke of *Auſtria* likewiſe favoured this alliance by denying a paſſage through his dominions to ſome
f *French* and *Savoyards*, who enliſted with *Renatus* of *Lorraine*, at that time in the pay of *Venice* [g]. *Renatus* ſtrengthened the *Venetian* army with one thouſand foot and four hundred horſe, and every other meaſure was purſued to oppoſe the formidable league: one part of the *Venetian* army marched into *Lombardy*, the other remaining before *Ferrara*, from whence two of *Sanſeverino*'s ſons went over to the enemy. The afflicted father ſent apologies to the ſenate, requeſting that they would accept of the redoubled diligence of the parent, and fidelity of his two remaining children, in attonement of the treachery of his ſons, whom he ſhould ever diſclaim. Perfectly ſatisfied of the innocence of *Sanſeverino*, the ſenate ſent meſſengers to comfort and aſſure him of their continued eſteem and affection [h]. *League formed againſt* Venice.

*ALPHONSO*, in the mean time, throwing a bridge over the river beyond *Caſſan*, entered
g *Ghiradadda* and paſſed to the *Bargamaſco*, where he took ſeveral towns, after which he reduced all the *Breſcian* country. *Sanſeverino*'s army was greatly inferior; ſo that he neither could come to a battle, nor cover all the towns of conſequence to the republic [i]. *Barbaro*,

[d] BEMB. l. 1. Hiſt. des Papes. p. 224. t. 4. Allem. t. 8. part 1. [e] FOUG. l. 2. d. 4. [f] Card. BEMB. ibid. [g] BARRE. Hiſt. [h] FOUG. l. 2. d. 4. [i] BEMB. l. 1.

ſon to the famous *Franciſco* of that name, was ſent, however, to ſecure *Breſcia*, all the ſurrounding territory being entirely reduced by the enemy, whoſe forces were conſiderably augmented by the junction of the prince of *Mantua*. a

*Liſſa taken by the enemy's fleet.*

DURING theſe tranſactions forty of the enemy's gallies, under *Frederic* of *Arragon*, ſon to *Ferdinand*, took *Liſſa* on the coaſt of *Dalmatia*; then ſailing to *Corfu* made ſeveral fierce attacks on the iſland, but were always repelled by the bravery of *Georgio Viari* and the garriſon. At laſt, having loſt about one thouſand men to no purpoſe, *Frederic* retired; but neither by ſea nor land did a general action happen during the campaign, which was ſpent in marches, counter-marches, and ſieges, without any conſiderable progreſs. The loſs of *Gazolo*, indeed, gave the republic uneaſineſs, as it was a place of importance; ſhe confided in the fidelity of the inhabitants, and was betrayed [k]. b

*ALPHONSO*, preſſed by repeated letters to come to the relief of *Ferrara*, quitted the *Breſcian* by long marches, but was outſtripped by the vigilance of *Sanſeverino*, who arrived at *Caſſelnuovo* before the enemy imagined he had moved; here he put his army into quarters and went to *Venice*, where he was received with great honours; but before his departure he recovered all the towns the enemy had taken that campaign between the *Po* and the *Breſcian*. The ſenate likewiſe beſtowed very conſiderable favours on the *Roſſi* of *Parma*, who had bravely maintained their ground againſt *Lodovico Sforza*. As they were then baniſhed their country, a penſion of thirty-two thouſand crowns was ſettled on the two brothers *Guido* and *Giacomo* [l].

ON this occaſion the ſenate, by the advice of *Sanſeverino*, ſent ambaſſadors to the emperor, c
the *French* king, and the *German* princes, to requeſt that a general council might be called, in order that the unjuſt conduct and perfidy of *Sixtus* might be examined. By their mediation peace was eſtabliſhed about the middle of the following ſummer, previous to which *Marcello*, the *Venetian* admiral, took *Gallipoli*, in which enterprize he loſt his life, a ball having entered his breaſt and pierced the vital organs. Before this accident he performed every duty of a commander and ſoldier, animating the troops in the ſcalade, calling them by their names: he was praiſing the valiant, and upbraiding the backward, when he dropt; his ſecretary threw a cloak over his body, and gave out that *Marcello* was ſlightly hurt and gone to be dreſſed, and that he had authoriſed him to aſſure the ſoldiers the plunder of the city ſhould be the reward of their bravery. In ſhort, the town was taken, and the garriſon with- d
*Gallipoli taken.* out diſtinction put to the ſword, during the rage of oppoſition and ferment of ſpirits; nor was *Marcello*'s death known before the place had ſurrendered [m].

A. D. 1484. OTHER actions of leſs conſequence happened by land before preliminaries of peace were adjuſted: at laſt the following articles were accepted by all parties; viz. that the *Venetians* and *Hercules* ſhould each reſtore their conqueſts, and be reinſtated in the ſame poſſeſſions they held at the commencement of the rupture [n]; that the *Venetians* ſhould withdraw all their garriſons ſouth of the *Po*, and raze the forts built on the banks of the river; and that *Sanſeverino* ſhould remain in the pay of the republic, and at the ſame time be acknowleged the commander in chief of the forces of all the *Italian* ſtates. This agreement being ratified, the different armies were recalled, and the appearance of tranquility reſtored to *Italy*. One e
*Peace between the* Venetians *and* Italian *princes.* may judge of the importance of this ſhort war from the charges to which it put the *Venetians* in little more than two years: the ſum of three million ſix hundred thouſand ducats in gold, an immenſe ſum at that early period [o], was diſburſed by the treaſury. Great rejoicings were made not only in the city but over all the dominions of the republic: tournaments and games of various kinds were held at *Venice*, to which the young princes flocked from all parts of *Italy*. Upon the whole, this war, which might be deemed a kind of civil war, on account of the long friendſhip ſubſiſting between the ſtate of *Venice* and *Ferrara*, ended more happily than could have been expected.

PEACE being reſtored, the doge applied his attention to civil affairs, and repairing the f
palace, greatly damaged by a fire that happened the beginning of this year. A plague likewiſe committed great ravages in the city [p]; but all the loſſes of the republic were ſoon made up by a ſhort interval of peace, the whole commerce of the world being in a manner engroſſed by this induſtrious people. Every port of *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africa*, was filled with their ſhips, laden with the richeſt merchandize, and the *Venetians* were without diſpute the richeſt and moſt potent maritime ſtate in the univerſe. Even during their fierceſt wars commerce flouriſhed; nothing could make them neglect what they well knew to be the pillar and ſupport of their government and conſideration in *Europe* [q]. Yet, amidſt profound tranquility the *Venetian* trade met with a rough check and very conſiderable loſs: four gallies returning from the Eaſt, laden with ſpices, ſilks, and diamonds, young *Columbus*, ſon of the famous *Genoeſe* mariner, attacked them with ſeven men of war off *Cape-Vincent*. A g

[k] FOUG. l. 2. d. 4. BEMB. l. 1. [l] Ibid. etiam BARRE. Hiſt. Allem. ibid. [m] FOUG. l. 3. d. 4. [n] BARRE. Hiſt. Allem. t. 8. [o] FOUG. ibid. [p] SANSOV. Cron. Venet. [q] FOUG. l. 3. d. 4.

bloody

a bloody battle was maintained, notwithſtanding the diſparity of forces: but the *Venetians* were forced in the end to yield to the enemy's ſuperiority, who carried them into *Lisbon*. We are not told whether the encounter happened in conſequence of any commercial quarrel, or whether it was an act of piracy in *Columbus*[r]: nor do we find that the republic ever reſented it, or even demanded reparation of the wrong; the bare fact is all that *Sabellicus* relates. *Battle with young* Columbus.

TOWARDS the end of this year died *Giovanni Mocenigo*, a prince endued with every quality to make his people happy: his virtues were ſimilar to thoſe of his brother[s]; his capacity little inferior, and his reputation equal. A. D. 1485.

## b *MARCO BARBARIGO*, Doge LXXIII.

*MARCO BARBARIGO* was choſen by the ſenate to ſucceed *Giovanni*: he was equally loved while a private citizen, and reſpected during the ſhort period of his adminiſtration. The republic enjoying a happy repoſe, he employed his whole time in enforcing the laws, relieving the poor, encouraging virtue and merit, and ſuppreſſing vice and indolence. Amidſt theſe acts of piety and good government he was ſeized with a fever, which cut him off in a few days, and left the republic to lament the loſs of thoſe bleſſings they had but juſt taſted. One act of his adminiſtration, in favour of the poor, deſerves to be particularly mentioned: he got a decree paſſed that all thoſe, of whatever quality, who demanded the redreſs of grievances, ſhould caſt lots whoſe ſuits ſhould be firſt preſented. By this means c he prevented bribery, corruption, and influence, and put the poor, in points of juſtice, upon a level with the richeſt[t]. Marco Barbarigo, *doge* LXXIII.

## *AGOSTINO BARBARIGO*, Doge LXXIV

THE ſenate having met for the election of a ſucceſſor, *Agoſtino Barbarigo*, brother to the deceaſed, was choſen in his room; a promotion extremely acceptable to the people, as *Agoſtino* was the perfect archetype of his brother. He was at this time procurator of St. *Mark*'s, an office which he diſcharged with a fidelity and integrity auſpicious of his good conduct in a higher capacity. His firſt act was to ſend an ambaſſy to the Grand Seignior, to thank him for preſents made to the republic a little before the death of his brother, and d likewiſe to procure ſome priviſeges for the merchants of the ſtate trading to the *Turkiſh* dominions[u]. A. D. 1486. Agoſtino Barbarigo, *dego* LXXIV.

WHILE he was thus engaged a quarrel aroſe between *Sigiſmund*, brother to the emperor *Frederic*, and the republic. *Sigiſmund* was lord of the country of the *Griſons* on the *Alps*, and had for a number of years lived upon terms of ſtrict friendſhip with the *Venetians*: their merchants traded into the cities of each without impoſt or duty, and particularly met at an annual fair kept in *Bolzano*, a town of the *Griſons*, to which numbers of the *Venetian* inland traders reſorted. Here they were this year, all of a ſudden, contrary to their eſtabliſhed correſpondence and the laws of nations, ſeized, impriſoned, and their goods confiſcated, without any other reaſon aſſigned than that the ſubjects of *Sigiſmund* on the lake *La Garda* e were ſome years before driven from thence by the *Venetians*. Immediately after the impriſonment of the *Venetian* merchants, *Sigiſmund* levied troops with all expedition, to the amount of ten thouſand men, entered the *Veroneſe*, and over-ran the country along the *Adice*: the enemy were commanded by *Gaudentio Amaſio*, who laid ſiege to *Rovero*, and took it after ſome reſiſtance. We are told he laid the fort in aſhes by means of bombs, at that time not much known in *Italy*[w]. A. D. 1487. *War with the* Griſons.

THE ſenate, to oppoſe this army, ordered the ſoldiers quartered in the *Treviſan*, *Lombardy*, and *Friuli*, to aſſemble, and requeſted of old *Sanſeverino* to take charge of the army. Before he could get together a force ſufficient to oppoſe the enemy, the *Griſons* had made incurſions into the territories of *Vincenza*, *Feltre*, and *Friuli*: they were at laſt repulſed, f and their detachments defeated by *Jeronimo Savorgnano*, who had raiſed a body of peaſants for the defence of the country. *Sanſeverino* no ſooner joined the army than he entered upon action; but a detachment, which he commanded in perſon, falling into an ambuſcade, was defeated, and himſelf ſaved by the bravery of his ſon from being taken priſoner[x]. Upon this he reſolved to march into the enemy's country, and lay ſiege to *Trente*, which he doubted not would put an effectual ſtop to the enemy's incurſions into the *Venetian* territories, by recalling them to the defence of their own country. The ſcheme, however, though plauſible, was warmly oppoſed by old *Lucca Piſani* the proveditor: but as a majority conſented, the reſolution was taken, and the army ordered to proceed to the country of the *Griſons*. On his march he was attacked and his army ſurpriſed by a thouſand regulars and a large g corps of boors, aſſembled by *George* count *Pietro*. The ſoldiers not expecting to ſee the face

[r] FOUG. ibid.
[s] SANSOV. del. vit. de princip. p. 244.
[t] SANSOV. ibid.
[u] FOUG. l. 3. d. 4.
[w] FOUG. l. 4. d. 4.
[x] Ibid. p. 522

A. D. 1488. of an enemy for ſeveral days were put into confuſion, and *Sanſeverino* killed in endeavour- a
ing to rally them. Thus died the brave old *Sanſeverino*, one of the beſt and moſt faithful
*Sanſeverino's death, and the army fly in a panic.* officers the republic ever employed. In this inſtance his good fortune ſeemed to forſake him, though not his courage, for he fell with his ſword in his hand, fighting with the vigour and ſpirit of youth, at the age of ninety [y]. His death produced a total rout: the panic became general; nor could all the ſkill and diligence of the proveditors bring the ſoldiers back to their colours, or withſtand the charge of a militia not ſufficient to encounter one-fourth of their army. *Andrea de Bargo*, colonel of infantry, imagined that cutting the bridge and ſtopping their progreſs would, from neceſſity, recal their courage and preſence of mind: this he performed to the almoſt utter deſtruction of the army, though well and prudently intended; for ſo great was the conſternation of the troops that they plunged into b
the water, and loſt their lives endeavouring to eſcape with ſwimming [z]. *Guido de Roſſis* alone, with his troop of horſe, withſtood the enemy: he made his way through the thickeſt of the enemy's ranks with about fifty men, and ravaging their country returned home loaded with plunder [a]. As for *Bargo*, he was recalled and impriſoned; but *Guido* and other officers appearing in his defence, and aſſerting his bravery and diligence, he was not only reinſtated,
*Peace with Sigiſmund.* but promoted. Orders for new levies were now iſſued by the ſenate; but before they were complete, a peace was offered by *Sigiſmund*, tired with the expences of the war, and accepted by the republic, on condition, that the merchants ſeized at *Bolzano* ſhould be ſet at liberty and indemnified, and that mutual reſtitution ſhould be made of places taken during the war [b]. c

Soon after this ſeveral ſumptuary laws took place in *Venice*, and the expences of private families in their table, cloaths, diverſions, gaming, travelling, &c. were rated by a decree of the ſenate, in proportion to the ability of the individual. The regulation concerning dice was, that no family of the higheſt diſtinction and fortune ſhould preſume to ſtake above a fifth of an ounce of gold in one night [c].

This year likewiſe it was that the ſenate reſolved in a manner to annex *Cyprus* to the dominions of the republic, by ſending *Cornaro* to aſſiſt the queen his ſiſter in her affairs. To this two circumſtances contributed, which in fact determined the ſenate in their intention. The firſt was a *Turkiſh* fleet that ſailed up the *Mediterranean*, which created ſuſpicion that *Bajazet* formed deſigns upon the iſland: the other aroſe from ſecret intelligence that *Ferdi-* d
*nand* was taking meaſures to annex this kingdom to his own dominions, by a marriage between the queen and his ſon. The ſenate had been left protectors of the queen by *James Luſignan* her huſband. Under their countenance ſhe had governed peaceably for the ſpace
Cyprus *annexed to the ſtate.* of fifteen years, the firſt commotions quelled by *Mocenigo* excepted. As her only ſon was dead the republic looked upon herſelf as the natural ſucceſſor of a queen who was daughter to one of her ſenators: thus, it was the buſineſs of the ſenate to exclude both *Bajazet* and *Ferdinand*, for which purpoſe *Franciſco Priuli* was ſent with a fleet to the defence of the iſland. *Cornaro* went before, and, exceeding his commiſſion, prevailed on the queen by his eloquence to relinquiſh the government to the ſenate, and return to her native country *Ve-* e
*nice*, where ſhe ſhould always live with the dignity and affluence of a ſovereign [d]. The queen unwillingly aſſented to his arguments, and every thing was fixed for their departure: he diſpatched intelligence of his ſucceſs to the ſenate, who, delighted with his conduct, ſent rich preſents to the queen, and whatever could ſweeten the reſignation ſhe had made of pomp and grandeur. Before ſhe left *Cyprus*, the *Venetian* ſtandard was erected in the market-place of *Nicoſia*, the capital, by her orders; and thus the iſland became a *Venetian* province. At laſt ſhe arrived in *Venice* with a large retinue, and was met by the ſenate and chief ladies of the republic, who conducted her to the palace, where ſhe was entertained with the ſtate and magnificence her quality demanded. Soon after a houſhold was appointed her, and the caſtle of *Azolo* in the *Treviſan* aſſigned for her reſidence, with a revenue of fifty pounds in gold for her yearly expence, and a preſent of ten pounds for her immediate f
uſe [e].

A. D. 1490. This year ambaſſadors from *Africa*, from the prince of *Tremizan*, came to *Venice* to deſire the ſenate would appoint a magiſtrate to diſtribute juſtice among the *Venetians* dwelling in three of his cities, leſt he ſhould be led into differences with the republic from ſuch inadvertencies or omiſſions as might ariſe from his ignorance of their laws. A magiſtrate, equivalent to our conſuls abroad, was appointed, and his revenue fixed at an hundredth part of all the merchandize ſold in that country.

About the ſame time the uſe of firelocks was introduced in *Venice*; and, for inſtructing the youth in the exerciſe, the council of ten paſſed a decree that two in each village ſhould be taught the manual exerciſe and evolutions; that theſe young men ſhould all meet on certain g

[y] Foug. l. 4. d. 4. [z] Bemb. l. 1. [a] Foug. ibid. etiam Bemb. p. 31. [b] Foug. l. 4. d. 4. [c] Bemb. l. 1. [d] Foug. et Bemb. ibid. [e] Bemb. l. 1.

a days to give proofs of their progreſs, by firing at a mark; and that the public taxes for that year ſhould be remitted to the village of the beſt markſman, and a ſum of money given him beſides [f]. Little occurs deſerving notice for the ſpace of four or five years, except that the republic was daily growing in wealth, grandeur, and power. The diſcoveries of the *Portugueſe* in 1494, round the cape of *Good Hope* to the *Eaſt-Indies*, opened the way for the gradual decline of their commerce, but it did not become apparent for a number of years: at preſent the ſea was covered, and all the harbours in the world crowded with the *Venetian* merchantmen [g].

While the republic was reaping the benefits of her long tranquility, an ambaſſy from *Charles* VIII. of *France* came to *Venice:* the purport was to ſound the inclinations of the re-
b public, and demand the continuance of the league ſubſiſting between the ſtates, as he propoſed marching into *Italy* to reduce *Naples*. The doge and ſenate aſſembled the great council to deliberate upon an affair of ſo much conſequence: they foreſaw that *Italy* muſt be wholly embroiled, and were willing to act with caution in a buſineſs ſo delicate. At laſt, after various debates, a kind of equivocal anſwer was returned to the ambaſſador, with which and civilities he was diſmiſſed. Two other ambaſſies ſucceeded this, and all were diſmiſſed with the ſame anſwer, and ſtrong aſſurances of the deſire the republic had to live upon terms of amity with the king [h].

We need not enter upon the origin of this war; it has been explained already in our hiſtory of *France*. Sufficient it is, that the report of *Charles*'s intention made *Ferdinand* uſe
c every poſſible meaſure for his own defence: he levied troops, equipped a fleet, and did all in his power to draw pope *Alexander* into his alliance. *Ferdinand* was ſo expeditious in his preparations, that *Lodovico Sforza*, who excited *Charles* to this attempt, fearing he might be oppreſſed before the king could enter *Italy*, ſent an envoy to *Venice*, requeſting that the ſenate would march a body of troops to the river *Oglio*; but this miniſter was diſmiſſed with mere profeſſions [i]. Mean time *Ferdinand* died, and was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon *Alphonſo:* he immediately upon his acceſſion diſpatched an ambaſſy to the republic, to ſolicit their influence with *Lodovico* to deſiſt from joining the *French*, and promiſing in return to leave him the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of *Milan*. The ſenate undertook to mediate, but could obtain no direct anſwer from *Lodovico*.

d Many attempts were made by both parties to engage the *Venetians* in the quarrel, but they were deaf to all arguments and promiſes. *Charles*, by his ambaſſador *Philip Commines*, offered them a great ſhare of the conqueſts he ſhould make in *Naples*, if they would join him; but the ſenate replied, they had no right to a foot of ground in *Naples*, and it was their determination to adhere to the juſt maxim of their anceſtors, never to carry on war for conqueſts, but to repel injuries, protect their liberties, and maintain their alliances [k]. It would be digreſſing from our purpoſe to purſue *Charles* in his conqueſt of *Naples:* it is enough that the republic preſerved a ſtrict neutrality until the great power of *France* rendered it neceſſary to throw their weight in the oppoſite ſcale. Some haughty expreſſions the king dropt before the ambaſſadors of the republic, made them conclude it was full time
e to check his progreſs before he ſhould be in a condition to over-run *Italy*. The purpoſes of the ſenate were greatly forwarded by the arrival of a *Spaniſh* armament, under *Lorenzo Suarez*, at *Leghorn*, for the defence of *Sicily:* this fleet conſiſted of ſixty ſhips of war, having on board ſix thouſand foot and five hundred horſe. *Suarez* went himſelf to the *Venetian* ſenate and told them, "That the king his maſter, ſenſible of the ambition and power "of the *French* king, had ſent him with a fleet for the defence of *Sicily:* he was well aſſur-"ed that *Charles* would not ſtop with the reduction of *Naples*, if effectual meaſures were "not taken to clip his wings and bound his ambition; his maſter, he added, authoriſed "him to enter into an alliance with the republic, with whoſe wiſdom he was too well ac-"quainted to imagine ſhe could be blind to the neceſſity of oppoſing a prince who meaſured
f "*right* only by *power*". The ſenate lent a willing ear to *Suarez* [l], ſuch an alliance they ſaw was neceſſary for the ſecurity of *Italy*; they likewiſe knew that the pope was equally deſirous with them, and that the emperor and duke of *Milan* might eaſily be induced to engage in the league againſt the *French* monarch. At laſt, in the month of *April* 1495, a treaty was concluded between the emperor, the king of *Spain*, the pope, *Venetians*, and the duke of *Milan*, and with ſo much ſecrecy, that *Philip Commines*, who reſided the whole time in *Venice*, had not the leaſt ſuſpicion of the negociation [m]. *Treaty with the emperor, Spain, the pope, &c.*

We cannot, without repeating facts already related, enter upon all the particulars of this war, ſo well deſcribed by *Philip Commines*, and the judicious and penetrating *Guicciardini:*

[f] Foug. l. 4. d. 4. etiam Bemb. l. 1. [g] Bemb. l. 1. Foug. l. 4. d. 4. [h] Bemb. l. 1. Commines. t. 1: p. 56. [i] Bemb. l. 2. [k] Idem ibid. [l] Foug. l. 5. d. 4. [m] Commines. p. 67.

We ſhall, however, endeavour to ſeparate the ſhare the republic bore in it from thoſe tranſ- a
actions which properly belong to the hiſtory of other ſtates (A).

It was ſtipulated among the confederates that an army of twenty thouſand foot and thirty-four thouſand horſe ſhould be raiſed, the different quotas as follows: the emperor *Maximilian* was to furniſh ſix thouſand horſe and a proportion of foot; the pope four thouſand horſe and a body of infantry: the *Venetians*, *Spain*, and *Lodovico* of *Milan*, eight thouſand horſe each, with their different proportions of foot [n]. It was farther agreed, that if any of the contracting powers, by reaſon of their diſtance, found it inconvenient to ſend the forces ſtipulated, that in this caſe ſix hundred pounds of gold for eight thouſand, and the ſame proportion for a leſſer number, ſhould be paid to any of the other ſtates who would undertake to raiſe the troops [o]. *Charles* had determined upon returning to *France* before he had b
intelligence of the league; but this haſtened his meaſures: he accordingly ſet out for *Rome* in a few days after, and from thence ſent an envoy to *Venice* to demand whether the ſenate were his friends or enemies. To this no other anſwer was given, than that wiſe men were directed by contingencies; and that it was in his majeſty's power to make the *Venetians* either the one or the other [p].

*CHARLES* was highly incenſed at the pope's departure from *Rome*, and his equivocal conduct; nevertheleſs, he paſſed through the territories of the church in a friendly manner, excepting at *Tuſcanella*, where the inhabitants were put to the ſword for refuſing quarters to his army: he likewiſe ſeized on *Oſtiglia*, and thereby gave great offence to the *Venetians*, and quickened their preparations. *Antonio Grimani* with the fleet had orders to ſail directly c
for *Puglia*, and preparations were made in *Lombardy* to obſtruct the king's return and protect *Milan*. *Galias* of St. *Saverini* was detached by *Lodovico* with ſeven hundred men at arms and three thouſand foot, to ſeize upon *Aſti* in *Piedmont*, where the duke of *Orleans* with a ſmall corps lay: but before his arrival the duke received powerful ſuccours from *France*, acted offenſively, and took ſeveral towns [q].

*The confederates deſign to hem* Charles *up at* Aſti, *and prevent his return.*

In the mean time the vanguard of the king's army was got to *Pontremo*; and the *Venetian* and *Milaneſe* troops, to the amount of eight thouſand infantry and two thouſand light horſe, were aſſembled in the duchy of *Parma*, under young *Gonzaga* of *Mantua*, a prince of conduct and valour ſuperior to his years. Here the king ſent a trumpet to the confederates, deſiring a free paſſage, and aſſuring them of the ſtricteſt regularity and diſcipline among his d
troops: but no reply was made to the meſſage. The *Taro*, a rapid ſtream, fortified on the one ſide by the confederates with a number of batteries, ſeparated the two armies, when *Charles*, unwilling to engage before he had tried the effects of a conference, ſent a trumpet deſiring a meeting with the *Venetian* proveditors. The conference was agreed to, but *Charles* altering his purpoſe, did not chuſe to wait the iſſue [r]: he ordered his van to paſs the river, in ſpite of the enemy's fire from the oppoſite batteries. *John Trivulcio*, with an hundred lances, three thouſand *Swiſs* infantry, and three hundred archers and croſs-bows on horſeback, formed the van: *Charles* in perſon commanded the main army, which followed, and the earl of *Foix* led up the rear. Before *Trivulcio* had croſſed the river and advanced to the right of the confederates, *Gonzaga*, at the head of five thouſand infantry and ſix hundred e

[n] Bemb. l. 2. [o] Guicciard. l. 1. [p] Bemb. l. 2. [q] Bemb. ibid.. [r] Guicciard. l. 1.

(A) The two excellent hiſtorians above-mentioned ſpeak harſhly of this league; though, to ſay the truth, we can ſee nothing more reaſonable than a confederacy of this nature. If the *Venetians* uſed falſe pretexts, it was only to deceive *Commines*, and prevent his giving intelligence which might ruin their meaſures. *Guicciardini*, who was a *Florentine*, ſeems glad of every occaſion of attacking the *Venetians*; and in this reſpect betrays a prejudice and partiality which it is almoſt impoſſible for a writer of thoſe times to avoid. *Commines*, with all that air of ſimplicity and candor, is tinctured with a vanity that diſgraces his hiſtory. Even the learned *Baronius* himſelf cannot keep clear of national reflections and prejudices. Every act of *Charles* is ſet in the beſt light; his very faults are ſo repreſented as to appear virtues, or, at leaſt, the ſhadow of virtues: while the *Venetians*, in particular, are taxed as a ſelfiſh, proud, and vain people, jealous of another's proſperity, and ſticking at nothing to compaſs their own ambitious purpoſes: a picture very different from what the hiſtorians of this republic draw, and indeed very remote from the truth. We have ſeen that the republic kept herſelf diſengaged from this quarrel as long as the meaſures of prudence and ſound policy would admit. We have ſeen her refuſe the offers of *Charles*, advantageous in themſelves, had the ſenate regarded nothing beſides the aggrandizement of the ſtate. *Charles*'s propoſal to ſhare *Naples* with them, was rejected with a moderation and juſtice that leaves no room for the charge of ambition and envy, with which thoſe writers would ſtigmatize her conduct. *Charles*'s behaviour to the *Venetian* ambaſſadors, after the reduction of *Alphonſo*'s kingdom, the abdication of this prince, and expulſion of his ſon, afforded the ſenate great room to ſuſpect the ambition of the *French* king would not end with the conqueſt of *Naples*. The arrival of the *Spaniſh* fleet at *Leghorn*, and the pope's conduct, plainly evince, that the republic was not particular in this notion; and, indeed, if we do not eſteem the ballance of power in *Italy*, a maxim of politics merely ideal, it was full time for her to exert herſelf in oppoſing the conqueſts of a prince born for great enterprizes, impelled to them by his miniſters, and ſupported in them by a numerous and brave army. This much we thought neceſſary to advance in behalf of a ſtate, in our opinion, acting on principles prudent, moderate, and juſt, to obviate the reader's prejudices from the ſuggeſtions of writers tinctured with national jealouſies; and whoſe ſeeming candor, elegant ſtile, and deep reflection, give them weight and credit, which, in this particular, they do not deſerve.

men

men at arms, paſſed by a ford higher up, in order to attack the king's rear, ordering certain corps under the proveditors to charge him in flank[a]: this obliged the *French* to face about, when immediately a ſharp action began. *Gonzaga* preſſed on with great reſolution, and was as bravely received and repulſed in ſeveral charges; but ſtill renewing his attacks the enemy were put into ſome confuſion, and the king's perſon greatly endangered. *Charles*, however, was ſaved by the intrepidity and gallant conduct of his troops, who flocked round for his defence; ſo that here the battle was pretty equal. On the other ſide the marquis *de Giës* put the confederates in diſorder, and would have totally defeated them, had not *Gonzaga* in time repaſſed the *Taro* and come to their relief, which ſtopt the purſuit[t]. Here the battle ceaſed, victory declaring for neither ſide, though the king's intention of croſſing the *Taro* was fruſtrated. The next morning he propoſed attacking the confederates in their camp, but was prevented by the violent rains which ſwelled the river in the night, and likewiſe by the advice of his officers, who thought it more adviſeable to march round, notwithſtanding the inconveniences of the roads. This reſolution was accordingly executed, his majeſty decamping with great ſilence without beat of drum[u]. In the action the loſs of the confederates amounted to three thouſand infantry, and near three hundred men at arms; a circumſtance which gave the *French* room to claim the victory, as their loſs did not exceed two hundred men at arms. On the other hand, the *Venetians* formed the ſame pretenſions, and challenged the glory of the day, becauſe, beſides the king's being diſappointed in his deſign of croſſing the *Taro*, they had not only ſaved their own camp and baggage, but taken a conſiderable booty from the enemy, ſome rich apparel of the king's, and part of his artillery. *Baronius* taxes the republic with vanity on this occaſion[w], though we think very unjuſtly, as they undoubtedly had an equal claim with *Charles* to the victory, which is not to be always eſtimated by the number of ſlain, but a variety of other circumſtances and conſequences.

*A battle.*

A. D. 1496.

*Both ſides lay claim to a victory.*

THE confederates ſent a detachment of three thouſand men, under *Sanſeverino*, to moleſt the enemy's rear, but being forced to take a long circuit, as the river was not fordable from the late rains, he came up too late. Suſpicions concerning his fidelity aroſe, and ſome hiſtorians affirm, that inſtead of annoying he actually conducted *Charles* to *Aſti* through the difficult paſſes and roads he had to encounter. It afterwards appeared that he acted in conſequence of ſecret orders from *Lodovico*, who began to wave in his alliance, and carry on a clandeſtine correſpondence with the king[x]. *Gonzaga*, however, as ſoon as the river was fordable, marched in purſuit of the enemy with his whole army: as he found he could not come up with them he returned from the *Tortoneſe*, and joined *Lodovico Sforza* before *Novara*. The ſenate ſent two proveditors to aſſiſt at the ſiege of *Novara*, and a ſtrong reinforcement; ſo that the army amounted to three thouſand men at arms, three thouſand horſe, and fifteen thouſand foot[y].

DURING this ſiege the *Venetian* fleet at *Genoa* was ſucceſsful: it not only took *Rappalla*, putting the *French* garriſon to the ſword, but defeated the king's fleet, which he had ſent thither on his departure from *Naples*. This, and his inability to relieve *Novara*, obliged *Charles* to make overtures of peace; for which purpoſe commiſſioners met, and after a number of difficulties and obſtructions, ſigned a treaty between *Charles* and *Lodovico*. The *Venetians* complained loudly of *Sforza*'s conduct in ſtriking up a ſeparate peace, after they had refuſed hearkening to any propoſals without the conſent of their allies: they called him treacherous, perfidious, undeſerving of allies, and unworthy to be truſted. *Lodovico*, ſtung with reproaches which were but too juſtly levelled, gave ſecret orders to the garriſons in thoſe places through which the army of the republic muſt paſs, to block up the way, and prevent their return. Intelligence of this coming to *Contareni*, he offered the council of ten to aſſaſſinate *Lodovico* in open council; but the republic rejected this propoſal, as reflecting upon the honour of the ſtate, and gave inſtructions that he ſhould temporize with him until he got out of his dominions: this accordingly was done ſo artfully, that the army arrived unmoleſted at *Mantua*, and then proceeded to *Venice*[z].

*Peace between* Charles *and* Sforza.

Sforza's *treachery.*

*CHARLES* had not left *Naples* long before *Ferdinand* returned to *Calabria*, and ſeized the city of *Reggio*. *Grimani*, the *Venetian* admiral, conquered *Puglia* and ſome towns in the *Hither Calabria*, which ſucceſs ſoon produced a general revolt in favour of *Ferdinand*. The ſenate, apprized of theſe tranſactions, ſent orders to *Grimani* to wait inactive at *Monopoli* until farther orders; but the pope's influence prevailed upon them a little after to ſend the admiral to *Naples* to aſſiſt *Ferdinand*[a]. As *Grimani* was taken ill about the time he received theſe inſtructions, he contented himſelf with diſpatching twenty gallies to aſſiſt at the ſiege of *Tarentum*; and upon his recovery ſailed with the reſt of the fleet to *Corfu*, it being ſuſpected that the *Turkiſh* armaments were intended againſt that iſland[b].

[s] GUICCIARD. l. 2. [t] Ibid. etiam BEMB. l. 2. [u] GUICCIARD. ibid. [w] BARON. Hiſt. Eccleſ.
[x] BEMB. l. 2. [y] FOUG. l. 5. d. 4. [z] BEMB. l. 2. [a] FOUG. l. 5. d. 4. [b] BEMB. l. 2.

ABOUT

ABOUT the ſame time the *Piſans* ſent ambaſſadors to *Venice*, to beſeech the protection of a the republic againſt the *Florentines*, who were preparing to reduce them. The ſenators were divided in ſentiment concerning this propoſal, ſome not chuſing to come to an open rupture with *Florence*; while others, moved either with compaſſion or actuated by ambition, were for granting the requeſt. *Piſa* indeed ſtood extremely convenient for extending the dominions of the ſtate, gaining a ſure footing in *Tuſcany*, and ſtretching the boundaries of the republic as far as the *Mediterranean* ſea, the gulph of *Genoa*, and the whole breadth of *Italy*. The latter opinion for theſe reaſons prevailed, and the manner of aſſiſting the *Piſans* was referred to the determination of the council of ten [c].

BEFORE any meaſures were formed by the council, the ſenate received ambaſſadors from the pope, requeſting they would order part of the army, returned from the ſiege of *Novara*, b to aſſiſt *Ferdinand* in expelling the *French* out of his dominions, in conſideration of which certain ſea-port towns ſhould be ceded to the republic; but neither did this ambaſſy meet with an immediate anſwer. At laſt *Ferdinand*'s ambaſſadors, under the mediation of the pope, the emperor, and king of *Spain*, concluded an alliance with the *Venetians*, in which it was ſtipulated that *Brunduſium*, *Troni*, and *Otranto* ſhould be annexed to the *Venetian* dominions, in conſideration the republic would ſend ſix hundred men at arms and three thouſand foot to act under *Ferdinand*, and beſides give him by way of loan one hundred and fifty pounds in gold. Commiſſioners were ſent to take poſſeſſion of the towns, and orders iſſued to *Gonzaga* of *Mantua* to lead the troops into *Naples* [d].

*CHARLES*, hearing of this league, ſent *Philip Commines* to *Venice* to demand the reſtitu- c tion of *Monopoli*, and remonſtrate with the ſenate on the late alliance with *Ferdinand*, contrary to the peace with him; for the *Venetian* proveditors being preſent at the concluſion of the agreement between him and *Sforza*, he included the republic in that treaty [e]; but *Commines* was diſmiſſed with an unſatisfactory anſwer.

*Treaty for the protection of the* Piſans.

*LODOVICO SFORZA*, having intimation that the ſenate reſolved to protect *Piſa*, petitioned that he might be admitted as an aſſociate in the defence of this city: accordingly a treaty was concluded between the pope, the *Venetians*, and *Lodovico*; in conſequence of which the republic ordered two thouſand foot to be raiſed in *Genoa* and ſent to *Piſa*. The *Florentines*, hoping to become maſters of the city before the allied army could be aſſembled, ſent ſix thouſand foot, one thouſand horſe, and a fine train of artillery, to inveſt it; but the d *Piſans*, ſallying out upon them before the trenches were opened, defeated and diſperſed the *Florentine* army [f].

SOON after *Paolo Vitelli*, deſerting the *Piſans*, was appointed to the command of a freſh army, raiſed by the enemy and amounting to ten thouſand men, with orders immediately to reſume the ſiege of *Piſa*; but the *Venetians* were ſo vigilant in the defence of the city, and *Pietro de Medicis*, then baniſhed, coming with a powerful army againſt *Florence*, the army was recalled before it had made any conſiderable progreſs [g]. *Piſa* was ſcarce delivered from the impending ſtorm, when the ſenate received *Faenza* into their protection; a little ſtate well ſituated to check the *Florentines*, *Bologneſe*, and the other powers of *Romagnia*.

*CHARLES*, finding himſelf in danger of loſing *Naples*, propoſed returning in perſon e with a powerful army into *Italy*; intelligence of which being received, greatly perplexed A. D. 1497. *Sforza*, *Ferdinand*, and the *Venetians* [h]. *Sforza*, who was moſt expoſed, took every meaſure for his own defence: he diſpatched ambaſſadors to *Maximilian* the emperor, and to the ſenate of *Venice*, deſiring their immediate aſſiſtance. The ſenate agreed to ſend troops to *Alexandria*, but raiſed ſcruples concerning the emperor's ſending forces into *Italy*: they knew that *Maximilian* was no friend to the republic, and dreaded the conſequence of granting him a paſſage through their territories; yet, fearing that the refuſal might induce the timid *Lodovico* to enter into a treaty with *Charles*, they conſented that an ambaſſy ſhould go to the emperor to ſettle this affair [i].

To paſs over circumſtances in which the republic was not immediately concerned, *Fer- f dinand*, aſſiſted by the *Venetians*, laid cloſe ſiege to *Atello*, the garriſon of which was driven to great extremities for want of water: at laſt it ſurrendered upon honourable terms. This ſucceſs was followed by the reduction of ſeveral other places, in which the republic bore a conſiderable ſhare. *Ferdinand* in the mean time dying, his uncle *Frederic*, a prince much beloved, was crowned; and he having no enmity to *France*, the war in *Naples* in a manner ceaſed, after *Tarentum* had yielded to the *Venetian* fleet [k].

THE ſtrong *Venetian* garriſon in *Piſa* excited the jealouſy of *Sforza*, who by this means ſaw himſelf deprived of the dominion of a city he ſpent ſo much labour to acquire. He began to vent his ſpleen by ſecret practices againſt the republic, endeavouring to bring the pope and king of *Spain* to uſe their influence that the *Piſans* might be reſtored to their li-

[c] FOUG. l. 6. d. 4. [d] GUICCIARD. l. 2. BEMB. l. 2. [e] GUICCIARD. l. 1. [f] FOUG. l. 6. d. 4. [g] BEMB. l. 2. [h] COMMINES, p. 98. [i] BEMB. l. 2. [k] FOUG. l. 6. d. 4.



berty;

a berty; but in this ſcheme he was diſappointed, neither his holineſs nor the *Spaniards* chuſing to hazard the loſs of the *Venetian* friendſhip by ſuch a propoſition: however, he ſo far prevailed, that a congreſs was held, at which attended the *Spaniſh*, *Venetian*, *Florentine*, and *Milaneſe* ambaſſadors, with the pope's legate, but nothing was determined [l].

*LEWIS* the twelfth of *France*, who ſucceeded *Charles*, having, contrary to the opinion of all men, reſolved upon purſuing his claim not only to *Naples* but to the duchy of *Milan*, to which he was heir by his grandmother, ſent ambaſſadors to the pope, the *Venetians*, and *Florentines*, to acquaint them with his acceſſion to the crown, and deſire their friendſhip, which the *Venetians* returned with a congratulatory ambaſſy, and ſtrong aſſurances of the good diſpoſition of the republic. They were now arrived at the height of glory, careſſed, b eſteemed, and feared by their neighbours, and reſpected by the kings of *France*, *Spain*, the emperor, and even the grand *Turk*, who had often experienced the power and valour of their fleets. *Matthias* king of *Hungary*'s ambaſſadors came to *Venice* to contract an alliance with the republic, which the ſenate readily granted: thus were they courted and ſolicited by the greateſt monarchs [m].

Lewis *the twelfth of* France *claims* Naples *and* Milan.

*LODOVICO*, in the mean time, envying their proſperity and jealous of their growing intereſt in *Tuſcany*, reſolved to declare openly in behalf of the *Florentines* againſt the *Venetians* and *Piſans*: he even prevailed on the pope to promiſe to join him with one hundred men at arms, and ſend a ſquadron of three gallies to block up *Piſa* by ſea, and prevent the city's c receiving ſuccours and proviſions. His holineſs never, however, performed his engagements, from an apprehenſion of quarrelling with the republic; but *Lodovico* began to declare himſelf, by denying the *Venetian* troops ordered to *Piſa*, a paſſage through his dominions, and obliging them to go round by *Ferrara*. He next prevailed upon the emperor to come to ſome reſolutions oppoſite to the intereſt of the republic: then he induced *Giovanni Bentivoglio* and the *Bologneſe* to contract an alliance with him, and extorted a promiſe from the republic of *Lucca* not to join the *Venetians* [n].

Sforza *declares openly for the* Florentines.

THE *Florentines* were beſieging ſome towns round *Piſa*, when they received advice that the ſenate of *Venice* would liſten to propoſals for a peace, provided the ſuperiority of *Venice* d was acknowleged. Willing to conclude the war upon any terms, they ſent two of their principal citizens to *Venice* to ſound the republic; but they returned without having effected their purpoſe [o].

DURING theſe tranſactions in *Tuſcany*, *Lewis* of *France* was making preparations to invade *Milan* by the next ſpring. In this he hoped for the aſſiſtance of the *Venetians*, who he knew bore a mortal grudge to *Lodovico*; nor was he miſtaken, for the republic readily executed a treaty with his ambaſſadors. Here it was ſtipulated that the king ſhould invade the duchy of *Milan* on the ſide of *Piedmont*, while the *Venetians* attacked it towards the *Parmeſan*; and that the *Milaneſe* being reduced, the territory of *Ghiradadda* and the *Cremoneſe* ſhould be ceded to the republic, on condition that, for a time ſpecified, they would ſupport the e king with a certain number of forces. This contract was made ſo ſecretly, that it was ſome time before either the pope or *Sforza* could procure the particulars [p].

*Treaty between* Lewis *and the* Venetians.

WHEN *Lodovico* came to the knowledge of this unexpected alliance, he was quite thunder-ſtruck; but reſolving to withſtand the *Venetians* by any means, he ſecretly diſpatched an envoy to *Conſtantinople*, to excite the Grand Seignior againſt the republic [q]. By ſome means the ſenate came to the knowledge of *Sforza*'s intentions, and hearing that the *Turks* were preparing a great fleet, ſent *Zancani*, a ſenator, to the Porte, to ſound the emperor's deſigns, and renew the treaty with the Grand Seignior. *Zancani* was well received, and the better to deceive him, the treaty was renewed, but in *Latin*, a language by which the *Turk* did not think himſelf bound. The ambaſſador was ſoon informed of this part of the *Mohammedan* religion by *Gritti*, a *Venetian*, who had long reſided in *Conſtantinople*; he therefore f laboured with all his might to have the treaty executed in the *Turkiſh* language, but was diſappointed [r]. *Sforza* likewiſe, by means of *Hertules D'Æſte*, endeavoured to reconcile the *Venetians* and *Florentines*, hoping by this means to moderate the indignation of the republic. To ſecure the ſucceſs of this ſcheme he acquainted the *Florentines*, that as *Lewis* was preparing to invade his dominions, he ſhould be under the neceſſity of recalling thoſe forces which acted againſt *Piſa* for his own defence. *D'Æſte* attended the congreſs in perſon, and was made umpire of the differences between the *Venetians*, *Florentines*, and *Piſans*; but his deciſion proving unſatisfactory to all parties, the congreſs came to nothing. The *Piſans*, however, were ſo offended with the republic for ſome conceſſions unfavourable to them, that g they took the guard of the city from the *Venetian* troops, and even obliged them to quit *Piſa* [s].

IN the mean time *Trivulcio* had aſſembled a conſiderable army for the *French* king about *Piedmont*, and his majeſty was come to *Lyons* in his way to *Italy*, whence he ſent an envoy

[l] BEMB. [m] BEMB. l. 3. [n] FOUG. l. 6. d. 4. [o] GUICCIARD. l. 4. p. 190. [p] GUICCIARD l. 4. [q] FOUG. l. 7. d. 4. [r] BEMB. l. 3. [s] FOUG. ibid.

to the ſenate, with orders that he ſhould attend the *Venetian* army wherever it marched. a
French *and* Venetian *army aſſembles.* Great honours were conferred on the *French* miniſter: he was preſented with a fine horſe richly capariſoned, and two pounds of gold, together with a complete field equipage [t]. Then the army, conſiſting of ſeven thouſand foot and an equal number of horſe, was directed to begin their march. *Alviana* had the command, who, croſſing the *Oglio*, entered the enemy's country, and ſoon reduced a number of towns and forts: at laſt, coming before *Caravaggio*, he took it by aſſault, together with ſeveral other towns on the river *Adda*. *Lodovico* began to tremble for his dominions; and, ſtruck with the rapid progreſs of the *Venetian* conqueſts, diſpatched an ambaſſador to *Venice*, with orders to take *Ferrara* in his way. *D'Eſte*, who had always countenanced *Sforza*, ſent a gentleman before the *Milaneſe* ambaſſador, to requeſt that the ſenate would not deny him an audience [u]: but he was nevertheleſs forbid the city. *Frederic* of *Naples* about the ſame time acquainted the ſenate with his intention of ſending five hundred horſe to *Sforza*'s aſſiſtance; and was anſwered that *Sforza* required much ſtronger reinforcements; but that they would eſteem even that ſmall number an hoſtility commenced againſt the republic, which they would reſent accordingly [w]. b

*LODOVICO*, deſtitute of all hopes of foreign aid, began to think of gaining the affections of his own ſubjects, by whom he was greatly deteſted: for this purpoſe he remitted one-third of the taxes with which they were oppreſſed, and ſubjoined other popular acts; after which he enrolled the name of every perſon in the duchy fit to bear arms [x].

In the mean time he was hemmed in on every ſide, the *Venetians* having advanced to *Lodi*, c
while the *French*, after taking and ſacking *Alexandria*, were proceeding towards *Milan*. *Sforza*, greatly terrified at their approach, ſent his family to *Germany*, whither he was preparing to follow: this determined the *Milaneſe* to acquaint him, by four of the chief citizens, that finding he diſtruſted their loyalty, they were reſolved to ſubmit to the *French*; and *Lodovico*, having no farther hopes, ſet out with five hundred light horſe for *Germany*, having with tears taken leave of the citizens. *Bernardino de Corte*, with three thouſand foot, in whom he confided, together with ſtore of arms, proviſions, and money, ſufficient for a long defence, were left in the citadel; but *Sforza* was not gone three days before the ungrateful *Bernardino*, whom he had bred from a child, and loved as his ſon, baſely betrayed the city into the hands of the *French* [y]. d

Milan *and* Cremona *ſubmit to the* French *and* Venetians. A. D. 1498. In the mean time the *Venetians* advanced to *Cremona*, and ſummoned the governor to ſurrender; but the citizens deſiring two days to conſider of the propoſals, the time was granted, and they ſeized the opportunity of ſending to *Trivulcio*, the *French* general, to requeſt he would take poſſeſſion of the city. *Trivulcio*, however, replying that *Cremona* belonged to the *Venetians* by an article of the treaty between his maſter and the republic, they received the proveditors into the city, conducting them to their quarters under a canopy of ſtate. *Antonio Battaglioni*, to whom *Sforza* had committed the defence of the citadel, being ſummoned the next day to ſurrender, conſented to betray his maſter for the ſum of one hundred and fifty pounds of gold, the rank of a gentleman of *Venice*, a houſe in the city, and another in the country near *Padua*. *Cremona* being thus annexed to the *Venetian* e
dominions, the ſenate ſent magiſtrates thither to govern in the ſame manner and by the ſame laws as the other parts of the republic. Two ambaſſadors were likewiſe choſen, and theſe, together with the new magiſtrates, ordered to wait upon the king, who was come to *Mantua*, and to compliment him in the name of the doge and ſenate [z].

But while the *Venetians* were thus extending their dominions in *Italy*, and gathering laurels on the continent, they were threatened with a dangerous war in their iſlands, the *Morea*, and *Greek* dominions. The governor of *Zara* ſent advice of the great preparations *Bajazet* made by ſea and land, and likewiſe of the arrival of two thouſand *Turkiſh* horſe in the *Zaratin*. The ſenate immediately appointed *Grimani* admiral, who, unwilling to loſe time, generouſly lent the ſtate eighty pounds of gold towards equipping the fleet. Before the *Vene-* f
*War with the* Turks. *tians* put to ſea, the *Turkiſh* fleet came out of the ſtreights, to the number of two hundred and ſixty ſail, commanded by *Bajazet* in perſon: they directed their courſe towards *Romagnia*, which gave the ſenate hopes they had no deſign upon *Rhodes*. *Grimani* at laſt ſet ſail with forty-ſix gallies, ſeventeen large merchantmen armed, and eighty ſmall veſſels, ſteering directly for *Modon*. Having intelligence that *Bajazet* ſought him, he went to the iſland of *Sapienza*, near *Modon*, and there drew up his fleet. The *Turks* ſoon appeared and joined battle, which was accepted by *Grimani*, reinforced the day before by *Andrea Loretano* and ſeventeen gallies which he had equipped at his own expence. *Loretano* begun the engagement, and
*Battle between* Bajazet *and the* Venetians. every where drove the *Turks* before him: both fleets were ſoon joined in cloſe fight, which grew bloody and deſperate, when the *Venetians*, ſetting ſome of the enemy's ſhips on fire, g

[t] Bemb. l. 3. [u] Guicciard. l. 4. [w] Foug. l. 7. d. 4. [x] Guicciard. l. 4. [y] Ibid. etiam Bemb. [z] Guicciard. l. 4.

caught

a caught the flames, and the whole fleet was in danger of being burnt, the wind blowing from that quarter [a]. Two or three gallies were actually deſtroyed by the fire; and *Grimani* found himſelf under the neceſſity of ſounding a retreat, to prevent its progreſs.

THE grand maſter of *Rhodes* being under apprehenſions of a viſit from the *Turks*, he ſent to *Lewis* of *France* and the republic for ſuccours. A ſquadron of twenty-two ſail was immediately equipped in *Provence* and *Venice*, and ſent to his aſſiſtance: on the arrival of the fleet, it was found that the *Turks* had ſome other deſign, and the allies returned to *Zant*, and joined *Grimani*. This admiral was accuſed of neglecting his duty before the laſt engagement: it was ſaid that he let ſlip a favourable opportunity of defeating the *Turks* the day before he engaged: now he omitted another fair occaſion of fighting, for which he
b was recalled, and publickly cenſured, the *Turks* in the mean time having taken *Lepanto* [b]. Turks *enter* Dalmatia.
Nor were they idle towards the continent; for, entering *Dalmatia*, they ſcoured the confines of *Zara*, and, finding no oppoſition, waſted and deſtroyed the country as far as *Livanza*, taking a great number of priſoners. Upon this intelligence *Zancani* marched to the frontiers with a ſtrong army; but failing in his duty, he was ſuperſeded and confined four years priſoner in *Padua*. Thus ſtood affairs with the *Turks*, while the *Venetian* and *French* troops, under *Cæſar Borgia*, ſon of pope *Alexander*, proceeded to *Romagnia*, where they beſieged and took certain towns belonging to the patrimony of the church, which the pope reſigned up to *Borgia*.

THE ſenate, for the ſecurity of their own dominions during the war in *Romagnia*, ſent
c three thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe to *Ravenna*, under *Alviana*, to be diſtributed round their frontiers in ſuch a manner as to form a chain. When *Alviana* arrived he received a meſſage from *Giovanni Sforza*, requeſting he might be taken into the protection of the republic, and ſcreened from the vengeance of *Borgia*, who hated him implacably; but *Alviana* told the ambaſſador, that he was perſuaded the ſenate would never protect a prince who had ſo mortally offended them in concealing *Lodovico*'s ambaſſador, diſpatched with deſign to excite *Bajazet* againſt the republic [c].

MEAN time *Lodovico*, returning with ſome ſuccours from *Germany*, conceived hopes of A. D. 1499: Lodovico *returns from* Germany.
regaining his dominions, from the diſtaſte the *Milaneſe* expreſſed of the *French* govern-
ment. The ſenate, upon intelligence that he was preparing to re-enter *Italy*, ordered their
d troops to file towards the *Cremoneſe*, and reinforced the army with three thouſand *Swiſs* they had taken into the ſervice of the republic. *Lodovico* arriving at *Coma*, took it without ſtriking a blow, the *French* garriſon ſurrendering themſelves to prevent being encloſed between his forces without, and the diſaffected inhabitants within the city. Thence he ſent his brother *Aſcanio* towards *Milan*, where there was a ſtrong party formed in his favour. *Trivulcio* was governor of *Milan*, and being chief of the *Guelph* faction in *Lombardy*, he was extremely obnoxious to the *Gibellines*, who formed a majority of the citizens: this animoſity was carried ſo far that news of the ſurrender of *Coma* was no ſooner arrived, than *Lodovico* was proclaimed, and *Trivulcio* forced to retire with the garriſon to the citadel, and next day to *Novara*. In this manner *Lodovico* recovered the *Milaneſe* with as much facility *Recovers his dominions in the* Milaneſe.
e as the allies had reduced his dominions. *Pavia* and *Parma* preſently followed the example of the capital; *Lodi* and *Placentia* would have done the ſame, had not the *Venetians* prevented it by ordering ſome troops to march thither [d]. He did not long enjoy this proſperity; for while he was beſieging *Novara*, the *French* army aſſembled in *Piedmont*, and, joining the *Venetians*, poured into *Milan*, ſoon after made *Lodovico* priſoner, and ſent him *Is defeated and made priſoner.*
to *France*: *Aſcanio* was likewiſe taken and ſent after his brother, but releaſed at the death of *Lodovico* [e].

No ſooner was this affair concluded than the ſenate ſent *Lodovico Manenti* to *Bajazet*, complaining of his having attacked them by ſea and land unprovoked, and contrary to the treaty made the year before with *Zancani*; likewiſe to ſolicit the liberty of the *Venetian*
f merchants, reſtitution of *Lepanto*, and the renewal of the treaty. They were induced by two reaſons to try the effects of this ambaſſy; the firſt aroſe from the low ſtate of the exchequer, and the other from credible intelligence that *Bajazet* would not be averſe to moderate conditions: but their expectations were diſappointed; for *Bajazet*'s demands were inſolent, and ſuch as might have been expected in conſequence of a war in which he was every where victorious. He told *Manenti*, that if the ſenate deſired peace they muſt reſtore to him *Napoli*, *Modon*, and *Coron*, the three principal cities the republic held in the *Morea*: and alſo pay one hundred pounds of gold yearly, by way of tribute. *Manenti* returning with this anſwer, the ſenate reſolved upon proſecuting the war with vigour [f]. The firſt care was to fortify the frontiers of *Friuli* againſt the incurſions of the *Turks*; then they ſent *Quirini* and *Lodovico Canalis* with a ſmall body of foot, for the defence of *Corfu*:

[a] BEMB. l. 3. FOUG. l. 7. d. 4. [b] BEMB. l. 4. [c] BEMB. ibid. [d] GUICCIARD. l. v. [e] Ibid.
[f] BEMB. ibid.

they likewiſe diſpatched ſtores and troops to *Napoli*, upon advice that *Bajazet*, with a prodigious fleet, intended a deſcent on the *Morea*. *Melchior Treviſan*, the *Venetian* admiral, aſſembled his whole force, amounting to ſeventy ſail, at *Zant*; but the *Turkiſh* fleet, which exceeded two hundred veſſels, arriving on the coaſt of *Napoli*, landed a body of horſe to ſcour the country as far as the walls of the city. The garriſon ſallying out upon them, obliged the *Turks* to retire; upon which they filed towards *Modon*, ſending a large detachment to lay ſiege to *Junca*. The garriſon was well ſupplied with every neceſſary, and commanded by *Contareni* the proveditor, a brave officer. Sallying out upon the *Turks*, they entirely defeated and forced them to raiſe the ſiege the day after the trenches had been opened. *Treviſan*, general of the *Venetian* army, dying, the command, to the great joy of the troops, devolved upon *Contareni*, until the ſenate ſhould otherwiſe diſpoſe of the vacancy [g].

In the mean time *Bajazet*, with all his force, laid ſiege to *Modon*, which *Contareni* determined to relieve at all events. The garriſon was badly provided with ſtores and proviſions, the chief ſupplies having been ſent to *Napoli*, from a notion the ſenate entertained the firſt attempt would be againſt that city. *Contareni* ſet out from *Zant* with the fleet, determined to fight the enemy though greatly ſuperior: as ſoon as he deſcried the *Turkiſh* fleet, he bore down upon it in order of battle, and was received by one hundred ſtout gallies. Not diſcouraged at the enemy's numbers, *Contareni* began the engagement, which

*A battle.*

continued with great fury and advantage to the *Venetians* for the ſpace of five hours; but the wind ſlackening and a perfect calm ſucceeding, they loſt the fruits of their ſuperior ſkill in navigation, and were forced to fight upon equal terms: they had almoſt ſunk under the powerful weight of the enemy, when a gale ſpringing up enabled *Contareni* to diſengage his fleet and retire to *Zant*, with the loſs of two of his largeſt ſhips, and great damage of the remainder. *Bajazet* preſerved the honour of the victory, but his loſs was more conſiderable; for, beſides a prodigious ſlaughter of his men, ſix gallies were ſunk and deſtroyed [h].

The *Venetian*, having refitted the fleet, was ſtill bent upon ſending ſuccours to the beſieged. To this end he choſe five of the ſtouteſt gallies, with reſolute officers, who engaged at all events to puſh through the *Turkiſh* fleet, and ſupply the city with proviſions. Thinking it neceſſary to acquaint the beſieged of his intention, he diſpatched a yacht, manned with certain deſperadoes, to deſire the garriſon would make a diverſion in favour of the ſquadron coming to their relief. The boat entered the harbour amidſt the enemy's ſhot, with the loſs only of one rower; and the ſquadron ſoon following, kept a running fight with the *Turks*, and in ſpite of all their endeavours got ſafe to port. Their arrival was joyful, but

Modon *taken by the* Turks, *and all the other towns of the* Morea, *excepting* Napoli.

it occaſioned the loſs of *Modon*; for ſo eager were the garriſon to receive ſupplies, that neglecting their poſts, they flocked in crowds to the ſhore; and the *Turks*, ſeizing the opportunity, ſcaled the walls, and entered the town in ſuch multitudes, as baffled all the valour of the garriſon [i]. Thus was *Modon* loſt by the very means which might have ſaved it, in defiance of all the *Turkiſh* power. The garriſon and inhabitants were all put to the ſword, excepting the governor, who was ſent in chains and preſented before the walls of *Junca*, which ſo intimidated the garriſon that the fort was ſurrendered without a ſtroke. *Coron* ſoon after capitulated upon honourable terms; and of all the towns the republic held in the *Morea*, none of any conſequence now remained beſides *Napoli* [k]. This the *Turks* ſoon inveſted; but after a tedious and bloody ſiege were forced to abandon the enterprize, the city being well ſupplied, and the governor determined to bury himſelf in its ruins (A).

About the time *Modon* ſurrendered, the *Venetian* fleet was diſperſed and terribly ſhattered in a ſtorm, which drove ſeveral ſhips ſhattered and diſmaſted as far as *Candia*. *Benedetto Peſſari*, who was appointed admiral in the room of *Treviſan*, came to *Zant* while the *Turks* were beſieging *Napoli*. As ſoon as he had collected and refitted the fleet, he determined to go in queſt of the enemy; but *Bajazet*, having intelligence of this deſign, commanded the baſhaw to raiſe the ſiege of *Napoli*, and return with the fleet to *Conſtantinople*. *Peſſari* ſent a frigate to view the enemy, who had ſailed the day before the cruizer arrived, which determined the *Venetian* to ſteer his courſe to *Legina*, the *Turks* having taken and

[g] Foug. l. 8. d. 4. [h] Foug. l. 8. d. 4. [i] Bemb. l. 4. etiam Foug. ibid. [k] Ibid.

(A) The conduct of one *Contareni*, a *Venetian* officer, who was made priſoner at *Coron*, deſerves notice: this gentleman had been ſent with a party by the *Turks* to ſummon the garriſon of *Napoli* to ſurrender, in hopes he might prevail on his countrymen to ſave their own lives, and avoid the ſeverities and rigours of a ſiege. As *Contareni* was parlying with the governor on the oppoſite ſide of the moat, he ſuddenly ſpurred his horſe and plunged into the ditch. Having gained the oppoſite ſide, he uſed all his influence to perſuade the garriſon to ſupport the utmoſt miſeries of a ſiege rather than ſurrender; after which he returned priſoner to the *Turks* like a ſecond *Regulus*.

garriſoned

a garriſoned that iſland during the ſiege of *Napoli:* here he landed ſome troops who ſoon reduced the fort, put the garriſon to the ſword, and brought the *Turkiſh* governor priſoner on board. Thence he went to *Mitylene*, where he was attended with equal ſucceſs. The plunder of this iſland he diſtributed among his troops, and ſailed for *Tenedos*, which having burnt to the ground, he attacked the rear of the *Turkiſh* fleet as it was entering the ſtreights, and took nine gallies, the crews of which he put to death [l]. After this exploit he proceeded to the iſland of *Samothrace*, where, underſtanding that the inhabitants ſubmitted from neceſſity to the *Turkiſh* dominion, he received them into the protection of the republic, and left a garriſon and governor, upon whom the natives ſettled a ſalary of a tenth of the produce of the iſland. Next he went and ſacked *Caviſta*, returning from b thence to *Napoli* loaded with booty, and adored by the troops, whoſe hearts he had gained by his generoſity and valour [m]. A. D. 1500.

HERE receiving advice that the *Spaniſh* fleet under *Gonſalvo Ferdinandes*, was come to *Zant* to join the *Venetians*, he immediately ſailed thither; and paſſing by *Junca*, he ordered *Charles Contareni* to be beheaded on the prow of his galley, for having ſurrendered that ſtrong fort to the *Turks* upon being ſummoned. Both fleets in conjunction went and beſieged *Cephalonia*, which they carried by the obſtinate intrepidity of the *Spaniſh* and *Venetian* infantry. *Junca* likewiſe was recovered by means of one *Demetrius* of *Modon*, who concerting meaſures with ſome of his friends ſucceeded ſo happily, that killing fifty *Turks*, the reſt made their eſcape over the walls, and abandoned the fort [n]. Cephalonia *taken by* Peſſari.

c *PESSARI* ſailed with fourteen ſtout gallies to *Preveze*, where he was told the *Turks* were preparing a fleet: here he took three gallies ready to put to ſea, and burnt ſeveral others on the ſtocks; then he ſteered to *Corfu*, where he ordered the fleet to rendezvous and refit. Before he went on this laſt expedition, *Gonſalvo* took his leave and retired to winter in *Sicily*: *Peſſari* made him a preſent of ſome rich wines, and ſeventy thouſand weight of ſweet-meats which he had ſent him from *Venice*. After refitting the fleet he ſailed to the mouth of the river *Bojan*, with intention to deſtroy a *Turkiſh* fleet which lay there; but the enemy, drawing their ſhips fourteen miles up the river, prevented his deſign. *Peſſari* leaving a ſmall ſquadron to block them up returned to *Corfu*: here the ſenate rewarded the courage of the troops by a liberal gratuity to every ſoldier who had diſtinguiſhed d himſelf, and by taking care of the families of thoſe who had died or were killed in the ſervice [o].

WHILE *Peſſari* was performing wonders at ſea, the ſenate ſent an ambaſſador to *Ladiſlaus* king of *Hungary*, to engage him in an alliance againſt *Bajazet*. In this treaty the pope deſired to be included; and it was ſtipulated that the king, with all his forces, ſhould attack the *Turks*, in conſideration of a ſubſidy of three thouſand pounds in gold from the *Venetians*, and four hundred from the pontiff. Towards the cloſe of this alliance *Auguſtino Barbariga* died, after he had governed fifteen years, with the reputation of a temperate and prudent prince, who was ſparing of the public, and profuſe of his own money; but with all his good qualities, there was a tincture of jealouſy and moroſeneſs, which rendered his cha- e racter diſagreeable: the ſovereign was eſteemed, but the man was not beloved [p]. He was ſucceeded, according to the uſual forms, by *Leonardo Loretano*, a man equally reſpected for the quality of his birth and for his wiſdom. *Treaty with the king of* Hungary.

## *LEONARDO LORETANO*, Doge LXXV.

THE new doge begun his government by propoſing, in the firſt great council held after his acceſſion, that *Peſſari* the admiral ſhould, in reward of his ſervices, be made a procurator of St. *Mark*'s, in the room of *Trono* deceaſed. He was accordingly elected, in his abſence, to this dignity, one of the firſt in the ſtate [q]. Early in the ſpring the *French* and *Portugueſe* fleets came into the *Archipelago*, to aſſiſt the *Venetians* againſt the *Turks*; but thoſe auxi- f liaries proved of no ſervice to the republic, as peace was ſoon after concluded. The ſenate had juſt received advice from *Andrea Gritti*, that *Achmet*, the grand vizier, was not averſe to an accommodation; they accordingly ſent an ambaſſador to *Hungary*, to deſire the king would ſend plenipotentiaries to *Conſtantinople*; and the king conſented, on condition of the republic's continuing to him a yearly ſubſidy of three hundred pounds of gold [r]. The treaty was accordingly concluded, on ſome trifling conceſſions which the republic made to *Bajazet*, tired out with the war he carried on in *Aſia* as well as in *Europe*. The grand ſeignior diſpatched an ambaſſador extraordinary to *Venice*, who made his entrance in great magnificence, and was received with particular marks of diſtinction, as the repreſentative of a great monarch and ſoldier. Thus did this war, which the republic had Leonardo Loretano, *d.* LXXV. *Peace with* Bajazet.

[l] BEMB. l. 4. [m] FOUC. l. 8. d. 4. etiam BEMB. ubi ſupra. [n] FOUC. l. 8. d. 4. [o] BEMB. ibid. [p] SANSOV. del. v. di princip. [q] SANSOV. Cron. Venet. [r] FOUC. d. 4. l. 8.

A. D. 1503. carried on for upwards of five years, with little or no assistance, against the whole *Turkish* empire, terminate with much honour and little prejudice to the state, besides the wasting of their finances, and emptying of their treasury. a

THEY were scarce delivered from this war when ambassadors arrived from *Lewis* the twelfth, to engage the republic in an alliance against *Spain*, which the senate absolutely rejected, though they agreed to continue the ancient treaty. The death of pope *Alexander* the sixth; the election of a new pope; his death a few days after; and the choice of a successor to *Pius* the third, occurred in this interval of tranquility which the republic enjoyed. Upon the accession of *Julius* the second to the papal chair, the republic sent an ambassy of eight of the chief nobility to congratulate his holiness: they were kindly received, and mutual professions of esteem were exchanged. b

THESE professions produced no real cordiality. *Julius* was jealous of the extraordinary acquisitions made by the republic: he even advised the duke of *Valentinois* to recover the towns the *Venetians* had torn from his dominions [s]. This obliged the senate to caution the proveditors in *Romagnia*, to take every step they thought necessary for the safety and interest of the state; upon which the proveditors laid siege to *Tassignana* and *Meldola*, two strong

A. D. 1504. towns, which surrendered upon the first summons. Highly incensed against the senate, pope *Julius* sent the bishop of *Tivoli* to *Venice* to reprehend them, and procure the restitution of *Faenza* and *Rimini*, and also to request the assistance of the republic towards recovering the other towns in the hands of *Valentinois*. The nuncio delivered his instructions, but was answered, that the pope had no authority over the towns he mentioned; that they never had been claimed by any of his predecessors, nor esteemed a part of the church-patrimony; and that they had been renounced in open consistory to the *Valentinois* family: they added, that this exertion of despotism was not suitable to professions of friendship and the good offices which had passed between his holiness and the republic, which they were willing to maintain as long as it could be done with justice to the honour and majesty of the commonwealth. With this answer the nuncio was dismissed [t]; but *Julius* maintaining his point, yet knowing his strength unequal to support it by arms, had recourse to menaces and threats that he would stir up all the princes of *Europe* against the republic. *Justiniano*, their ambassador at *Rome*, endeavoured to appease the pontiff; but he would listen to no propositals, until the towns were first ceded. The ambassador acquainted the senate with d the pope's declaration, and they immediately assembled to deliberate upon an answer; but while they were sitting, the nuncio returned with haughty letters, delivered with an air and speech no less imperious. Greatly perplexed in what manner to conduct themselves, the senate at length determined to send ambassies to the emperor and king of *France*, to refute the complaints made by *Julius*. The remonstrances of their ambassadors had a good effect for the time. Both monarchs seemed satisfied of the equity of their plea; and the pope's ambassadors returned chagrined and disappointed, they having obtained nothing more than the princes would send commissioners to debate the cause at *Rome* [u].

*Quarrel between the pope and republic.*

A. D. 1505. HOWEVER, the emperor soon forgot his complaisance to the republic; for next year he sent ambassadors to *Venice* to desire that *Faenza* and *Rimini* might be surrendered. He had e a right to this demand, he said, as the natural protector of the holy see; that if they thought the demand unreasonable they would submit it to arbitration; that he would labour to procure the pope's consent; and lastly, that he would be umpire, and decide according to equity, without prejudice, passion, or partiality. The senate, being well assured of the emperor's inclinations, and in what manner he would determine the point in dispute, answered, that their claim was so clear as to render an umpire unnecessary, with which they dismissed the ambassador [w].

A. D. 1506. IN the mean time a confederacy was formed between the emperor and the *French* king; upon which the latter sent *John Lascari* to *Venice* to entreat the senate to compromise matters with the pope, in order to pave the way for a general league against the *Othoman* em- f pire: he added, that he had swore to the league with *Maximilian*, not to attack any christian state, but only to support each other, if attacked. To this the senate replied, that they had taken all possible means to be reconciled to his holiness, and had even offered to hold the towns in dispute of the church, and to pay any reasonable tribute: they congratulated his majesty on the treaty with *Maximilian*: but as it was stipulated in the treaty between the republic and the king, that neither should contract other alliances, they requested to know why his majesty had given them no intimation of his intentions. The ambassador was a good deal embarrassed with thus unexpected question: however, he answered, that though he was ignorant of his master's motives for the treaty, he could assure the senate, that the *Venetians* would be joyfully received into the alliance.

[s] GUICCIARD. l. 5. FOUG. l. 9. d. 4. [t] BEMB. l. 4. [u] BARRE Hist. d'Allem. t. 8. part. 1. [w] BARRE Hist. d'Allem. ibid.

UNSATISFIED

a UNSATISFIED with mere compliments, the ſenate determined to try the iſſue of another ambaſſy to the pope, by which they made propoſals; firſt, to reſtore *Rimini* and all they had taken in *Romagnia* ſince the death of *Alexander* the ſixth, except *Faenza* and its appendages; ſecondly, to reſtore *Faenza* under certain reſtrictions and limitations. This laſt propoſal the pope ſeemed to reliſh; but a ſeries of intrigues and negociations between him, the *French* king, and the emperor, for the ſpace of two years, fruſtrated the effects. The *Venetian* grandeur and wealth excited the jealouſy of thoſe great powers as well as of the little princes and ſtates, the neighbours of the republic. It would be endleſs, however, to recite all the ambaſſies, treaties, and negociations, that occurred during this period; ſufficient it is that they ended in a confederacy againſt the republic, the moſt powerful which *Europe*
b had the never beheld.

A YEAR before the league of *Cambray* was formed, a kind of war broke out between *Maximilian* and the republic. It had been ſuggeſted to the emperor, that *Lewis*'s deſign in coming to *Italy* was to ſeize upon the patrimony of the church, and to diſmember the holy ſee. This notion the *Venetians*, who were not pleaſed with the king's reſolution, took care to confirm. The emperor upon this aſſembled the diet of *Conſtance*, wherein it was determined that his imperial majeſty ſhould go into *Italy*, attended by a retinue of eight thouſand foot, twenty-four thouſand horſe, and a train of artillery. The pretext was, to receive the imperial crown at the pope's hands, a form which had not been paſſed through, notwithſtanding he wore the diadem for ſeveral years x. A. D. 1507. *Diet of* Conſtance.

c BOTH *Lewis* and the republic were greatly perplexed at this reſolution, and left no means untried to prevent it by means of the princes of the diet. *Maximilian* diſpatched four noblemen to *Venice*, to ſolicit a paſſage through the dominions of the republic, giving the ſenate the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that he would offer no moleſtation to the meaneſt *Venetian* ſubject. *Lewis* laboured hard to perſuade the ſenate to deny this requeſt, promiſing to aſſiſt the republic with all his forces to oppoſe the emperor. The king's requeſt was agreeable to the inclinations of the ſenate, who knew how deſirous *Maximilian* was of an opportunity of ſupporting his claim by force of arms to certain towns annexed to the republic, which the emperor pretended were a part of the dominions of the houſe of *Auſtria*. The ambaſſador was therefore told, that the republic would chearfully grant the emperor a paſſage, if he
d would diſmiſs his formidable retinue, which they could not ſuffer to paſs into *Italy* conſiſtently with their treaty with the *French* king. *Maximilian* gave the republic to underſtand that he would force a paſſage, and accordingly prepared to execute his menace. In the month of *February*, notwithſtanding the extreme inclemency of the ſeaſon, he paſſed the *Alps*, and, after a march ſcarcely credible, arrived within four leagues of *Verona*. The *French* governor in *Milan* ſent ſix hundred men to the aſſiſtance of the republic, which, with the *Venetian* forces, formed an army of two thouſand ſoldiers, under *Alviana*. Had the emperor known how to uſe the good fortune which almoſt always attended him, this body muſt have ſunk under his power; but, having ſurmounted the greateſt difficulty, he approached *Vincenza* without taking any meaſures to beſiege it, though ſtrenuouſly adviſed by the mar-
e quis of *Brandenbourg*. As this city was but poorly garriſoned and provided againſt a ſiege, it muſt probably have ſurrendered before *Alviana* could come to its relief; and hence a way into the *Venetian* dominions would be opened, and a retreat ſecured, beſides poſſeſſion gained of a town, otherways of great importance to the ſucceſs of the expedition; but the emperor declined attacking it, under pretence that he was not prepared to undertake a ſiege of ſo much conſequence and hazard; that he would not lead to deſtruction troops it was his duty to ſave; that, leaving the *Venetians* within their walls, he would retire to *Trent*, where the army could be better ſupplied. Thus abandoning the conqueſt in his power, he actually marched ſeveral leagues farther from the frontiers of *Italy*. A. D. 1508. *The emperor marches into* Italy.

THENCE he went to attend the diet at *Ulm*, leaving his troops a prey to the enemy. *Al-*
f *viana*, ſeizing on a paſs left unguarded by the *Germans*, entered the valley *Cadorino*, and there attacked the imperial army. The *Germans*, perceiving they were ſhut in, determined to force their way: a battle enſued, in which both ſides fought with great courage; at laſt, after continuing the engagement for three hours, the imperialiſts were broken and defeated, leaving five thouſand dead on the field. Upon this *Alviana* laid ſiege to *Cadorino*, *Gradiſk*, *Goritz*, and a number of other places belonging to the houſe of *Auſtria*. On the other ſide *Contareni*, with the fleet, inveſted *Trieſte*, *Cap-Iſtria*, *Rovigno*, and *Pola*, with many other cities on the coaſts of *Iſtria* and *Friuli*. Every thing ſucceeded with the *Venetians* by ſea and land, and it would have been difficult to aſſign bounds to their conqueſts, had *Trivulcio*, with the *French* troops, remained firm to their engagements. *Alviana* had formed a deſign
g of beſieging *Trent*, in expectation of being ſupported by *Trivulcio*; but this general, under- *The* Germans *defeated.*

x BARON. Hiſt. Eccl. ſub. hoc. an. BARRE Hiſt. d'Allem. t. 8. part. 1.

ſtanding

ſtanding that the treaty between his maſter and the republic was only defenſive, refuſed to enter upon offenſive meaſures. a

BESIDES *Trivulcio*'s refuſal, other impediments obſtructed *Alviana*'s deſign; ſome of the wiſeſt perſonages in the republic declared againſt an open rupture with the emperor. *Dominico Moroſini*, in particular, a procurator of St. *Mark*'s, aged ninety, of great experience and ſound judgment, told the ſenate, "That though the *German* princes were not pleaſed "with the emperor's quarrelling unprovoked with the *Venetians*, yet they would reſent any "indignity offered to the imperial crown; that as they had ſufficiently avenged the injury, "and compenſated the loſs ſuſtained from *Maximilian*, proceeding farther would look as if "a paſſage through the *Venetian* dominions had been refuſed, only to promote a war in "which the ſtate hoped to be gainers; that laying down their arms now would ſhew b "their moderation, gain the eſteem of the *German* princes, upon whom a great part of their "commerce depended, and convince the world the republic had ſpirit to reſent, but juſtice "to refrain from giving an injury. It was indeed glorious, he ſaid, to vanquiſh an enemy "in the field, to extend the limits, and raiſe the power of their ſtate; but it was ſtill more "glorious to ſubdue their paſſions, bridle their ambition, and merit the reputation of juſt, "the greateſt character of an individual or community. The events of war, depending "on contingencies, were variable and uncertain; but councils, proceeding from delibera- "tion, weighed in the nice balance of true judgment, and abſtracted from furious zeal and "blind paſſion, were ſure, and the neareſt to certainty that the weak ſtate of humanity "would admit [y]."

THIS ſpeech from the venerable old man had its effect in aſſwaging the heat of thoſe who warmly declared for proſecuting the war. The ſenate at that time determined nothing, but referred the iſſue to another ſitting: in a few days after, intelligence was received that the emperor was levying forces on the confines of *Verona*, and in the country of the *Griſons*, which determined the ſenate unanimouſly to proceed in the war. *Moroſini* now eagerly preſſed this meaſure, which he had ſo lately oppoſed. The reſolution was tranſmitted to the proveditors upon the frontiers and in *Iſtria*, with reinforcements of troops, and ſupplies of money and ſtores. In conſequence of theſe orders *Alviana* took *Protonovi*, then *Fama*, a city of *Sclavonia*, which he burnt; and croſſing the *Alps*, he laid ſiege and took *Preſsburg*, a ſtrong town on the confines of *Hungary* [z]. c d

WHILE the *Venetians* were purſuing their conqueſts, the emperor's army aſſembled at *Trent*, attacked and defeated a corps of three thouſand republicans near *Calliona*; but this victorious army ſoon dwindled away, the ſoldiers mutinying and deſerting for want of pay. The *Griſons*, to a man, left the imperial general, who was reduced to ſeven thouſand men, and forced to retire: upon which the *Venetians*, advancing as far as *Trent*, laid waſte the country, and took ſome towns and forts of little conſequence. *Maximilian*, being in great want of men and money, daunted likewiſe with the loſs of *Trieſte*, and the ſucceſs of the republic, made overtures for a peace. After ſome altercation, a congreſs was fixed to ſit at *Venice*. The emperor's commiſſioners were the biſhop of *Trent*, and *Lorentano* his ſecretary. *Lewis* appointed *Trivulcio* and *Charles Godfrey* to attend; and the affairs of the republic were committed to *Zachary Contareni*, a perſon in great eſteem. The great point which the imperial commiſſioners laboured was to diſunite the *French* and *Venetians*. To ſucceed the better in this, they promiſed *Contareni* to make him acquainted with the nature of the late ſecret treaty between the emperor and the king, if he would, on the other hand, renounce the alliance of *Lewis*. This propoſition was rejected by the *Venetian* with diſdain, who declared he would conquer or die with his allies [a]. The imperialiſts, finding themſelves diſappointed in this project, made another propoſal, which was accepted, though in its conſequences it anſwered the emperor's purpoſe as well as the former. This was, that a truce of three years ſhould take place, including the three powers concerned in the *Italian* war, in order to ſettle preliminaries for a general peace: that in the mean time all conqueſts ſhould remain in the hands of the poſſeſſors, who ſhould have the liberty of fortifying all the places which they retained after peace was concluded. *Contareni* did not diſlike this propoſal, but he deſired leave to conſult the ſenate before he returned an anſwer. This circumſtance, which occaſioned the warmeſt diſputes, was obviouſly calculated as a bait for *Contareni* to draw him from the alliance of *France*, ſince *Lewis* reaped nothing by the war, and the emperor had loſt by it dominion as well as reputation. The *French* commiſſioners not only refuſed their aſſent to this article, but likewiſe to accede to the truce unleſs it was made general, and the duke of *Gueldres*, whoſe ruin *Maximilian* had planned, was included [b]. e f

Trieſte *taken by the* Venetians.

THE ſenate's inſtructions to *Contareni* were, that he ſhould cloſe in with the propoſals of the imperialiſts; that he ſhould endeavour to get *Trivulcio* and *Godfrey* to ſign them, but

[y] BEMB. l. 4. FOUC. ibid. COMMINES, p. 126.
[z] BARRE, Hiſt. Allem. t. 8. p. 2.
[a] GUIC. l. 5. etiam BEMB. l. 4.

a upon their refuſal conclude a ſeparate truce, with this proviſo, that ſix months ſhould be granted to the *French* plenipotentiaries to determine. Upon this *Contareni* ſhewed ſo much eagerneſs and zeal to finiſh the truce, as made the *French* plenipotentiaries ſuſpect the republic had very little regard to the intereſt of her allies; and that they were the dupes of her politics in the late alliance, which had not produced a ſingle advantage to ballance the expences of the war: however, the treaty was concluded, and the *French* left to complain of the ingratitude of the republic, and the cunning of *Maximilian* [c].

In this meaſure the ſenate certainly miſtook their aim, as appeared by the conſequences. Nothing could be more contrary to the true intereſt of *Venice* than a rupture with a monarch the moſt powerful and natural protector of the republic. *Lewis*, by the acquiſition of *Mi-*
b *lan*, had a ſtrong intereſt in preſerving the rights and privileges of the *Venetians*, and fighting their cauſe againſt all enemies. Their contiguity to his duchy made them the natural guaranties of it, and this again obliged him to protect them by means of the large army which he neceſſarily kept on foot in *Italy*; but the iſſue is the beſt proof of the miſconduct of the ſenate [d].

*ALVIANA*, after having given orders concerning the fortifications of *Goritz* and other conqueſts, returned to *Venice*, where triumphal honours were decreed him. The order was new, and it is difficult to aſſign the ſenate's motives for falling in ſo late with a practice they had ſo long neglected. The moſt probable reaſon is, that they accommodated the reward to the diſpoſition and genius of the general, who eſteemed nothing ſo much as glory, and
c thought all his ſervices ſufficiently repaid by honours which diſtinguiſhed him above others. *Barre* alledges, that this inſtance of vanity conſiderably forwarded the league againſt the republic. Undoubtedly the emperor was greatly piqued at ſo open a declaration of victory, which he thought a blot upon his own glory, as well as a reflection on the empire; and it is certain that he determined upon vengeance, and even to ſmother his reſentment againſt *France*, in order to wipe off this diſgrace. But the great ſpring of the league of *Cambray* was *Lewis*'s indignation: he complained to *Condelmere*, the *Venetian* ambaſſador, of the injury done him by concluding a ſeparate treaty; of the ingratitude and ſelfiſh motives of the republic; and even dropt ſome menaces, which plainly indicated his intentions of ſeeking revenge [e].

d To aſcertain preciſely the juſtice of the claims made by each of the powers engaged in this league, it will be neceſſary to take a retroſpective view of the government of *Italy* for ſome ages. Before *France* and *Spain* got footing in *Italy*, the popes were the common arbiters among the different ſtates, rather ſpiritual than temporal ſovereigns. In a few centuries they loſt great part of the dominions of the church; and in the time of *Otho* the firſt
A. D. 1509. the patrimony of St. *Peter* was compoſed of the city of *Rome* and its appendages, ſome of the maritime parts of *Tuſcany*, the duchy of *Spoleto*, marquiſate of *Ancona*, *Ravenna*, all *Romagnia*, and in general thoſe dominions contained under the exarchate. During the broils between the *Guelphs* and *Gibellines*, the emperor deprived the holy ſee of all *Tuſcany*, and ſeveral other places. In fine, after the pope's dominions had been diſmembered, the emperor
e *Rodolph* the firſt, ſold liberty to moſt of the cities of *Italy*, who gladly embraced the opportunity of throwing off both the imperial and papal yokes. In conſequence, the moſt powerful ſoon reduced under their dominion the weaker cities, while in their turn they fell under the tyranny of certain families, who had acquired power and influence. In this manner did many petty ſtates of *Italy* acquire ſovereignty, and within their reſpective juriſdictions, all the power formerly lodged in the emperors and pontiffs.

During the pontificate of *Alexander* the ſixth, the dominions of the church were ſtill more retrenched, though the pope preſerved the right of ſovereignty over many places of which he had loſt the property: among theſe were *Ravenna*, *Bologna*, *Faenza*, *Urbino*, *Ferrara*, *Frivola*, *Rimini*, *Peruſia*, *Peſaro*, and *Ceſana*. Notwithſtanding theſe loſſes the popes
f ſtill, by means of their ſpiritual authority, were powerful, this giving them great influence over their neighbours, and drawing conſiderable revenues from all the Chriſtian princes. When *Lewis* the twelfth ſucceeded to the dukedom of *Milan*, and *Ferdinand* got poſſeſſion of the crown of *Naples*, a thorough change was introduced in the affairs of *Italy*: then the temporal power of the pontiffs was wholly abſorbed in the authority of thoſe powerful monarchs, who, beſides their dominions in *Italy*, were the ſovereigns of other conſiderable kingdoms. The popes tried every method to expel them out of *Italy*; but, unable to effect this by their own force, they fomented diviſions and jealouſies between them, in order to weaken both. Even this policy was found ineffectual, as the power of the one encreaſed in proportion as that of the other was diminiſhed. For a ſeries of years this was the ſole aim of the politics of the court of *Rome*: ſometimes foreigners were called in to incline the ſcale; but it was remarkable that hereby no advantage enſued to the holy ſee, as the ſupe-

[c] Guicciard. p. 475. [d] Barre Hiſt. d'Allem. part 2. [e] Foug. l. 10. d. 4.

riority which was given to one party was more deſtructive of the papal influence than the equal balance before mentioned. a

It muſt alſo be conſidered, that beſides the general intereſts of the ſee of *Rome*, every pope had his particular views and intereſts, that of aggrandizing their families, and raiſing to high dignities their brothers, nephews, or natural children. *Alexander* the ſixth, for inſtance, formed a plan for making *Cæſar Borgia*, his baſtard, a powerful temporal prince. For the execution of this deſign it was that *Borgia*, either by fraud or force, became maſter of *Peruſia*, *Urbino*, *Frivola*, *Faenza*, *Rimini*, &c. under pretence that the poſſeſſors had not properly acknowleged the tributes and ſervices to the holy ſee: however, after the death of *Alexander*, his ſon, who then was not firmly eſtabliſhed in his uſurpation, loſt theſe dominions, which reverted to the lawful proprietors. b

*JULIUS* the ſecond was no ſooner raiſed to the papal dignity than he formed the ſame ſcheme in favour of the houſe of *Rovera*: for this purpoſe it was inſinuated to the *Venetians*, that his intention was to reunite to the church all thoſe places alienated from it; with this view he deſired they would ſurrender *Faenza* and *Rimini*. On their refuſal, he demanded the aſſiſtance of the emperor *Maximilian*, which was the firſt ſtep towards the league of *Cambray*.

As to the *Venetians*, they had long been the admiration and wonder of mankind, on account of the wiſdom of their ſenate, eſteemed the moſt politic body on earth, and the prodigious pitch of naval power to which they arrived. It was by their prudence, induſtry, and addreſs, that they gradually eſtabliſhed a very conſiderable territory on the continent, ſupported by a ſtrong maritime power, in the latter ſuperior to any ſtate in *Europe*, and in the former upon a footing with the moſt formidable potentates of *Italy*. The *Venetian* dominions on the continent at this time conſiſted of the provinces of *Friuli*, the *Treviſan*, the *Bergameſe*, the *Veroneſe*, the *Breſcian*, *Vicenza*, *Padua*, *Rovigo*, with their dependencies, the *Cremoneſe*, the *Poleſin*, *Ravenna*, *Faenza*, and *Rimini*; all of which provinces and cities had formerly conſtituted a part of the kingdom of *Italy*. Afterwards they became ſubject to the emperors, whoſe vicars in time aſſumed the reins of ſovereignty: theſe being in courſe of time expelled, the cities recovered their liberty, only to fall under a more petty tyranny, in which ſtate they exiſted when the *Venetians*, either by meaſures of force or policy, annexed them to their dominions. c d

ALTHOUGH the imperial ſovereignty was no longer acknowleged, yet it is certain the emperors never ceded their pretenſions to thoſe places. The *Germanic* body often put in their claim, founding their right upon the ſovereignty of *Otho* the firſt, and of ſeveral of his ſucceſſors, over *Italy*. Thus there was hardly a city or province belonging to the republic, to which the emperor did not claim an original right; and the popes and kings of *France* pretenſions of a later date, either as ſuperiors of the church, or dukes of *Milan*.

*FRIULI* was annexed by *Otho* the firſt to the ſee of *Aquileia*; *Ravenna*, *Faenza*, and *Rimini*, had been a part of the holy ſee; *Rovigo* and the *Poleſin* were dependencies on the duchy of *Ferrara*; *Cremona* and *Ghiaradadda* belonged to the duchy of *Milan*, and were ceded to the republic by *Lewis* the twelfth of *France*; *Breſcia*, by the right of war, was likewiſe annexed to the *Milaneſe*, under the *Viſcontis*; and *Crema* had voluntarily ſubmitted to *Sforza*, the ſucceeding duke: beſides, the five maritime cities held by the republic in *Naples*, proved extremely irkſome to that prince, notwithſtanding he had ſolemnly renounced them, in conſideration of the aſſiſtance of the *Venetians* againſt the *French* king. e

FROM this view of *Italy* we ſee another cauſe of the formidable league now formed. *Italy* was divided among ſix different princes and ſtates, viz. the pope, the king of *France* as duke of *Milan*, the king of *Arragon* and *Naples*, the republics of *Venice* and *Florence*, and the duke of *Ferrara*; this latter deriving his ſecurity from the mutual jealouſy of the *Venetians* and the holy ſee. To theſe may be added the emperor *Maximilian*, who without poſſeſſing an inch of ground in *Italy*, laid claim to all that belonged to his anceſtors, and more particularly to the *Venetian* dominions on the continent. Thus did ſeven powers imagine themſelves intereſted in a partition of the territory of the republic, and of conſequence in her deſtruction. *Maximilian* was eager to poſſeſs ſome place which would ſecure him an entrance into *Italy*, in order to re-eſtabliſh the imperial power. *Julius* the ſecond, as we have obſerved, had formed the project of reuniting to the church the places diſmembered from it; a deſign which could not be compaſſed without the ruin of the republic, ever attentive to oppoſe the aggrandizement of her neighbours. *Lewis* the twelfth repented his having ceded the *Cremoneſe* and *Ghiaradadda*, carefully watching an opportunity to reclaim thoſe places, as well as the *Bergameſe*, *Breſcian*, and whatever formerly appertained to the dutchy of *Milan*. *Ferdinand* of *Naples*, without having money to pay for them, was deſirous of getting theſe five maritime towns out of the hands of the republic; the duke of *Ferrara* longed to recover *Rovigo* and the *Poleſin*; and laſtly, the *Florentines*, incenſed at the aſſiſtance the *Venetians* f g

*Riſe of the league of* Cambray.

*Venetians*

a *tians* had afforded to *Piſa*, joined with pleaſure in a league which was likely to give them the dominion of this city, and at leaſt deprive it of the aid of *Venice* (A).

THESE were the true motives of the league concluded at *Cambray*. Cardinal *Amboiſe*, and *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, governeſs of the *Netherlands*, met to ſettle preliminaries. She was inveſted by *Maximilian* with full powers to finiſh a treaty, upon ſuch conditions as ſhe thought proper. *Margaret* and the cardinal ſtruck up a league to the following effect [f], that the pope, the emperor, and the kings of *France* and *Arragon*, ſhould mutually aid and aſſiſt each other for the recovery of all thoſe places uſurped by the *Venetians*: that *Ravenna*, *Cervia*, *Rimini*, *Faenza*, and the other towns of *Flaminia*, ſhould belong to the pope; that *Verona*, *Padua*, *Vicenza*, the *Treviſan*, *Friuli*, and all the country bordering on
b the *Adriatic* ſhould be reſtored to *Maximilian*; that the *Breſcian*, the *Bergameſe*, *Cremoneſe*, *Crema*, *Ghiaradadda*, and all the ancient dependencies of *Milan* ſhould be ceded to *France*; and that *Ferdinand* of *Arragon* ſhould have the towns of *Apulia* ceded to the *Venetians* by the late alliance. It was farther ſtipulated, that their armies ſhould take the field in *April*; and, to obviate the difficulty of the truce for three years, which the emperor had concluded with the republic, that the pope ſhould ſummon him as protector of the church, to his aſſiſtance; that in the mean time the other three powers ſhould attack the *Venetians* with all their forces, the pope all the while thundering out anathemas and excommunications againſt them, if they refuſed to reſtore what they had unjuſtly uſurped. It was farther agreed, that the kings of *England* and *Hungary*, the dukes of *Savoy* and *Ferrara*, together with the marquis
c of *Mantua*, ſhould be invited to join in this alliance; that during the courſe of this war, the emperor, or his ſon the prince of *Spain*, ſhould in no ſhape moleſt the king of *Arragon*, touching the pretenſions of the young prince to *Caſtile* in the right of his mother; that *Maximilian* ſhould grant a new inveſtiture to *Lewis* of the dutchy of *Milan*, comprehending all the above-mentioned dependencies; that if the republic ſhould have recourſe for aſſiſtance to the *Turks*, in this caſe the allies ſhould redouble their efforts, and eſteem the preſent confederacy a league againſt infidels; that no party ſhould conclude either truce or peace without the joint conſent of all the allies; and laſtly, that no differences between the emperor and *Ferdinand* might ariſe to diſturb this alliance, arbiters were choſen amicably to determine their diſputes [g] (B).

*Conditions of the league.*

d THUS was the league of *Cambray* concluded, the moſt formidable confederacy *Europe* had ever beheld, and kept ſo ſecretly that the ſenate had not the leaſt ſuſpicion of the impending ſtorm. Cardinal *Bembo* relates, that the *Venetian* ambaſſador in *France* aſked the king the purport of that long congreſs at *Cambray*, and received for anſwer the moſt ſolemn aſſurances that nothing was intended againſt the republic, for whom he had the ſincereſt eſteem; an anſwer which the miniſter reported to the ſenate, and by that means confirmed their ſecurity.

POPE *Julius*, in the mean time weighing with himſelf the conſequences of this league, and the probability that it might eſtabliſh in *Italy* a power more formidable to the papal authority than the *Venetian*, began to enter upon meaſures for recovering the towns of *Romag-*
e *nia*, without acceding to the league [h]. For this purpoſe he inſinuated to *Bodoario*, the *Venetian* reſident at *Rome*, that if the ſenate would yield *Rimini* and *Faenza* to him, he would not only break off from the confederacy, but prevail on *Maximilian* to follow his example. *Conſtantine*, a *French* refugee, was employed to inſinuate this affair to *Bodoario*, who tampered ſo artfully with the refugee, that he drew from him the whole ſecret, and every particular of the league, which he immediately tranſmitted to the ſenate. The pope's propoſal was then debated in a full aſſembly, and rejected with indignation.

IN the mean time *Stella*, who had long reſided at the emperor's court, and enjoyed his friendſhip, was diſpatched to *Maximilian* to endeavour to diſengage him from the alliance; but this point miſcarrying, the republic thought ſeriouſly of making preparations [i].
f The *French* ambaſſador was ordered to quit the city, and *Condelmere* was recalled. *Lewis*, on his departure, either out of perſonal eſteem or policy, preſented him with a gold chain of great value, which the ambaſſador refuſed, ſaying, that he never accepted the favours of

*French ambaſſador ordered to leave Venice.*

[f] Hiſt. de la Ligue de Cambrai, t. 1. l. 1. Edit. P. Pariſ. BEMB. l. 7. [g] GUICCIARD. l. 8. [h] BEMB. l. 7. GUIC. l. 8. [i] BEMB. ibid. etiam BARON. ad Anno 1509.

(A) The *Florentines*, notwithſtanding their acceding to the league, made no great figure: they were at that time harraſſed with civil diviſions, which prevented their taking part of the politics of *Italy*. Nor did the duke of *Ferrara* prove of any great uſe before the time that *Julius*, renouncing the league and breaking with *Lewis*, attacked his ally the duke of *Ferrara*.---*B.* l. 7.

(B) According to *Bembo*, *Barre*, and *Guicciardini*, the league was ſigned in *October*, 1508, though *Sanſovino*, whoſe chronology we have followed in general, places it early in the ſpring 1509, poſſibly meaning the time when it was ratified by the pope, and acceded to by the king of *Arragon*, and the duke of *Savoy*.

thoſe

thoſe who were enemies to *Venice* (C). An army of eight thouſand heavy armed cavalry, a three thouſand light horſe, and thirteen thouſand foot, was levied, two thouſand of whom were auxiliaries from *Epirus*. At the ſame time the ſenate iſſued orders for equipping a conſiderable fleet, both to make incurſions upon the coaſts of *Naples* and defend their own harbours. *Andrew Bodoario* was likewiſe diſpatched to *England*, to ſolicit ſuccours from that monarch, to prevail on him to make a deſcent on *France*. *Bodoario* had reſided long at the court of *London*, and was perfectly ſkilled in the *Engliſh* language. A treaty likewiſe was ſtruck up with four of the *Swiſs* cantons, in conſideration of a ſubſidy of two hundred weight in ſilver, to be paid them annually for the ſpace of ten years.

DURING theſe preparations pope *Julius* ratified the league with *Maximilian* and the *French* king; but with this proviſo, that he ſhould be the laſt to commence hoſtilities: the duke b of *Savoy* alſo acceded to the propoſals made to him, and became a confederate againſt the republic, with the flattering expectations of having the iſland of *Cyprus* yielded to him in the partition to be made of the *Venetian* dominions. *Maximilian* was raiſing money for the war in the *Netherlands*; *Lewis* had levied an army of five thouſand horſe and two thouſand foot, with which he entered *Italy* in the month of *April*; the king of *Arragon* was buſy in raiſing forces and equipping a fleet; and the pope had got together an army of ten thouſand men, rather to be ſpectators of the event than to engage in the quarrel (for ſtill he was endeavouring by negociation to procure the ceſſion of *Faenza* and *Rimini*) at the ſame time that he was playing his ſpiritual weapons againſt the republic. He began with laying the *Venetians* under an interdict, while the ſenate paying, as uſual, but little regard c to the thunder of the *Vatican*, aſſembled an army little inferior in number to the confederates, but raw and undiſciplined. Count *Petellian* was appointed general, *Bartolemeo Alviana* lieutenant-general, and *Georgia Cornelio* and *Andrea Gritti* proveditors [k] (D). *Petellian* was an officer of great prudence and experience, *Alviana* of fire and courage; their ſentiments generally claſhed, and the iſſue of the firſt engagements was unfortunate, but perfectly conſiſtent with the diſſentions of thoſe two officers. The latter accuſed the former of cowardice, while he in his turn reproached *Alviana* with raſhneſs and temerity. *Petellian* was for diſpoſing the army in ſuch a manner as to protect the frontiers and country of *Ghiaradadda*; *Alviana* propoſed carrying terror and deſolation into the *Milaneſe* and the enemy's country. The ſenate joined in opinion with the former, well knowing, ſays *Bembo*, d that nothing can withſtand the impetuoſity and firſt fury of a *French* army (E).

*Duke of* Savoy *embraces the league.*

BEFORE *Lewis* entered *Italy* he ſent a herald to *Venice* to denounce war, and publiſhed an edict commanding all his ſubjects in the *Venetian* dominions to withdraw on pain of death. The ſenate oppoſed this edict by a decree, forbidding all artizans and uſeful members of ſociety to depart, under the penalty of cloſe impriſonment and confiſcation of goods and chattels. This had its effect, and preſerved to the republic a great number of valuable mechanics: leave was likewiſe granted to the *German* merchants to trade as uſual into their dominions, notwithſtanding the ſtate was at war with the emperor, and every ſtep and precaution taken that could poſſibly enable them to weather the terrible ſtorm impending. The e *French* herald, leſt his menances might terrify the people, was met without the city, and introduced into the ſenate, where he ſpoke his declaration with great bitterneſs and pride. The doge anſwered him with a compoſure and gravity that aſtoniſhed the *Frenchman*; he told him, that the infidelity of which their maſter accuſed the republic belonged properly to himſelf; but as the *Venetians* were not accuſtomed to make war with their tongues, they doubted not but the juſtice of their cauſe would furniſh them with weapons more becoming their dignity, and worthy of the perfidy of his maſter [l].

A. D. 1509. *War declared by* France *againſt the* Venetians.

THE king's forces were now entered the frontiers of *Italy*, and *Chaumont*, with a body of three thouſand horſe, and ſix thouſand foot, croſſing the *Adda*, advanced directly to *Treviglio*, which he took, plundered, and deſtroyed, having made priſoners one thouſand

[k] BARRE ad Anno 1508. [l] BEMB: l. 8.

(C) *Bembo* ſays, that the ſenate likewiſe recalled the *Venetian* envoy at *Milan*, who was told by *Trivulcio*, the *French* governor when he took his leave, "Sir, I "am aſhamed of my country, my king, and the unjuſt "war he has undertaken againſt the republic, faithful "to her promiſes. My maſter's orders muſt be obeyed, "but you may always depend on my eſteem." L. 7. p. 295.

(D) *Bembo* obſerves, upon this occaſion, that in the time of *Foſcari* an edict of the ſenate paſſed, that no proveditor ſhould be choſen under the age of 55 years, that being an office which required maturity of judgment and experience. P. 300. l. 7.

(E) This admirable hiſtorian would ſeem to be characterizing the genius of that nation at this day. "The *French*, ſays he, of all men are the moſt vigorous "and alert upon a firſt attack; but little able to ſupport "the labour, the fatigue, and hardſhips of a campaign. "All fire and ſpirit, their courage languiſhes if it fails "of ſucceſs in the firſt attempt, either for want of a "ſufficient degree of bodily ſtrength, or mental fortitude." L. 2. p. 79.

*Venetian*

a *Venetian* infantry that compoſed the garriſon. The marquis of *Mantua* laid ſiege to *Caſſel-Maggiore*, which he had ſurrendered to him, and in conſequence a number of other places of leſs importance. The *Venetian* army advancing obliged *Chaumont* to repaſs the river, after which *Petellian* retook *Treviglio* before *Lewis* could arrive from *Milan* to its aſſiſtance. Both armies remained for ſome days within a ſmall diſtance of each other, *Lewis* deſirous of coming to a battle, and the *Venetian* general of avoiding one: at laſt the king finding means to cut off the communication between the *Venetians*, the *Cremoneſe* and *Cremoſco*, whence they were ſupplied with proviſions, forced *Petellian* to a motion which produced a battle. The *French* van attacked the rear of the *Venetians* where *Alviana* commanded, and were received with ſo much ſpirit and reſolution, that being ſoon put in confuſion,
b they muſt have retreated had not the king ſent a ſtrong reinforcement to their relief. The action was now renewed with freſh vigour, *Alviana* performing wonders, and expoſing himſelf to the greateſt dangers: he placed ſix field-pieces upon an eminence, from whence they played with great ſucceſs upon the enemy; but at laſt the *Venetians* were oppreſſed with numbers, and conſtrained to quit the field with precipitation. Had he been properly ſeconded by *Petellian*, it is more than probable, *Alviana* would have been victorious, notwithſtanding *Lewis* and his troops behaved with great courage; a wound he received, which diſabled him, and occaſioned his falling into the enemy's hands, was another cauſe of the defeat of the *Venetian* army [m], whoſe loſs on this occaſion amounted to five thouſand men, which was nearly equalled by that of the enemy.

c THOUGH this victory was glorious to *Lewis*, and attended with important conſequences, yet was it by no means general, as *Petellian* and the greater part of the *Venetian* army was not engaged, that old general retiring in good order, and imagining he had diſcharged his whole duty in rigidly following the ſenate's directions to avoid a battle, though by ſuccouring his lieutenant, he might have gained a complete victory; and, indeed, his conduct was greatly applauded at *Venice*, where he was regarded as a ſecond *Fabius* in caution and wiſdom [n].

AFTER this battle, fought on the fourteenth of *May* 1509, *Lewis* marched to *Caravaggio*, which he took by capitulation, and ſoon after received the ſubmiſſion of *Breſcia* (F) and *Bergamo*. The rapidity of his conqueſts made the ſenate try once more to effect a re-
d conciliation with the pope and emperor: they wrote to the cardinals *Grimani* and *Cornari*, both *Venetians* at *Rome*, to offer his holineſs the ceſſion of *Faenza* and *Rimini*. Propoſals equally advantageous were made to the emperor, the ſenate having commiſſioned *Antonio Juſtiniano* to inform him, that they would ſurrender *Trieſte*, *Portonovo*, and all the places taken from him the preceding year, and acknowledge his ſovereignty in *Friuli*, *Lombardy*, and the country anciently called *Venetia*. The emperor would hear of no terms, and the pope recovered *Faenza*, *Ravenna*, and the other towns to which he laid claim, in conſequence of the late victory; ſo that the republic was forced to redouble her endeavours to proſecute the war. *Loretano*, the doge, ſent a meſſage to *Paolo Barbo*, a procurator of St. *Mark*'s who, by reaſon of his age, had not attended the ſenate for a great number of years, to
e come and aſſiſt them with his advice. Accordingly the good old patriot, calling for his ſenatorial robes, was conveyed into the ſenate, and no ſooner ſet down than he ſpoke to this effect: 'Though infirm in body and mind he immediately obeyed the ſummons of 'his prince and country, to lend them all the ſmall help in his power, and offer ſuch ad-'vice as the ſituation of affairs would admit; but, ſays he, through ſo thick a cloud of 'misfortunes what human eye can pretend to penetrate? The circumſtances of the ſtate 'are really lamentable; broken and exhauſted, where can it look round for ſuccour! Yet 'there is an immortal and juſt God, the avenger of perfidy and broken vows; him nei-'ther the arms of men can terrify, nor cunning deceive: his providence has often relieved 'us under our moſt preſſing afflictions, and will not fail ſtill to do ſo while we confide in
f 'him, and preſerve the meaſures of juſtice, and dictates of reaſon and religion.' He then deſcended to particulars, adviſing the ſpeedy augmentation of their army and fleet, and the

*The ſenate makes propoſals to the pope and emperor.*

[m] BEMB. ibid. etiam BARON.

[n] BARRE Hiſt. Allem.

(F) We know not how to reconcile this fact, aſſerted by all the other hiſtorians, with what *Bembo* relates of the fidelity and public ſpirit of the *Breſcians*, and the defeat of the *French* at *Caravaggio* (1). *Guicciardini* (2), *Baronius* (3), *Mariana* (4), and *Barre* (5), aſſert, that thoſe places ſurrendered to *Lewis* after a ſhort reſiſtance. *Bembo*, on the contrary, takes no notice of the ſiege of *Breſcia* till the following year: he even ſays, that the *Breſcians* raiſed an army at their own expence, of ſix thouſand men; and that *Lodovico Avagori* alone levied a troop of ſix hundred horſe, an example which was ſoon followed by *Verona*. As to *Caravaggio*, he mentions the ſiege, and ſays the *French* were ſhamefully repulſed. It is poſſible that he relates this of the reſiſtance it made to *Chaumont*; though other hiſtorians ſay, that he repaſſed the *Adda* after he took *Treviglio*; and that the *Breſcians* might have raiſed this army before the battle.

(1) *Lib.* 7. (2) *Lib.* 9. (3) *Sub. hoc. An.* (4) *Lib.* 8. (5) *Tom.* 8. 928.

raiſing ſupplies [o]: but the progreſs of the *French* conqueſts confounded the wiſeſt reſolutions of the ſenate, all the provinces and towns ſtipulated by the treaty of *Cambray* to belong to the king and the holy ſee being already reduced (G). The *Poleſin* was yielded to the duke of *Ferrara*; the towns of *Azole* and *Lunet* to the marquis of *Mantua*; and the emperor's army, commanded by the duke of *Brunſwic*, was in the very heart of *Friuli*, after having reduced the cities *Trieſte*, *Feltre*, and *Belluni*. Beſides theſe loſſes, the republic ſuſtained others from new enemies, each of whom hoped to profit by her misfortunes and ſhare in the ſpoils. The earl of *Sodron* had ſeized upon certain caſtles and towns, contiguous and convenient for him; and the biſhop of *Trente* reduced *Riva di Trente* and *Agreſta*, to which he had no other pretenſions than what opportunity afforded. *Padua* and *Treviſo* alone remained firm to the republic in her diſtreſs: the former raiſed the ſum of ſixty pounds weight of gold for the payment of the army; the other, though abandoned by the *Venetion* garriſon, drove out the emperor's commiſſioner, and again erected the *Venetian* ſtandard: however, theſe inſtances of fidelity were ſo rare, that the ſenate had once thoughts of entirely abandoning the continent, imagining that by this meaſure only they could preſerve the city [p].

a

b

But nobler reſolutions ſoon took place of theſe gloomy reflections. Orders were iſſued for fortifying the city; engineers were appointed to examine the places where forts and outworks were requiſite; batteries were erected at all the fords; a militia was raiſed, and fleet equipped, for the ſafety of *Venice*: magazines were formed, and every precaution taken as if a ſiege was expected. Nor indeed was the conjecture ill founded; for *Maximilian* had actually propoſed to inveſt the city, but was forced to lay aſide the deſign, on account of *Ferdinand*'s refuſal to ſuccour him with a fleet [q]. He then directed the prince of *Brunſwic* to lay ſiege to *Padua*: ſome hiſtorians alledge that he led the army thither in perſon. This city was inveſted by an army of forty thouſand horſe and foot: the trenches were ſoon opened, the batteries began to play with great fury, and ſeveral breaches were made in the walls, which the Imperialiſts ſtormed, but always with little ſucceſs. *Petellian* commanded in the city, and the *Paduans* were even emulous of diſtinguiſhing themſelves in the ſervice of the republic. The enemy were repulſed in every aſſault with great loſs; but ſtill continuing their reſolution either to periſh or ſubdue the city, *Petellian* aſſembled the inhabitants, and after animating and exhorting them to perſeverance, received an oath of eternal fidelity to the republic. The emperor having placed a battery of cannon of enormous weight againſt the baſtion of *Codolonga*, continued to play upon it for nine ſucceſſive days without intermiſſion: having at laſt effected a breach, orders were given to a ſtrong body of choice troops for ſtorming. They were obeyed, and the breach mounted with great reſolution, and defended with equal courage. The engagement was long and bloody, when at length the Imperialiſts were totally routed, with prodigious ſlaughter, and the loſs of many priſoners of the firſt diſtinction: upon this the emperor, deſpairing of ſucceſs, raiſed the ſiege with precipitation, and retired to *Rimini*, after he had lain twenty days before *Padua* [r].

c

Padua *beſieged.*

*Stormed, and the ſiege raiſed.*

d

This happy event inſpired the republic with courage; it was the firſt they had experienced during the war; but it ſufficiently proved what courage was able to effect, and that the enemy was not invincible. *Maximilian*'s return into *Germany*, and ſome growing differences between the pope and *Lewis* the twelfth increaſed their reviving hopes: his holineſs had never heartily eſpouſed the league, and above all things dreaded the extenſion of the *French* dominions in *Italy*: he now acquired, by a ſudden revolution of affairs, the patrimony of the church which he claimed; and this point gained, his enmity to the republic ceaſed: he would even have repealed the interdict, had not the ambaſſadors of *France* and *Arragon* ſtrongly inſiſted upon the performance of his engagements [s].

e

In the mean time the *Venetians*, willing to make the moſt of the diſſentions among the confederates, ſent the proveditor *Gritti* with a body of forces to *Vicenza*, upon ſome aſſurances that the citizens were deſirous of the *Venetian* government. *Gritti* was immediately admitted into the city, to the great joy of all the inhabitants, who compelled the prince of *Anhalt* to retire with the garriſon into the citadel, which likewiſe, after a ſiege of four days, was ſurrendered: their fleet at the ſame time entering the *Po*, ſcoured the enemy's country on both ſides as far as the lake of *Sourra*.

*The* Venetians *recover* Vicenza.

f

It was high time that fortune ſhould begin to ſmile on the republic; the extreme rapidity of the enemy's conqueſts, and the ſuddenneſs of their loſſes threatened the city

[o] Bemb. l. 8. Guicciard. l. 9. [p] Baron. ad A. 1509. [q] Bemb. et Guic. ibid. [r] Guic. l. 10. Bemb. 8. [s] Morera Hiſt. l. 15.

(G) A circumſtance, atteſted by all the hiſtorians, reflects great honour on the *Venetians*. They refuſed the aſſiſtance offered them by the Grand Seignior: and though reduced to the utmoſt extremities, reſolved to ſuffer every diſtreſs rather than give their ancient enemies, the infidels, a footing in *Italy*.

with

a with civil disturbances. The people exclaimed loudly against the senate for having so easily quitted towns, won to the republic by the blood of their ancestors: they said, that if some towns had been terrified out of their allegiance, and others subdued by force of arms, that was no reason for abandoning others which were able and willing to withstand the enemy. *Verona* was no less firm to the *Venetians* than *Padua* had shewn itself; but, deserted by the garrison, the inhabitants esteemed it an act of obedience to the republic to submit to the emperor. They were mistaken, the people said, who imagined the enemy were to be appeased by humility, which only encreased their insolence; and having easily gained a part, were by that induced to seek the conquest of the whole republic: but if some places were yielded to *Lewis* in consequence of his victory, and on account of the power and strength
b of his army, how came others to be surrendered to the emperor and the pope, before they had struck one blow? Or, how came overtures to this effect to be made to them, who were as impotent in their friendship as they were contemptible in their enmity [t]?

To these and other complaints the senate answered, that, like prudent mariners in danger of shipwreck, they had lightened the ship of part of her cargo with a view to preserve the remainder and their lives; that such towns only were ceded as by reason of their distance could not be defended; that they were tubs thrown out to the whale, to stop the progress of an enemy they were unable with their broken forces to resist; and that the event had plainly proved the wisdom of such measures, since the pope's ambition being gratified, there was more than a probability he might soon be gained. These incipient
c disputes might have risen to a dangerous heighth, if some lucky strokes of fortune had not intervened and put the people in a good humour. *Bassiana*, *Feltre*, and some other places were recovered, and their army marched to reduce the *Polesin*, which in a short time it effected: the *Venetians* then separated in three divisions, for the greater security of the towns A. D. 1510. in their possession; for *Chaumont* had advanced to *Vincenza* with a strong detachment. The duke of *Ferrara* was in the utmost distress, being cooped up on all sides by the *Venetian* fleet and army; but the arrival of *Chaumont* relieved and inspirited him. An attack was made *Siege of* Ferrara *raised.* with such vigiour on the fleet, that, unable to withstand the enemy's efforts, the *Venetians* were put in confusion, and the admiral *Trevisano* obliged to save himself in a skiff [u].

THUS ended the siege of *Ferrara*, after it had been successfully pushed for near a month,
d and the city on the point of surrendering. *Loretto* soon fell into the enemy's hands; and *Padua*, owing to the differences among the leading citizens, surrendered to the emperor, with- Padua *surrenders to the emperor.* out the formality of a siege, after it had withstood his utmost efforts. Some proposals for a truce were now made to the *Venetians* by *Maximilian*; and the emperor having obtained what he at first demanded, would have gladly ended a war which his finances could not support: but the *Austrian* pride subdued all his policy, and made him insist on terms too arrogant for the republic to grant even in her state of humiliation. The pope was disappointed that the treaty with him was broke off; for, jealous of the *French*, he had formed a scheme to join the *Venetians*, if the republic would have rid herself of so formidable an enemy as *Maximilian* [w]. Ever true to his own interest, *Julius* had no regard to public faith, or pri-
e vate honour. Ambition and avarice were his predominant passions; in which all the others, together with justice, truth, and virtue, were absorbed.

IN the mean while the senate formed a project for the recovery of *Padua*, which was conducted with so much address, that it succeeded beyond expectation, and even probability. The resolution was taken, after long and warm debates in the senate, to send *Gritti* with an army thither, and rely upon the affections of the inhabitants, who by this time were probably tired of the imperial yoke. Some alledged such an attempt would, in all probability, terminate only in increasing the emperor's indignation, and more closely uniting him with his allies, already too powerful: that if the attempt succeeded, the republic could not long expect to retain the conquest, since, without doubt, the allies would employ all their
f strength to recover a place so necessary to their farther schemes. The doge and majority were of this opinion, which was opposed by the nobler resolution of *Molini* and several other senators: they affirmed that the republic would be wanting to itself, if it omitted any opportunity of recovering those cities so unjustly taken from them; that the apprehensions of rousing the enemy, and heightening their resentment, were vain, since they were actuated more by views of ambition and interest than of pique; that at all events the senate was using the means, and whatever the issue might prove, they could not fail of the applause of their own hearts, in having pursued measures worthy of the honour, the dignity of the commonwealth, and of the memory of their ancestors. "I am not, says *Molini*,
g "so much terrified by the prodigious power of the confederacy formed against us; cir- "cumstances of a similar nature have happened to all flourishing states: but it grieves me

[t] BEMB. ibid. [u] BEMB. l. 9. MARIAN, l. 17. [w] BEMB. ibid. etiam GUICCIARD. l. 10.

"to

" to ſee our own fears of more dangerous conſequence than all the ſtrength of our enemies; a
" that we cringe and ſupplicate to arrogance and inſolence, and render our city contemp-
" tible without making it ſecure. What friends have you made, what compaſſion have
" you excited by your mean ambaſſies and unworthy ceſſion of cities, before they had ex-
" perienced the weight of the enemy's metal? None truly! eſteem or pity cannot fall
" upon objects undeſerving of them. Theſe are affections which belong not to the
" coward, but to the brave, who perſevere in combating misfortunes, and yield not hope
" but with life. You have fleets, you have ſuperior ſkill in naval affairs, why do you not
" compenſate your weakneſs on the continent by your ſtrength on the ocean? Why do
" you not ruin their ſhipping, deſtroy their ports, and carry deſolation and death to their
" coaſts? This has been the foundation of your wealth and power, and, believe me, it b
" will ever remain your bulwark as long as you are wiſe enough to eſtimate the advan-
" tage. Shall it be ſaid that *Venetians* were conquered leſs by the cruelty of fortune and
" the ſtrength of an enemy, than by their own puſillanimity and miſconduct? But you
" remonſtrate againſt the complaints of individuals, that the public intereſt muſt not be ſa-
" crificed to the good of private perſons: but conſider who thoſe private perſons are?
" They are the richeſt, the braveſt, and the moſt faithful of your ſubjects; who, through
" the timidity and weakneſs of your meaſures, have been left a prey to deſpotiſm and eccle-
" ſiaſtical arrogance, more intolerable than the worſt ſlavery. How is public liberty com-
" patible with private ſlavery? Do you not, by abandoning the intereſts, and declining
" the offers of the *Paduans* in particular, relinquiſh your own intereſt, honour, and the c
" reputation of the ſtate? Is not the public wealth made up of private riches? Are not
" our fleets and armies now ſupported by the voluntary contributions of individuals? Did
" not the *Paduans* ſet the example; and, after having once returned their generoſity with
" ingratitude, will you ſtill continue blind to the dictates of true honour and humanity?
" I ſpeak the more freely of this city, as the opportunity now offers of recovering it, and
" with it your own reputation; and likewiſe becauſe I cannot be taxed with having any
" private view. You all know that I poſſeſs not one houſe in the city, or inch of ground
" in the *Paduan*; but my reputation is inſeparable from that of my country, and will
" ever be dearer to me than life." He then touched every topic which could enlarge
the underſtanding, or warm the hearts of his audience, and concluded with ſo much honeſt d
zeal and force of argument, that the ſenate was unanimous in attempting the recovery
of *Padua*. A decree was immediately paſſed for giving *Gritti* ample powers to tranſact this
delicate buſineſs; and that nothing, in the mean time, might tranſpire which could fruſ-
trate the attempt, they all bound themſelves over to ſecrecy by a ſolemn oath [x].

*GRITTI* marched in the night towards *Padua*; and having conveyed ſome choice troops
into waggons covered with ſtraw, by their means, and under pretence they were a convoy
of proviſions, he ſeized upon a gate of the city, and purſuing his advantage, got poſſeſſion
Padua *recovered.* of *Padua*. The Imperialiſts made a vigorous defence; but *Gritti*, joined by the greater
part of the inhabitants, totally defeated them, making near two thouſand priſoners. Thus,
by the advice of *Molini*, and addreſs of *Gritti*, the republic beeame once more poſſeſſed of e
the moſt valuable city, on account of its vicinity, ſhe had upon the continent. The re-
covery of *Padua* was attended with all the happy conſequences which *Molini* had predicted:
the public clamour was appeaſed, and the pope, obſerving that the republic was not to be
terrified by the power of the league, relaxed his ſeverity, and regarded the *Venetians* as the
only barrier againſt the power of *France*. The firſt favourable ſtep his holineſs took was
to grant the republic abſolution. *Maximilian* and *Lewis* laboured hard to divert him
from this purpoſe; but it was neceſſary to the plan formed, and nothing could induce
*Julius* to deviate from what he eſteemed his intereſt. He even proceeded farther: he
permitted his ſubjects to enliſt in the *Venetian* ſervice; he granted *Paul Baillon* leave to
command their army, in the room of *Petellian* deceaſed; he uſed all his influence in an in- f
direct manner to induce *Maximilian* to quit the league; he laboured to prevail upon the
*Engliſh* to declare war againſt *France*; and laſtly, he drew off the *Swiſs* from their alliance
with *Lewis*, and even concluded a treaty between them and the *Venetians*. In this manner,
and from a few ſpirited ſtrokes, did the face of affairs receive a total and favourable
alteration [y].

THE *Venetians* being tempted by their good fortune at *Padua* to make a ſimilar attempt
on *Verona*, where they were alſo invited by the inhabitants, marched thither with great
expedition and ſecrecy: but the ladders they applied to the walls being too ſhort, they
were diſcovered, and the enterprize fruſtrated, to the utter deſtruction of many of the prin-
cipal citizens, who, upon ſuſpicion, were put to death by the governor [z]. This accident g
did not put a ſtop to the treaty negotiating between *Julius* and the republic, which at length

[x] BEMB. l. 9. [y] BEMB. ibid. GUICCIARD. l. 10. BARON. [z] BEME. l. 9.

a was concluded on these conditions, viz. That the *Venetians* would cede their claim to the cities of *Romagnia* to his holiness; that they would renounce their right of placing a magistrate, whom they called *Bisdemino*, in *Ferrara*; and that they would permit a free navigation to the subjects of the see in the gulph of *Venice*. *Treaty between the pope and* Venetians.

INTELLIGENCE of this treaty coming to *Lewis* and *Maximilian*, they charged the pontiff with a breach of the league of *Cambray*; in which it was stipulated, that none of the parties should make peace with the republic but with the joint consent of his allies, and until all were reinstated in their possessions usurped by the *Venetians*. In short, they pressed him so hard, that unable to deny the fact, he had recourse to equivocations, and other arts in which he was perfectly well versed; and at last promised to adhere to the articles of the b treaty. But the performance of this agreement was very wide of his intentions: he had two grand projects in view, each of them diametrically opposite to the interest of those two monarchs. The first was to invade the dutchy of *Ferrara*, and the second to drive both *Lewis* and *Maximilian* out of *Italy*. This was the object of his late treaty with the republic; but he found her strength, united to his own, unequal to the enterprize, which made him labour to engage other powers in his interest; and conclude the treaty we have mentioned with the *Swiss*. He left nothing untried to induce the *Venetians* to come to a peace, upon any terms, with *Maximilian*, even at the expence of the *Trevisan* and *Padua*. He wrote to the senate, that no other means remained to expel the *French* out of *Italy*, but detaching them from the house of *Austria*; this once effected, it would be no difficult mat- c ter to recover the *Trevisan* and *Padua* from the emperor: in a word, he offered his mediation, and was accepted [a].

A CONGRESS was appointed at *Scala*, to attend which *Julius* sent the bishop of *Perusia*, an artful prelate whom he had employed in a variety of intrigues. The *Venetians* offered to reimburse the emperor in the expences of the war: the sum was immense, and they doubted not but the poverty and avarice of *Maximilian* would gladly embrace the proposal. Their conjecture was well founded, but the event turned out different from their expectations from an unforeseen accident. *Maximilian* in his return to *Germany*, to attend the diet at *Augsburg*, was grosly insulted by the *Venetian* peasants: some rustic jokes on his poverty so highly incensed him, that he vowed revenge, and to return the following spring. d Deaf to his wants and his passion for money, he sent positive orders to the bishop of *Gurtz*, his plenipotentiary at the congress, to accept of no terms less considerable than the entire cession of *Padua*, *Vicenza*, and the *Trevisan*, together with a reimbursement of the expences of the war. The bishop obeyed his orders, and the congress was dissolved [b]. *Congress for a peace.*

*JULIUS* sent a nuncio, and the *Venetians* certain agents privately to attend the nuncio, to the diet, which sat in *January*. Their intrigues and opposition drew out the deliberations of this assembly to a great length, though in the end they could not prevent the states of *Germany* from concurring with the emperor's design to establish in *Italy* the ancient authority of the empire. The emperor was warmly supported by *Helian*, plenipotentiary from *Lewis* the twelfth. This minister spoke in the assembly with great vehemence; he pro- e nounced against the *Venetians* a discourse full of fire and spirit, stamped with the marks of genius and erudition, rather than of truth. He laid before them the designs and artifices the republic had employed to possess herself of the dominion of *Italy*; he recited the different provinces usurped from other princes by the *Venetians*; he spoke of their usual ceremony of espousing the sea as an instance of their folly, arrogance, and presumption; he gave a long detail of their piracies on the ocean, and cruelty on the continent: he reminded the diet of their conduct to *Mahomet* the second; of their pride and haughtiness to the unfortunate *Paleologus*; their opposition to the holy league formed against the *Turks* by *Pius* the second; their treason against *Christendom*, in sending engineers and gunners to the king of *Calicut*, and persuading the *Dutch* to attack the *Portuguese* in the gulph of *Persia* (A). f He told *Maximilian*, that unless he crushed that venomous serpent before she recovered the late blow, she would insinuate a poison into the empire, which would be the destruction of him and his successors; concluding this bitter invective with an earnest intreaty, that his Imperial majesty and the circles of the empire would unite to exterminate this odious republic. Enraged at the bitterness of this harangue, the nuncio was going to reply, when, unfortunately dropping some expressions severely reflecting upon *Maximilian* and *Lewis*, a

[a] MARIAN. BELL. CARN. [b] BEMB. l. 9.

(A) The reader will here observe a palpable anachronism, which we have inserted as we have found it in the *Spanish*, *French*, and *German* historians. Yet it is obvious that the *Dutch* had no knowledge of any part of *India* till the latter part of the reign of *Charles* the fifth; nor was their company established for fourscore years after the diet of *Augsburg*, or a trade opened to the *East Indies*, before the oppression of the *Netherlands* by *Philip* the second.

confuſed noiſe aroſe in the diet, which was appeaſed by turning the nuncio out of doors, a putting the republic under the ban of the empire, and renewing a treaty offenſive and defenſive with *France* [c].

A. D. 1511. *The pope breaks the league.*

*JULIUS*, incenſed at the affront given himſelf in the perſon of his nuncio, immediately vented his ſpleen againſt the duke of *Ferrara*, the friend and ally of *Lewis*: a conduct that greatly perplexed the *French* monarch, who was deſirous of keeping fair with the church. The *Venetians* turned this humour of his holineſs to the advantage of the republic; they recovered, during the incurſions of the pope's army into the territories of *Ferrara*, the towns of *Æſte*, *Monſcleſia*, *Montagnana*, *Maroſtia*, *Baſſano*, and ſeveral other places. They laid ſiege to *Verona*, and were upon the point of carrying it, when *Chaumont*, with a ſuperior army, arrived to its relief, and obliged them to retreat: however, they found means even in b their flight to reduce *Orzola*. Their fleet joined the pope's, to make an attempt upon *Genoa*; but returned without executing their deſign, upon finding the city prepared to receive them, and that no encouragement was given by the malecontents.

In the mean time *Maximilian* was uſing all his influence to prevail on *Ladiſlaus* king of *Hungary*, to declare war upon the *Venetians*; but all he could procure were ſome menaces and a ſlender body of *Hungarian* auxiliaries. *Julius* kept no terms with the king of *France*; he even declared war againſt him, which obliged *Lewis* to unite himſelf more cloſely with *Maximilian*, and conſult his clergy how far it was allowable to repel the inſults of the pontiff. The clergy were unanimous, that if St. *Peter*, inſtead of his repreſentative, were to attack the temporal rights of chriſtian princes, they might in conſcience defend themſelves. Upon c this *Lewis* renewed the pragmatic ſanction; an example followed by *Maximilian*, who carried his views to the papal chair, the depoſition of *Julius*, and ſucceſſion to the papal dignity (B). *Julius*, not daunted with the chimerical projects of the emperor, purſued his reſentment againſt *France*, in the perſon of the duke of *Ferrara*: he ordered his fleet to join the *Venetians*, and in conjunction to inveſt *Ferrara* on the ſide of the *Po*, while his army laid ſiege to it by land: but the duke's brave conduct fruſtrated the deſign, the fleet being twice defeated with conſiderable loſs to the *Venetians*, who ſtood the brunt of the action, while the pope's fleet retired into a place of ſecurity [d].

*Declares war on* Lewis *and the duke of* Ferrara.

*The* Venetian *fleet and the pope's army inveſt* Ferrara.

The *Venetians* were likewiſe diſappointed in a project formed againſt *Breſcia*, which was diſcovered before it was ripe for execution: but they were more ſucceſsful before *Concorda* d and *Mirandola*, where they acted jointly with the pope's forces. The firſt place ſtood a ſiege of a few days only; but the laſt being well provided with every neceſſary, made a brave defence. His holineſs, thinking his preſence might animate the troops, entered the trenches, contrary to the remonſtrances of the cardinals, and even of the *Venetian* officers, who could not help bluſhing to ſee the head of God's church preſide at a ſiege, and view the effuſion of human blood ſacrificed to his ambition: indeed, he neglected nothing which could forward the works, or diſtreſs the beſieged. At laſt a breach was effected, upon which the garriſon hung out a flag of truce, and ſent commiſſioners to his holineſs with offers to ſubmit if he would only ſpare their lives; a requeſt he was with difficulty prevailed upon to grant [e]. e

*The pope commands in perſon.*

About this time a cartel was ſettled, and an exchange of priſoners made between the *French* and *Venetians*, in which the numbers appeared pretty equal, as likewiſe did their reciprocal complaints of hard uſage and cruelty. *Treviſano* the admiral, who commanded their fleet upon the *Po*, was baniſhed for three years on account of his miſconduct (C). He would have met with more ſevere puniſhment, ſays *Bembo*, had not the friends of other officers who likewiſe miſbehaved, zealouſly exerted themſelves in his behalf, fearing leſt the inquiry might become general. This year likewiſe an edict of the ſenate paſſed for recalling all perſons outlawed on account of murder or other crimes, on this condition, that they

[c] In Append. ad Hiſt. Venet. Justin. Edit. Gerem. [d] Bemb. l. 10. Guicc. l. 9. [e] Marian. l. 29.

(B) This anecdote we find mentioned by no author beſides *Mariana* (1), excepting in *Maximilian*'s own letters to the baron *Liechtenſtein*, to be found in a collection of letters by *Lewis* the twelfth, publiſhed by Mr. *Godfrey*, director of the chamber of accounts in *Liſle*. Theſe are *Maximilian*'s own words: "Quod quando ipſe intelligis, "ingenti pecuniæ ſumma quæ impendenda erit, geri "atque effici non poſſe, viſum nobis eſt é re fore noſtri pro- "poſiti, ut cardinalibus et proceribus aliis *Romanis* quos "ad res noſtras pertrahere ſatagimus, polliceamur, ac "ſpondeamus ter centum millia ducatorum â *Fuggeris* "mutuandorum et *Romæ* ab eorundem ponelcha ad con- "ſtitutum diem præſentandorum. Oppugnerabimus au- "tem illi (*Jacobo Seil. Fuggero Seniori.*) clenodiorum "noſtrorum pretioſiores quatuor ciſtos, verò pariter cum "pallio inveſtiturali qui non ad imperium, ſed ad no- "ſtrum domum *Auſtriacum* pertinet, et cujus nos, *poſt* "*adeptum papatum*, non amplius erit ut opus habeamus." *Lettres de* Louis xii. *p.* 326. *t.* 3. & *p.* 1. *t.* 4.

(C) He was permitted to return ſoon afterwards upon his promiſing to garriſon and defend *Padua* for a month at own charge. *Philip Moroſini*, who was impriſoned for having dangerouſly wounded his couſin in a duel, was ſet at liberty on paying into the treaſury ten pounds of gold (2). To ſo great diſtreſs was the republic reduced, and ſo low were the finances, that crimes were purchaſed with money, and the laws ſold by conſent of the legiſlators.

(1) *Hiſp. Hiſt. l.* 30. (2) *Bemb. l.* 10. *t.* 1. *p.* 422.

purchaſed

a purchaſed their pardon by a future regular conduct, and by ſerving the ſtate for ſix months at their own expence. Another law paſſed for raiſing the ſupplies by a tax on all who received daily, monthly, and annual penſions and pay, for mechanical ſervices to the ſtate: this was regulated in the proportion of a tenth of every man's income, if it exceeded a ſum ſpecified in the law. The council of ten paſſed a decree, entitling every citizen, who ſhould pay twenty pounds weight of gold into the treaſury, to the privileges of a ſenator for one year, except that of voting. This money might, after a time ſpecified in the act, be applied after their death to the payment of their debts, and other ſuch occaſions, ſo that it might be looked upon as a kind of loan to the public [f]. The decemvirs enacted another law, which was afterwards extended, viz. That no citizen whoſe ſon, bro-
b ther, nephew, or near relation was an eccleſiaſtic, ſhould be admitted into the ſenate when affairs which related to the pope and the church were debated. The intention of this law was to prevent the actions of the ſenate from being carried to the pope by thoſe who might, in hopes of preferment, be induced to betray the ſecrets of their country. *Bembo* ſays, that this law was repealed the next year, but we find it afterwards renewed.

EARLY this year a freſh attempt was made upon *Genoa*, at the inſtigation of the pope. It proved equally unſucceſsful with the former, and in its conſequences more unfortunate; for the *Venetian* fleet was in its return greatly damaged by a ſtorm, though none of the ſhips periſhed. *Verona* was alſo beſieged in form; but before a breach large enough to ſtorm the city could be effected, the garriſon was relieved by a ſtrong detachment from *Trivulcio*'s
c army, under the conduct of *Gaſton de Foix*, who ſoon after made priſoners of three hundred *Venetian* horſe [g]. *Attempt on* Genoa *unſucceſsful.*

*TRIVULCIO* in the mean time advanced to *Bologna*, where *Julius* then was. The *French* had a ſtrong party in the city, headed by the *Bentivoglios*, which induced *Trivulcio* to attempt the ſiege, and put the pope in great conſternation for its ſafety. Determined to do every thing in his power for the defence of *Bologna*, he ſent repeated orders to his general to come directly hither with his army, and, if poſſible, to gain a march upon *Trivulcio*. At the ſame time he aſſembled the chief citizens, reminding them of his kindneſs, exhorted, intreated, and animated them to a defence of their liberty, and the intereſt of the church. He was anſwered with aſſurances of zeal and affection for his perſon and the holy ſee;
d upon which he retired to *Ravenna*, not caring to hazard the iſſue of a ſiege, and fully perſuaded that the *Bologneſe* would be ſufficiently powerful to reſiſt *Trivulcio*. But he was no ſooner gone than they began to waver in their fidelity; ſome eſpouſed the cauſe of the *Bentivoglios*, who were in the intereſt of the *French*; others again continued attached to the church, and thus, before the arrival of the enemy, the city was almoſt deſtroyed by the civil diviſions of its own citizens. The cardinal *Pavia*, who was left governor, terrified at thoſe civil commotions, endeavoured to introduce a thouſand *Venetian* infantry into the city for his own defence, and to reinforce the pope's garriſon, which conſiſted of no more than three hundred light horſe and two thouſand foot; but being warmly oppoſed by the greater part of the inhabitants, he deſerted his government. Immediately the *Bentivoglio* faction
e took arms, ſeized upon the gates, ſent for the *Bentivoglios*, and introduced them with ſeveral troops of *French* horſe into the city: the *Venetians*, with great difficulty, made their eſcape by the paſſes through the mountains of *Romagnia*, leaving their cannon and baggage to the enemy [h]. French *take* Bologna.

INTELLIGENCE of the ſurrender of *Bologna* being received at *Venice*, orders were inſtantly ſent to *Gritti*, who was on the point of marching, to lay ſiege to *Legnano*, to drop that enterprize, to ſend the artillery on the *Po* with a detachment for the ſecurity of *Padua*, and to be watchful of the preſervation of the other towns and cities belonging to the republic; diſtributing his army in ſuch a manner, as to avoid ſurprize, and at the ſame time protect their dominions [i].

f *MAXIMILIAN* was all this time equally deſirous of revenging the late inſults of the *Venetian* peaſants, and irreſolute about the manner of proceeding. The expences of the war were great, and the means of continuing it afforded him by the diet but ſlender. After advancing to *Rovero* with his army he again returned to *Trent*, and there conferred with the *Venetian* commiſſioners, but without any intention of coming to a concluſion with them. The count de *Palice*, the general, was not idle; he took *Caſſelnuovo*, and then entering *Friuli*, almoſt reduced the whole province before the *Venetian* army arrived. At the approach of *Baillon* he retired to the *Milaneſe*, and was no ſooner gone, than the *Venetians* robbed him of all his conqueſts (D).

IN

[f] BEMB. l. 10. [g] BEMB. l. 11. [h] COCCIN. de Bell. Ital. 159. [i] MICEN. Bell. Ital. 159.

(D) *Coccinus* relates this tranſaction in another manner; according to him, *Palice*, who commanded the *French* troops in the *Veroneſe*, was ordered to obey *Maximilian*'s directions (for in fact the emperor had no army beſide-

A. D. 1512. *Treaty between the pope*, Ferdinand, *and the* Venetians.

In this manner ſtood affairs in *Italy* when *Julius*, by his intrigues, drew over the king of *Arragon* to his party, and prevailed upon him to ſign a treaty with him and the *Venetians* for their defence. The profeſſed intention of this alliance was to preſerve the unity of the church; exterminate the acts of the council of *Piſa*; recover the *Bologneſe*, *Ferrara*, and all the other pretended patrimony of the church; oppoſe all enemies to theſe reſolutions, leaving room for the emperor to engage in the alliance if he choſe it; and finally, to defend *Italy* againſt the encroachments of all ſtrangers and foreigners whatſoever. It was ſtipulated, that the allied army ſhould conſiſt of two thouſand five hundred men at arms, three thouſand light horſe, and twenty-four thouſand foot, in certain proportions ſpecified in the treaty. They were to be commanded by Don *Raymond de Cordoua*, viceroy of *Naples*, who was to take the field early the following ſpring [k]. a b

*The temporiſing conduct of* Maximilian.

We have obſerved, that *Maximilian* was greatly offended at the return of the *French* army to the *Milaneſe*. Though he had not a man in the field, or had not performed one article of his treaty with *Lewis*, yet was he highly diſpleaſed that *Palice* did not undertake the ſiege of *Treviſo*, and to the full extent obey his imperial mandate. *Maximilian*'s conduct on this occaſion verified the old ſaying, "That a man can never forgive the perſon "he has injured." He bitterly complained of *Lewis*, and was on the point of concluding a treaty with the kings of *England* and *Arragon* againſt *France*, when his natural inconſtancy ſuddenly checked his intention [l]. In the mean time the pope laboured to induce him to ſettle a truce with *Venice*, in order to pave the way for a treaty of alliance. While *Maximilian* perceived that the pope and *Venetians* were inferior in power to *France*, he paid his court to *Lewis*; but finding that the addreſs of *Julius* had engaged the courts of *Spain*, *England*, and *Venice*, in his quarrel, he only ſought a pretext for quarrelling with his old friend. He firſt complained that he had drawn no advantage from the league of *Cambray*; that the towns ſtipulated to be ceded to him were ſtill in the hands of the *Venetians*: he demanded that *Lewis* would reduce *Padua*, *Treviſo*, and the other places on the continent, to be annexed to the empire; that he would enter into a contract of marriage between *Renee* of *France*, his ſecond daughter, and the infant *Ferdinand*, the emperor's youngeſt ſon, and brother to the archduke *Charles*; that he would give her in dowry the dutchy of *Burgundy*, afterwards to be united to the imperial dominions; that he would conſent to have arbitrators choſen to determine the difference between the pope and *France* concerning the dutchy and city of *Ferrara*, the *Bologneſe*, and the validity of the council of *Piſa*; that the *French* governor of *Milan* (*Gaſton de Foix*) ſhould attack no place in *Italy*, or enter upon any enterprize, but with the conſent of a *German* prince he would ſend to *Milan* to preſide in the council; and laſtly, he demanded that *Lewis* would ſurrender all his conqueſts in *Italy*, the bare dutchy of *Milan* excepted. Propoſitions ſo extraordinary ſufficiently indicated the emperor's intention to break with *Lewis*: he hoped for great advantages from an alliance with the pope, the king of *Arragon*, and the *Venetians*, eſpecially as there was a proſpect that the king of *England* would accede: he now earneſtly deſired to become a party in the league, and actually embraced it on no other terms than a general and vague promiſe, that the dutchy of *Burgundy* and *Milan* ſhould be given to his youngeſt ſon *Ferdinand* of *Auſtria* [m]. c d e

But previous to this a variety of tranſactions paſſed in *Carniola* and *Iſtria*. *Chriſtopher Fragipan*, the emperor's lieutenant in *Iſtria*, made an attempt upon *Maglia*, which he hoped to terrify into ſubmiſſion: he came with a ſmall body of troops before the walls in the night, and ordering a great number of trumpets and warlike inſtruments to be ſounded, as if the town was inveſted by a numerous army, he immediately ſummoned the *Venetian* governor to ſurrender; but was anſwered that day-light muſt firſt diſcover his authority, upon which he thought proper to retire and conceal his weakneſs. The *French* likewiſe made an unſucceſsful attack upon *Treviglio*, from whence they were forced to retire with the beſides a body guard of about five thouſand horſe and foot). *Palice* took the field in *May*, and had no ſooner received his orders, than he acquainted the emperor with them, and intreated, that his imperial majeſty would put himſelf at the head of a corps not unworthy of his dignity either in numbers or valour. *Maximilian* declined the requeſt; but at the ſame time ordered him to diſlodge the *Venetians* from an advantageous poſt they poſſeſſed in the neighbourhood of the *Veroneſe*. Here they were entrenched, and their camp almoſt wholly ſurrounded by mountains and lakes. *Palice* knew it would be impoſſible to force them, although his army was four times their number, the *Venetians* not exceeding five thouſand horſe and foot, under the conduct of the brave *Guy Rangone*, a *French* refugee. He contrived therefore to cut off their proviſions, which forced *Rangone* to quit his ſituation, and retire towards *Friuli*. In his march he was attacked by the whole *French* army, and after a brave and obſtinate reſiſtance, defeated and made priſoner. Then it was that *Palice* entered *Friuli*, and purſued his conqueſts with extreme rapidity. Here it was that he received the emperor's commands to enter the *Treviſan*, and undertake the ſiege of the city, to which his ſtrength was by no means equal; and of this he informed the *French* king, who permitted him to retire to *Milan*. Upon his departure the whole province of *Friuli* returned to its allegiance: a circumſtance which determined *Maximilian* to enter upon new meaſures. *Coccin. Bell. Ital. p.* 159.

[k] Guic. l. 10. [l] Bemb. l. 11. [m] Pet. Justin. l. 11. Rainald.

a loſs of ſeveral hundred men, and ſome ſuperior officers [n] (E). The *Venetians* were very ſucceſsful in *Carniola* and *Iſtria*, not only in foiling the enemy's attempts to extend their conqueſts, but in reducing towns to the obedience of the republic. In the latter they took *Roſa*, one of the emperor's beſt officers, priſoner, notwithſtanding he had with unequal numbers defended himſelf with great valour (F). *Fragipane* a ſecond time took the field, and with greater force attacked *Maglia*, but he was defeated and wounded by *Andrea Curani*, who engaged him in ſingle combat, both armies being ſpectators. *Curani*, as ſoon as he was victorious, ordered his men to attack the imperialiſts, who were already diſpirited with the diſgrace of their leader, and ſoon obliged to quit the field. *Gradonico* was no leſs ſucceſsful againſt the *French* garriſon in *Cremona*; for going with a ſmall party to the walls, he
b ſummoned the inhabitants to ſurrender, telling them, that unleſs they expelled the *French* before his army arrived, he would lay the city in aſhes; a peremptory declaration, which produced the deſired effect, and occaſioned the immediate ſurrender of the city [o] (G).

*Succeſs of the Venetians.*

*MAXIMILIAN*, though he was deſirous of nothing more than being reconciled to the *Venetians*, and of joining in the league againſt the *French* king, yet he made a point of having four *Venetians* of diſtinction ſent to him as hoſtages for the ſincerity of the republic's performance of ſome very indefinite promiſes. The ſenate was at length prevailed upon by the pope to comply with this ridiculous demand. *Bembo*, indeed, alledges that the hoſtages were never ſent, nor do we find their names in any other hiſtorian [p]. Before this point was ſettled, the troops of *Arragon*, *Venice*, and the church, attacked *Baſtia* with great fury: the
c ſiege was carried on with more art, and nearer the modern cuſtom of making approaches, than any we find related before. The garriſon made an obſtinate defence; but the walls being levelled with the ground, the allies entered and put all indiſcriminately to the ſword. It was a few days afterwards recovered by *Alphonſo* duke of *Ferrara*, and the garriſon, conſiſting of two hundred *Spaniards*, made priſoners [q]. At length *Maximilian*, with great ſecrecy, ſigned the treaty with the pope, *Ferdinand*, and the *Venetians*; and, the better to conceal his deſign, ſuffered his troops ſtill to remain with the *French* army: he likewiſe endeavoured to apologize to the *French* ambaſſador for permitting the *Swiſs* to paſs ſix thouſand troops into *Italy* through his dominions; this, he ſaid, was in conſequence of a treaty with them A. 1499, though in fact the interpretation of the article alluded to was falſe. The
d approach of the *Swiſs*, the diſpoſition of the emperor, and the formidable army of the allies, obliged *Lewis* to offer terms of peace, which he would not have liſtened to a few months before; but they were rejected, and his army forced to ſecure itſelf in *Pavia* and other ſtrong towns [r].

Baſtia *beſieged and taken.*

Lewis *offers terms of peace.*

THE ſenate, at the inſtigation of *Avogari*, and upon an invitation from the inhabitants, who were tired of the *French* yoke, and deſirous of returning into the obedience of the republic, had formed a deſign of recovering *Breſcia*. *Avogari* wrote to the council of ten, that if an army was ſent before the city, he would ſecure an entrance and take poſſeſſion of the gates, which would facilitate the reduction of the citadel. Orders were in conſequence ſent to *Gritti* to march thither, and appear at a certain gate of the city at an hour agreed
e upon with *Avogari*: but, before his arrival, *Avogari*'s deſign and correſpondence were diſcovered by the wife of one of the faction enamoured of the *French* governor. *Avogari* made his eſcape out of the city, and raiſed a great army of peaſants, with which joining *Gritti*, the city was attacked, and their efforts being ſeconded by the inhabitants, the *French* were

[n] BEMB. l. 11. [o] BEMB. l. 12. [p] BEMB. ibid. [q] COCCIN. Bell. Ital. p. 164. [r] GUIC. l. 11.

(E) This year was choſen a new magiſtrate at *Venice*, to preſide in chief over national affairs, have a ſeat in the privy-council of the doge, in the ſenate, and council of ten, where he was to make a ſeparate report of the ſtate of the navy. The firſt perſon elected was *Antonio Trono*, a procurator of St. *Mark's*. Warm conteſts aroſe about the election of a governor of *Cyprus*, there being a great number of candidates for that lucrative and honourable employment: G. *Gradonico* was at laſt elected (1).

(F) About this time the ſenate beſtowed lands and particular privileges on the inhabitants of *Belluni*, and other cities who had diſtinguiſhed their fidelity to the republic. *Belluni*, beſides ſome extraordinary honours, was preſented with fifty acres of ground, as an addition to its diſtrict. Some particular acts concerning trade paſſed in the ſenate. Among others, it was reſolved to keep a reſident or conſul, at the expence of the public, at *Alexandria*, with a ſalary of 3lb. of gold *per* month, together with a ſhip of war to conduct him to *Egypt* (2).

(G) This year, according to *Sanſovino*, died the queen of *Cyprus* at *Venice*, of a ſudden diſorder with which ſhe was ſeized. By means of her death the kingdom of *Cyprus* became inſeparably annexed to the *Venetian* dominions. *Catharine* had indeed, in conſequence of the artful conduct of her brother, rather than from inclination, made a ſolemn ſurrender of her rights to the republic ſome years before; but ſtill with a reſervation of the title of ſovereign, and of the affections of her ſubjects. The penſion ſettled upon her by the republic was great, and agreeable to her dignity; but ſtill ſhe languiſhed and pined after authority, the ſituation of a ſubject not being very agreeable to the diſpoſition of a lady who had long been uſed to ſovereign power. She was interred with great magnificence by the public; and a beautiful tomb erected to her memory by that brother who had prevailed on her to abdicate the crown.

(1) *Bemb. l.* 12. *p.* 490. (2) *Bemb. l.* 12. *p.* 492. *t.* 1.

Breſcia *taken by the* Venetians.

conſtrained to ſurrender the town and citadel at diſcretion. All the inhabitants on the lake *La Garda*, the country adjacent, and the mountains, returned to their allegiance, and the republic once more became miſtreſs of the *Breſcian*[s]. In *Breſcia* were made priſoners above two thouſand foot and five hundred horſe; and its conqueſt was ſucceeded by other very ſignal advantages. *La Palice*, finding himſelf too weak to defend the *Milaneſe*, retired to *Piſqueltana*, and from thence to *Pavia*; while the *Venetians*, with the *Swiſs* auxiliaries, after the reduction of *Valegia* and *Peſcara*, purſued their conqueſts. *Caravaggio* and *Soncino* were taken; but inſtead of admitting the *Venetians*, as it was ſtipulated in the treaty, into the latter, the cardinal *de Sion* garriſoned it with his own forces. *Bergamo* and the *Bergameſe*, with all the towns, forts, and caſtles, upon the *Adda*, ſubmitted to the republic. a

A. D. 1513.

Milan, Parma, &c. *ſubmit to the pope*, Venetians, *and* Ferdinand.

At *Pavia La Palice* was joined by *Trivulcio*, but the army being entirely compoſed of cavalry, they were ſtill unable to cope with the allies, who were advancing by long marches. In their rout the confederates received the ſubmiſſion of *Milan*, *Legnano*, *Parma*, *Placentia*, and other places; and the *Venetians* even brought about a revolution in *Genoa*, from whence the *French* were driven. *Coma*, *Crema*, *Bologna*, and *Pavia*, were at length ſurrendered: nor did *Maximilian* determine to ſupport the league, although he had ſigned it, until he ſaw the *French* almoſt totally expelled from *Italy*. He urged a thouſand difficulties, and inſiſted upon high terms with the *Venetians*, who were then not to be terrified into conceſſions. The biſhop of *Gurtz*, the imperial envoy, had the addreſs to gain over *Julius* to his maſter's intereſt. *Maximilian* demanded *Verona* and *Vincenza* to be ceded in perpetuity to him, and homage done him by the *Venetians* for *Friuli*, and the places to which he pretended a prior right. He was peremptory in his demand, and the republic no leſs poſitive in her refuſal, although the pope menaced them with ſpiritual and temporal vengeance. *Julius* finding them obſtinate, ſtruck up a ſeparate treaty with *Maximilian*, and endeavoured to engage the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador to accede to his meaſures; but this he abſolutely denied, under pretence of having no inſtructions for that purpoſe[t]. b c

## SECT VI.

*Containing the Treaty with* Lewis *the Twelfth, and Motives which induced the Republic to this Alliance; the Progreſs of the War in* Italy; *the Acceſſion of* Charles *the Fifth and* Francis *the Firſt to the Imperial and* French *Crowns; their Rivalſhip and Renewal of the War in* Italy, *together with its Conſequences to the* Venetians.

Venetians *enter into a treaty with* Lewis.

To fortify themſelves againſt this new alliance, the republic entered into a treaty, defenſive and offenſive, with *Lewis* the twelfth, by means of *Andrea Gritti*, then a priſoner in *France*. It was agreed that the *Milaneſe*, the *Cremoneſe*, and the country of *Ghiaradadda*, ſhould belong to the king, who was to cede all claim upon the *Bergameſe*, *Breſcian*, and other provinces, then in poſſeſſion of the *Venetians*. This treaty was to remain in full force, and the parties were mutually to aſſiſt each other with all their forces, until the *Milaneſe* and its dependencies were recovered by *Lewis*, and the *Venetians* reinſtated in all their former poſſeſſions on the continent. *Julius*, hearing that ſuch a treaty was in agitation, ſent ambaſſies and acknowledgments to *Venice* of his ſorrow for having broke off his alliance with the republic; but died of a ſlow fever before he had taken any meaſures to regain their confidence[u]. Thus died pope *Julius* the ſecond, equally deſerving of admiration and eſteem for his good ſenſe, firmneſs, erudition, and the protection he afforded to men of learning; of hatred and contempt for the ambition, avarice, cunning, and intrigue, which diſtinguiſhed his pontificate. d

*Pope dies.*

e

French *recover* Breſcia.

A few months before this treaty and the pope's death, a detachment from *Trivulcio*'s army recovered *Breſcia*; upon which occaſion *Avogari*, the ſtrenuous aſſerter of the republic's claim, was put to death. The *Venetians* made another attempt upon it, which proved unſucceſsful; and it was at laſt taken from the *French* by the *Spaniſh* troops a few days before the treaty between *Lewis* and the republic was ſigned[w].

Leo X. *made pope.*

*LEO* the tenth being raiſed to the pontificate, purſued the views of his predeceſſor, that of humbling the power of *France*; but in a manner different from *Julius*. He was no ſooner raiſed to the pontificate than, under pretence of acquainting *Henry* the eighth with his exaltation, he addreſſed a brief to him, intimating his intention to adhere to the league with the emperor and the king of *Arragon*, and deſire of contracting a freſh alliance with *England*. At the ſame time he was ſtriving to reconcile *Maximilian* with the republic, and to diſengage the latter from *France*. All thoſe practices could not long be concealed from *Lewis*: *Leo* became ſuſpected; in conſequence of which *Lewis* united himſelf more cloſely with the *Venetians*. All the endeavours of the pope could not prevail on the republic to de- f

[s] Bemb. 12. [t] Bemb. ibid. [u] Paolo Paruta, l. 1. [w] Guic. l. 12.

ſert

a ſert her allies: inſtead of yielding to his remonſtrances, or joining with the ſtronger party, ſhe preſſed *Lewis* to haſten reinforcements into *Italy*, in order to ſtrike ſome blow of conſequence before the enemy was prepared. Immediately twenty thouſand *French* under *Tremouille* and *Trivulcio* were ordered to join the *Venetian* army upon the frontiers of *Italy*. The republic's army conſiſted of eight thouſand foot, one thouſand five hundred men at arms, and five hundred light horſe, under the conduct of *Bartolemeo Alviana*, and the two proveditors *Contareni* and *Loretano*. *Alviana* determined to make an attempt upon *Verona*, altho' he had the ſenate's orders to paſs the river *Adda*: for this purpoſe he began a clandeſtine correſpondence with ſome of the inhabitants, which being diſcovered fruſtrated the enterprize: but he had the good fortune to balance this unſucceſsful attempt by the reduction of *Valegia*,
b *Peſcara*, and *Cremona*[b]. In this latter he erected the enſign of *France*, ſaying, that he held it for *Lewis*: but the *Venetian* affairs wore a different aſpect in the *Vincentine* and *Veroneſe*. *Alviana* was no ſooner departed thence than *Roccondolph*, an imperial general, and *Gonſalvo*, an *Arragonian*, draughting ſome men from the garriſon of *Verona* and other towns, attacked and defeated *Cavalla* and *Fortino*, whom *Alviana* had left there with a body of one thouſand horſe and foot. The defeat was ſo total, that the enemy, purſuing the *Venetians* to *Colognia*, entered the town with them, made them all priſoners, and ſeized upon the garriſon. Elated with this ſucceſs, they formed an enterprize upon *Vincenza*, which was rendered abortive by the vigilance of the governor[c].

Venetians *worſted in the* Veroneſe.

COMMOTIONS were excited in the city of *Milan*, and the whole *Milaneſe*, upon the arrival
c of *Alviana*, and intelligence that the *French* army had paſſed the *Alps*. A few months ago only they rejoiced at the expulſion of *Lewis*'s troops and the reſtoration of the *Sforzas*; but not reaping the expected advantages, they now again panted after a *French* governor: upon this *Maximilian Sforza* retired to *Novara*, there to wait for a body of *Swiſs*, on their march for the defence of *Milan*. His departure afforded a free acceſs to the *Venetians*; while *Trivulcio* entered the *Milaneſe* on the other ſide, and in a ſhort ſpace intirely reduced it to obedience. *Ronzo de Cera*, going with a body of *Venetians* to *Breſcia*, ſummoned the city, and had it immediately put into his hands, the *Spaniſh* ſoldiers finding themſelves unable to ſtand a ſiege, both on account of their weakneſs, and the ſtrong affection the inhabitants ſhewed for the republic[d].

Breſcia *ſurrenders to the* Venetians.

d DURING this ſtate of affairs, the *Swiſs* were aſſembling in great numbers upon the frontiers; but the *French*, making light of enemies unprovided with cannon and magazines, whom they imagined they could purchaſe over with money, went and laid ſiege to *Novara*, inſtead of attacking the *Spaniſh* army, which they might have defeated before reinforcements could arrive. *Gritti* ſtrongly remonſtrated againſt this ſtep, and was ſeconded by the opinion of the ſenate; but it availed not; the *French* undertook the ſiege, trifled away ſeveral days before the walls, and were at laſt compelled to abandon the enterprize. The ſiege was no ſooner raiſed than ten thouſand *Swiſs* entered *Novara*, and there formed the reſolution of ſurpriſing the *French* camp, which was pitched within three leagues of the city. They ſet out in the evening, and, arriving before day-light, attacked the *French* ſo unex-
e pectedly, and with ſo much reſolution, that they were entirely broken and diſperſed[e].

THIS defeat was attended with fatal conſequences to the republic, of which the firſt inſtance was an intire revolution in *Milan*, and the abſolute reſtoration of the *Sforzas*. The viceroy of *Naples* marched to *Cremona*, with intention to attack the *Venetians*; but *Alviana*, apprehending he might be ſhut up between the *Spaniſh* and *Swiſs* armies, abandoned the *Cremoneſe*, retiring to the *Veroneſe*: here he determined to lay ſiege to *Verona*; and while he was thus employed, the enemy became maſters of *Cremona*, *Breſcia*, and *Bergamo*. The tables were now turned upon the *French* and *Venetians*, who were no leſs unfortunate towards the end, than they had been ſucceſsful in the beginning of the campaign. *Alviana* continued to batter *Verona* with great fury, and had at laſt opened a breach of forty yards,
f which he ordered to be ſtormed. The defence and attack were both vigorous, and ſtrongly ſupported by both parties. As the wall was exceeding high on the town ſide, the *Venetians* fought to great diſadvantage on account of the depth of the deſcent; beſides, the garriſon amounted to four thouſand choice troops, *Germans* and *Swiſs*. After great loſs of blood, *Alviana*, perceiving that the inhabitants, as he expected, did not ſtir in his favour, ſounded a retreat. His chagrin at this diſappointment made him raiſe the ſiege, and lay waſte the whole country, in hopes thereby to excite the *Veronois* to a revolt[f]. But the approach of the *Spaniſh* army obliged him to retire beyond the river *Adice*, where he took every meaſure to ſtrengthen his army, and oppoſe the enemy. For the ſecurity of *Treviſo* he ſent a ſtrong detachment under *Baillon*, leading in perſon the main body towards *Padua*.

Alviana *ſtorms* Verona, *and is repulſed.*

g IN the mean time *Leo* the tenth renewed the ſubject of peace between the emperor and the republic. He did not doubt but *Maximilian* would liſten to reaſonable terms, as by

[a] GUIC. ibid. [b] PARUTA, l. 1. [c] BEMB. Epiſt. l. 3. [d] PARUTA, l. 1. [e] FUGGER, l. 6. [f] PARUTA, l. 1.

the

the friendſhip of the *Venetians* he would more eaſily procure *Burgundy* for his grandſon. On the other hand, he imagined, that the defeat of the *French*; the little probability that *Lewis*, who was likely to find ſufficient employment at home, could for that year ſend another army into *Italy*; the approach of the *Spaniſh* army; the lowneſs of their finances, together with the great want of ſoldiers, particularly infantry, would induce the *Venetians* to forſake *Lewis*, and be reconciled to *Maximilian*: but rational as theſe conjectures were, yet they fell ſhort of truth. The ſenate would hearken to no terms until *Vicenza* and *Verona* were yielded to the republic: on the contrary, they warmly ſolicited *Lewis* to recruit his army, aſſuring him of their fidelity, and ſincere regard for every article of the treaty. They, at the ſame time, exhorted him to a reconciliation with the pope; in which they fell in with the ſentiments of the whole *French* nation. *Lewis* promiſed aſſiſtance; but he took more immediate ſteps to gain the friendſhip of his holineſs. For this purpoſe he ſent the biſhop of *Marſeilles*, in quality of plenipotentiary, to *Rome*, inſtructing him to aſſure *Leo*, that he had revoked the decrees of the council of *Piſa*, and would permit no other than thoſe of the *Lateran*, to teſtify his reverence for his holineſs, for the apoſtolic ſee, and his determination to defend the church with all his power againſt all enemies whatſoever. The republic likewiſe ſent an ambaſſy of ten chief magiſtrates and ſenators, ordering their reſident at *Rome* to attend all the ſittings of the *Lateran*. But the reception they met convinced the ſenate of the pope's diſlike to the republic. He ſeverely chaſtiſed the ambaſſadors; taxed the *Venetians* with having brought back the *French* into *Italy*; and even inſinuated his ſuſpicion of their having formed a deſign to recover *Romagnia*. Inſtead therefore of affording them any marks of regard, as the ſenate expected, he ſent the emperor the body of troops ſtipulated in the treaty [g]. It was now apparent that nothing but vigour could ſave the ſtate; the republic therefore applied herſelf to levying forces, equipping a fleet, raiſing money, and forming magazines. *Alviana*, who was encamped on the banks of the *Adice*, receiving intelligence that the *Spaniſh* army was proceeding towards *Padua*, and that *Colonna*, after being joined by the pope's forces, was in full march to attack him, croſſed the river, and encamped at *Montagno*, as well for his own ſecurity as the protection of *Padua* and *Treviſo*. By this retreat the poſſeſſion of *Rovigo* fell into the enemies hands, together with the town of *Peſcara* and all the garriſon. In the mean time the biſhop of *Gurtz*, coming to the *Spaniſh* army, ſtrongly adviſed the ſiege of *Padua*, which, he ſaid, would be giving the *Venetians* a mortal blow, and ſecuring the emperor in the poſſeſſion of all the towns to which he laid claim. The viceroy, and other officers, joined with him in opinion concerning the importance of the conqueſt; but repreſenting the difficulty and hazard of beſieging a city ſo well fortified and provided: however, the biſhop perſevering in his opinion, the ſiege was undertaken. *Alviana* had already ſent his baggage and artillery to *Padua*, that he might with the greater expedition throw himſelf into the city, or *Treviſo*, as the ſituation of things might require; he now reſolved to enter *Padua* with his army, and to defend it with the laſt drop of his blood. Courage nor conduct he wanted not; but there was a fire and impetuoſity in his temper that fitted him to execute with rapidity rather than deliberate with prudence. Although the city was already ſufficiently garriſoned againſt a greater force than the enemy could bring, yet the ſenate, knowing its importance, ſent a reinforcement of new levies of *Venetians* and *Iſtrians*, together with a ſtrong convoy of ammunition and ſtores. *Alviana* ordered all the trees, houſes, and every thing that could ſhelter the enemy, to be cut down and razed for a mile's diſtance round the city, which rendered the approaches difficult, as they were greatly expoſed to his cannon. This circumſtance, the vigorous ſallies of the beſieged, and ſmallneſs of the enemy's army to inveſt a town of ſo great extent as *Padua*, made their operations ſlow, and ſhewed the officers the abſurdity of the attempt, although the biſhop ſtill adhered to his ſentiments. As they were likewiſe deſtitute of pioneers, and that a deep trench was neceſſary to ſcreen the ſoldiers from the enemy's fire, it was at laſt determined to remonſtrate to the biſhop, and if he ſtill remained obſtinate, to ſave the army, and acquaint the emperor with the circumſtances and occaſion of their conduct. Thus, after continuing twenty days before *Padua*, they abandoned the ſiege without erecting a battery, or firing a ſhot, and took the road of *Vincenza*, which was deſerted on their approach by the *Venetian* magiſtrates and the principal inhabitants. Here they made plunder of every thing ſacred and prophane, rather from neceſſity than any diſpoſition to rapine; for the army was entirely ſupported by plunder [h].

*The ſenate reſolves to puſh the war.*

*The viceroy of* Naples *lays ſiege to* Padua.

*Siege of* Padua *raiſed.*

THE viceroy permitted his troops to make incurſions even within ſight of *Venice*, and even took an opportunity of inſulting that capital, by ordering ſome cannon to be diſcharged at the city. *Alviana*, ſhut up in *Padua*, could no longer endure this preſumption; he ſolicited, begged, and intreated the ſenate for permiſſion to ſally out upon the enemy,

[g] GUIC. l. 11. PARUTA, l. 1. [h] GUIC. l. 11. MARIAN. l. 3. p. 92;

a but was denied and ordered to keep within the walls, they being determined rather to undergo affronts than to run hazards upon so critical a conjuncture. At last *Alviana*'s pressing instances prevailed, and he had leave to take the first favourable opportunity that offered for attacking the enemy. In consequence he marched out of the city, sending to *Baillon* who commanded in *Treviso*, to join him with a reinforcement: his design was to cut off the enemy's return to *Vincenza*; for which purpose he seized on the avenues leading to *Barberana*, ordering the peasants at the same time to block up the passes to *Germany* with felled trees, trenches, and strong intrenchments. *Alviana* encamped with the main body at *Olma*, on the road from *Vincenza* to *Verona*, there resolving to wait for the enemy. The viceroy was come within four miles of the *Venetian* camp, and finding all the passes guard-
b ed, and that he was blocked up in a country destitute of every necessary for the support of an army, resolved, after a variety of consultations, to open a path by the sword. As the dangers to which they were exposed could not long be concealed from the soldiers, he thought it most adviseable to acquaint them with the circumstances, and exhort them to their duty as the only means left of safety. His discourse was so spirited and animating, that the soldiers cried out to be led against the enemy, promising to acquit themselves in a manner worthy of the troops of so brave a general. It was not, however, the viceroy's intention to attack *Alviana*, whose camp he knew was advantageously situated and well fortified, but to force a way by *Bassana*. He decamped without beat of drum, taking the advantage of a thick fog, and had marched some miles before *Alviana* suspected his being
c in motion: upon this notice the *Venetians* were ordered to pursue and attack the enemy's rear, which they did with great fury, but in good order: they were received by *Prospero Colonna* with equal resolution, who, finding himself hard pushed, sent to the viceroy for reinforcements. The battle continued obstinate for an hour, when suddenly the *Venetians* were seized with a panic, put in disorder, and totally routed, in spite of all the endeavours of *Alviana* to rally and bring them back to the charge. All the baggage and artillery were lost, and about four thousand *Venetians* killed or made prisoners. *Alviana* himself performed miracles of valour, was every where present, animating, exhorting, and menacing his troops; but nothing was able to surmount their unaccountable terrors, by which alone they were overcome (A). So sensible was the senate of *Alviana*'s valour, that upon
d receiving news of the defeat, they sent an ambassador to console and assure him of their sense of his merit and good conduct: but their behaviour to several of the inferior officers was different, whom they cashiered and punished with other marks of infamy [i].

*The Venetians defeated.*

*ALVIANA* was no less affected with the goodness of the senate than with his defeat; but resolving, after their example, bravely to sustain a misfortune with which he could not charge himself, he took measures for securing *Padua* and *Treviso*. The doge *Loretano* exhibited manifold instances of firmness, intrepidity, and affection for the state. After exhorting the senate to bear up with spirit under their misfortunes, he told them, that now offered an opportunity to shew their fortitude and zeal for their country: that, for his part,
e make use of his private purse in the same manner they would the public treasury. It all belonged to the republic, he said, and the man who had not gratitude to return it, when wanted, deserved not to live. Nor was this all; he had two sons, he said, who could never die more gloriously than in the cause of *Venice*; he therefore ordered they would directly set out as volunteers to *Treviso* and *Padua*. All the senators were greatly moved with the generosity and affection of the doge, and their conduct plainly shewed what great things the example and influence of a prince can effect. A contribution for levying a new army was raised among them, which soon became general all over the city, and demonstrated that private coffers were not empty, however languid and exhausted might be the state of the treasury [k].

*A voluntary contribution raised in* Venice *for the support of the war.*

[i] Paolo Paruta, l. 1. Guicc. ibid. [k] Baron. ad An. 1514.

(A) *Mariana* acknowledges that the *Venetian* cavalry broke through all opposition, and totally disordered *Colonna*; but pushed their success too far. While they were in the pursuit, *Roccondolph* attacked the infantry with fresh troops. The *Venetians*, though greatly inferior, and tired with the former charge, received him with obstinate vigour, in expectation of being supported by the cavalry; but finding that they did not return, imagining they were deserted, a panic seized them, which not all the endeavours of the general could conquer. The same historian says, that the *Venetians* left upon the field four hundred men at arms, and four thousand foot and light horse; that *Baillon* and *Loretano*, the proveditors, were taken prisoners, with a great number of other officers; and that, in consequence of the victory, the citadel of *Milan* and *Vicenza* surrendered to the conquerors: in short, that the *French* were dispossessed of all they held in *Italy* (1).

(1) *Marian. Hist. l.* 30. *p.* 97, 98.

BUT the conduct of *Proſpero Colonna* tended more to the preſervation of *Treviſo* than all a
the preparations of the republic. After the late victory it was propoſed by the viceroy in
council that *Treviſo* ſhould be inveſted; but *Colonna*, beginning to apprehend danger to the
ballance of power in *Italy*, from the ruin of the *Venetian* ſtate, had influence and addreſs
enough to get this reſolution procraſtinated: his excuſe was the difficulty of the attempt,
and hazard of abandoning it with equal ſhame as they had done *Padua*. It was, therefore,
determined to wait the arrival of the biſhop of *Gurck*, and to be directed by his opinion:
this took up the ſpace of near a month, and not only gave the *Venetians* time to provide for
the ſecurity of the city, but rendered the attempt impracticable on account of the approach
of the winter.

*Negotiations ſet on foot by* Leo.

THE rigour of the ſeaſon prevented the armies from keeping the field, negociations, b
therefore, were ſet on foot by *Leo* for a peace between *Maximilian* and the republic. *Leo*
had it always in view to prevent *Lewis* from recovering the *Milaneſe*: he was no leſs
anxious leſt it ſhould come into the hands of the houſe of *Auſtria*, and dreaded every
overture towards a marriage between *Renée* of *France* and *Charles* of *Auſtria*. He even en-
deavoured to bring about a reconciliation between *Lewis* and the *Swiſs*, in order that the
king might be leſs inclined to accept terms from the emperor and *Henry* the eighth; and
he wiſhed to ſee the *French* monarch ratify that article of the treaty of *Dijon* which re-
garded the duchy of *Milan*: but all he could effect was to prevail on him to accept a truce
for three years in reference to the *Milaneſe*; and on the cantons of *Switzerland* to ſuſpend
the effects of their enmity to *France* [l]. c

SEEING, therefore, that little could be done in this way, he turned to the ſide of the
*Venetians*, and reſumed the negociations between them and the emperor: he was ſenſible
that *Lewis* could not be effectually excluded from the *Milaneſe* but by the aſſiſtance of the
*Venetians*, at leaſt not while they were in his alliance. *Ferdinand*, having notice of the ne-
gociations with the *Swiſs*, and fearing leſt he ſhould be left unſupported, concluded a truce

*Truce between* Ferdinand *and* Lewis.

for one year with *France*, in which was a ſecret clauſe, that *Lewis* ſhould not attack the
*Milaneſe* during the year 1514. The pope, who was ignorant of this clauſe, apprehended
that *Ferdinand* might have ceded the *Milaneſe* to *Lewis*; in conſequence, therefore, he was
indefatigable in bringing about a reconciliation between *Maximilian* and the *Venetians*. By

*Compromiſe between* Maximilian *and the* Venetians.

mere dint of ſolicitation, he wrought ſo far on both parties, as to conſent to accede to a d
ceſſation of hoſtilities for a year, in order to adjuſt preliminaries. *Leo*, by a writing under
his hand, promiſed not to pronounce ſentence but with the conſent of both parties [m].

THE reconciliation, however, was equally obſtructed by the breach of the truce on both
ſides. When the ſeaſon permitted, the pretenſions of each either roſe or ſunk according as
they were ſucceſsful in the field: when the *Venetians* were hard preſſed, then would they
A. D. 1514. conſent to yield *Verona* to the emperor; but he inſiſted upon *Padua*, *Treviſo*, and *Vicen-*
*za* likewiſe. Upon any change of fortune, the republic would hearken to no terms in
which *Verona* was not included. *Leo* perceiving this, propoſed that both parties ſhould
lay down their arms; that *Maximilian* ſhould depoſit in truſt to him *Vicenza*, and what- e
ever the *Spaniſh* army had conquered in the *Treviſan* and *Paduan*; that the republic
ſhould do the ſame with regard to *Cremaſco*, and beſides pay to the emperor the ſum of
fifty thouſand crowns; but that this agreement ſhould be void, if the principals of both
parties did not ratify what their ambaſſadors had ſigned. The *Venetians* objected to this
propoſal, from a perſuaſion that in the preſent ſtate of affairs a truce would be more pre-
judicial to them than the continuation of the war. Piqued at their refuſal, *Leo* ſent *Co-*
*lonna* and *Savelli* to inveſt *Crema*; but *Rence di Ceri*, the brave governor, ſallying out de-
feated *Savelli* and the pope's forces, which obliged *Colonna* to raiſe the ſiege and retire to
*Romagnia* [n].

A. D. 1514. IN the beginning of this year the ſenate ſent an ambaſſador to the Grand Seignior, to pre- f
vent his coming to a rupture with the republic. Their apprehenſions from that quarter
were ſoon quieted, on *Selim*'s march into *Aſia* againſt the ſophi, and the war carrying on
with *Achmet* his brother. As ſoon as the negociations broke off, hoſtilities commenced in
*Friuli*. *Alviana*, after taking ſome towns from the emperor, inſtead of amuſing himſelf

Alviana *defeats the emperor's forces.*

with repairing the fortifications, made a forced march, and attacked the enemy's head-
quarters at a time when they expected he was at the diſtance of twenty leagues: here he
revenged his defeat in the laſt campaign, having totally diſperſed the enemy, and taken two
thouſand priſoners. From hence he marched againſt *Moran*, a place taken in the winter
by the *Germans*; but this expedition was fruitleſs: he made ſeveral brave aſſaults, but the
enemy was well provided, the garriſon ſtrong, and the *Venetians* forced to relinquiſh the g
enterprize. Some hiſtorians ſay, that *Alviana*'s rear was roughly handled in his retreat.

[l] SPALATIN. vit. Leon. GUICC. l. 12. [m] PARUTA, l. 1. [n] FUGGER. l. 6.

a Diſappointed before *Moran*, he yet had the good fortune to ſeize upon the traitor who had occaſioned its loſs, whom he ſent to *Venice*, where he was hung up by the heels until he expired.

AFTER *Alviana*'s retreat, the *Swiſs* and *Germans* attacked and took *Udina* at the firſt aſſault, it being entirely deſtitute of a garriſon and neceſſaries. Hence they marched to *Oſopo*, which they battered with incredible fury but little ſucceſs; upon which they determined to turn the ſiege into a blockade, hearing that the garriſon was in want of water; but this attempt was likewiſe rendered abortive by ſome heavy ſhowers of rain that ſupplied the beſieged. *The* Swiſs *take* Udina.

THE ſenate, appriſed of the conſequence of *Moran* to the republic, ordered *Savogarni* b and the proveditor *Vitturi* to make a ſecond attempt. Theſe two officers marched to the ſiege with five thouſand horſe and foot, formed trenches, erected batteries, and got every thing in forwardneſs to give an aſſault, when an order of the ſenate came, that they ſhould run no hazards, or riſque the ſafety of the army. In conſequence of this, ſeveral days were loſt before the town in an irreſolute manner; during which the *Swiſs* and *Germans* aſſembling, attacked the quarters of *Vitturi*, defeated and took him priſoner. This loſs was in ſome meaſure compenſated by *Ceri*, who ſallying out of *Crema* upon *Savelli*, put him to flight with conſiderable loſs, and opened the way for throwing ſuccours into the city, which had long been greatly diſtreſſed with famine and a plague. *Ceri*, not contented with relieving *Crema*, attacked and took *Bergamo*; but not being able to ſpare a garriſon, it was ſoon c retaken by the *Spaniards*. After this he went to *Venice*, leaving the command of the garriſon with *Giovanni Urſini*, where he was received with great marks of diſtinction and eſteem [o]. Venetians *defeated.*

IN the mean time *Leo* X. was alarmed with *Selim*'s return from *Aſia*, and his great preparations by ſea and land. Thoſe armaments, he doubted not, were intended againſt *Italy*; and among all the chriſtian powers, he ſaw none who could ſtop the torrent beſides the emperor and the *Venetians*. To make them act with vigour againſt the common enemy, it was abſolutely neceſſary to make them friends; a point he had often laboured to no purpoſe. However, he reſolved not to deſiſt from an attempt in which *Italy* in particular, and the liberties of *Europe* were intereſted. He ſent legates and nuncios to *Maximilian* and d *Venice*, to effect, if poſſible, a reconciliation. *Pietro Bembo*, a *Venetian*, then ſecretary to *Leo*, and the elegant hiſtorian of the republic, was appointed to negotiate this important affair. *Leo* knew his addreſs, and the eſteem in which he was held by the ſenate. Although *Bembo* was received with the utmoſt kindneſs, and had conducted himſelf with all poſſible addreſs, he could terminate nothing. The ſenate in private communicated to him their ſentiments of the propoſed alliance, and their ſuſpicions of *Maximilian* and *Ferdinand*; at the ſame time aſſuring him of their ſenſe of the goodneſs of *Leo*'s intentions. *Bembo* took his leave, and found at *Rome* the other nuncio returned from *Maximilian* with as little ſucceſs [p]. On his departure the ſenate ſent ambaſſadors to *Lewis* the twelfth and *Henry* the eighth, to congratulate them on their late peace and alliance; to thank them for the favourable mention e of the republic made in the treaty; to requeſt *Lewis* to ſend ſuccours into *Italy*; and to aſſure him of their intention literally to adhere to their treaty with *France*. Before the arrival of the ambaſſy, *Lewis* died on the firſt day of *January* 1515. Lewis *the twelfth dies.*

HIS death was not attended with thoſe conſequences to the republic which were apprehended; for the duke of *Valois*, who ſucceeded to the crown by the name of *Francis* the firſt, was determined, as to the affairs of *Italy*, to tread in the ſteps of his predeceſſor, though he did not declare his intentions. *Dandolo*, the *Venetian* ambaſſador, was received by *Francis* publicly with ſtiffneſs and ceremony; but privately with great cordiality, inſomuch that the treaty was renewed, with ſome clauſes of a ſtricter amity than before. In *England* the miniſters of the republic met with equal ſucceſs, *Henry* aſſuring them of his friendſhip; and f that he would uſe his influence with *Francis* to haſten his departure for *Italy* [q]. A. D. 1515. Francis *the firſt renews the treaty with the* Venetians.

THE great object of the ſenate's policy was to raiſe the ſupplies for the war they were reſolved to purſue. The treaſury was exhauſted; commerce languiſhing, and private perſons tired of contributions. A variety of ſchemes were propoſed, each of which had its difficulties, and produced warm debates. At laſt, a poll-tax in proportion to every man's property, the higheſt not exceeding three hundred crowns, was decreed, and three commiſſioners appointed to regulate and levy the money. A confiſcation of goods was the penalty annexed either to concealing property or deficiency in payment; which was found to be neceſſary, as large ſums were due to the public from the laſt aſſeſſments.

IN the mean time *Francis* the firſt was making great preparations. As he was a prince g of courage and ambition, the eyes of *Europe* were upon him, not doubting but he had

[o] PARUTA, l. 12. BEMB. Ep. l. 6. [p] PETR. de Angl. Epiſ. 543. [q] PARUTA, l. 2. [r] GUICC. l. 12

formed

formed vaſt projects. He gave out, that his intention was to chaſtiſe the *Swiſs* for their irruption into *Burgundy* in the late reign; but *Maximilian* and *Leo* ſuſpected other deſigns. *Ferdinand* apprehended that his preparations were deſtined againſt *Navarre*, and *Maximilian Sforza* dreaded they might tend to deprive him of *Milan*. As to *Ferdinand*, his doubts were removed when *Francis* demanded a prolongation of the truce between him and *Lewis* the twelfth, on condition that the ſecret article belonging to the *Milaneſe* ſhould be void. He rejected this propoſal, and made it the means of engaging *Maximilian* and the *Swiſs* cantons in a league for the defence of the *Milaneſe*. A treaty was accordingly concluded between *Maximilian*, *Ferdinand*, the *Swiſs* cantons, and *Maximilian Sforza*, with room left for the pontiff to accede within a limited time. *Ferdinand*, whoſe chief view was the defence of *Navarre*, engaged to make a powerful diverſion on the ſide of *Fontarabia*. The *Swiſs* were to enter *Burgundy*, while the emperor, by purſuing the war in the *Venetian* dominions, ſhould prevent their aſſiſting *Francis*. It was ſtipulated to pay the *Swiſs* forty thouſand crowns *per* month, and not to conclude peace with *France*, until the king had renounced his pretenſions upon *Milan* [r].

*The emperor*, Ferdinand, *the* Swiſs, *and* Sforza, *enter into an alliance.*

a

b

On the one ſide the *Venetians* endeavoured to gain over the pope, while the emperor and *Ferdinand* on the other repreſented to him of what importance it was to the ſecurity of the holy ſee to join againſt *France*. *Leo* was greatly embarraſſed; each ſide had its inconveniences: at laſt, ſwayed by the apprehenſions leſt *Francis*, being poſſeſſed of the *Milaneſe*, would demand the fiefs of *Parma* and *Placentia*, he chimed in with the oppoſite league; but with this proviſo, that his acceding to it might be kept ſecret. This precaution proved uſeleſs; for he was ſoon obliged to march with his cavalry towards *Piedmont* to block up the paſſage of the *Alps* againſt *Francis* [s]. *Julian de Medicis* remained with the reſt of the troops in *Lombardy*, ready to join the *Spaniards*, if neceſſary; while the cardinal of *Sion* arrived in the *Milaneſe* with twenty thouſand men he had raiſed upon his own credit, and with the pope's money. Here the *Swiſs* were joined by *Sforza*'s troops, and all marched towards *Suza*, the head-quarters, in order to ſtop up the defiles between the mountains of *Geneva* and mount *Ceris*, which was the uſual route of the *French* into *Italy*.

*The pope joins in their alliance.*

c

*FRANCIS* at length ſet out with an army of twenty-three thouſand horſe and foot, ſending word to the ſenate, to prevent their general from hazarding a battle before the armies were united. He found the paſſes of *Suza*, *Pignerole*, *Saluſſes*, and others, guarded by the *Swiſs* and the pope's cavalry: upon this he paſſed directly over the *Alps*, through unfrequented and difficult paths, and on the fourth day's march arrived on the frontiers of the marquiſate of *Saluſſes*. The *Swiſs*, ſeeing that *Francis* had eluded all their vigilance, retired to *Novara*, where the king followed and made propoſals extremely advantageous to thoſe auxiliaries; which they were inclined to accept, as the allies had but badly performed their engagements. Some of the ſoldiers had mutinied for want of pay, others deſerted, and the majority thought fit to recompenſe themſelves by ſeizing on the pope's military cheſt. The treaty was in great forwardneſs, when news arrived that twenty thouſand of their countrymen were on full march to join the army, having with them money ſufficient for the payment of all their arrears [t]. This intelligence determined them to break off the conferences with the *French* king, to adhere to their alliance, and give battle to *Francis*. Before the king arrived at *Marignan* he ſurpriſed *Proſpero Colonna*, who was encamped with two thouſand men in the marquiſate of *Saluſſes*: after this he pitched his camp at *Marignan*, to facilitate a junction with *Alviana*. The *Swiſs*, knowing it was their buſineſs to fight before he was reinforced, broke up their camp without beat of drum, and in the moſt profound ſilence marched with this view, thinking to ſurpriſe the enemy. *Alviana*, who had come to the camp to concert the operations of the campaign, was at dinner with his majeſty when the conſtable of *Bourbon* entered the tent, and informed them that the *Swiſs* army was in ſight. *Alviana* mounted his horſe and flew to *Lodi*, to bring up ſome of the *Venetian* cavalry. The king had ſcarce time to range his army in order of battle when the attack began upon the artillery, defended by the *Lanſquenets* [u] (B). Already the conſtable

Francis *paſſes the* Alps.

d

*Battle at* Marignan *begun.*

f

[r] Guicc. l. 12. [s] Spalatin. in vit. Leon. Guicc. l. 12. [t] Simber. Rep. Helvet. l. 1. [u] Paruta. l. 1.

(B) The *Lanſquenets* are *Germans*, of which *Francis* had ten thouſand in his army; a circumſtance that muſt ſtrike the reader when he conſiders that the emperor was at war with *France*: but the princes of the empire and imperial towns have the privilege of permitting foreign potentates to levy troops in their territories. They may contract alliances and aſſiſt them with all their forces, provided ſuch alliance be not prejudicial to the *Germanic* body, of which the emperor is head, but not abſolute ſovereign (1). It is cuſtomary too in *France* that the *Lanſquenets*, in default of *Swiſs*, have the guard of the artillery, a poſt of the utmoſt conſequence; the reaſon is, that they look upon the *Swiſs* as the beſt infantry in *Europe*, and next to them the *Germans*, of which the *Lanſquenets* form a part. The reader who is curious, may conſult on theſe points *Hiſtoire de la Milice Francoiſe*, t. 3. p. 532. *Ord. Camer.* part. 2. t. 9. *Buxtorf. ad* c. 15. *Bullæ Aureæ*, with many other authors which it would be tedious to cite.

(1) *Vid. Conſt. Imper. ad A.* 1555.

had

had drawn up the advanced guard, which he commanded in perſon, and the *German* in-
a fantry, for the defence of the artillery, when the *Swiſs*, by the advice of colonel *Rhoſt*, marched ſtraight up to the cannon, bearing the fire both of the artillery and infantry, to avoid being taken in flank by the *French* cavalry poſted on the wings. Their intention was to make the firſt and principal attack on that ſide, and, after ſeizing the cannon, turn upon the *French* gens d'arms, whoſe ſhock was formidable. This very fineſſe had ſucceeded at *Novara* two years before; and now it was imagined that the *Swiſs*, not willing to break their agreement with the *French*, were marching againſt the *Lanſquenets* with the king's conſent, for whom they bore a mortal grudge and antipathy. The ſame opinion prevailing among the *German* infantry, made them give way for above an hundred paces, keeping
b at the ſame time their ranks intire, by which means the *Swiſs* approached the artillery without any reſiſtance. They were on the point of attacking the *French* gens d'arms, when the conſtable, imagining that the *Lanſquenets* had been put in diſorder, attacked them in front to cover the *German* infantry while they rallied: this aſſault was given with ſuch vigour as it required all the intrepidity of the *Swiſs* to withſtand. Each ſide maintained their ground without yielding an inch amidſt a cloſe fire, when the king came up with the *French* infantry, and the *bandes de noir*, to ſupport the conſtable. The count *de la Mark* headed this body of *Germans*, and advanced to occupy the ſpace which the *Lanſquenets* had quitted. Jealous of that contemptuous proceeding, the *Lanſquenets* determined he ſhould not acquire honour by their diſgrace, and deſirous of repairing their error, attacked with incredible reſo-
c lution the firſt *Swiſs* battalion that preſented, while the count *de la Mark* with a laudable emulation ſupported their efforts. Here the battle continued for two hours with amazing firmneſs, obſtinacy, and conduct, neither ſide ſhewing the leaſt marks of wearineſs or diſorder. Night came on before either *French*, *Germans*, or *Swiſs* thought of ſounding a retreat, and the fight ſtill continued with the ſame impetuoſity with which it commenced. It was now almoſt impoſſible to quit the field, as the darkneſs of the night prevented the ſoldiers from diſtinguiſhing their own colours. The *French* advanced-guard had ſuffered moſt, and was in great diſorder; nor could they rally, as clouds of duſt and ſmoke obſcured the little glimmering light the ſtars afforded, and the roar of cannon drowned all the orders iſſued. Chance performed actions which by day-light was attributed
d to valour: the combatants fought hand to hand, and hardly a blow failed of doing execution. The *Swiſs*, who as well as the *French* wore white ſcarfs, could not diſtinguiſh each other: their ſureſt attack, therefore, was againſt the cavalry, which they knew was wholly *French*, they having only four hundred horſe belonging to *Sforza*: thus the horſe were expoſed to the greateſt danger. The king's horſe was wounded under him, and his armour pierced in ſeveral places. In this manner did the battle continue for four hours after ſunſet, with the utmoſt confuſion and hazard; when at length both ſides, fatigued with action, were forced to deſiſt and draw breath: every man remained under arms in the place where he chanced to ſtand. The wounded of both ſides were tenderly uſed, and ſpared by mutual conſent. *Francis* found himſelf within fifty paces of the main body of the enemy, but the impoſſibility of removing his ſtation, without running into great hazards, determined him
e to remain in the ſame critical ſituation. All the precautions he could take were to extinguiſh a flambeaux that was lighted near him, and to order all round his perſon to ſpeak low, and omit thoſe terms of reſpect by which he might be diſtinguiſhed. His majeſty ſlept upon the ground in his armour, with his head ſupported by a block of wood belonging to the carriage of a cannon.

*The obſtinacy of both* French *and* Swiſs.

At break of day both armies rallied and charged with freſh vigour. The *Swiſs* made their firſt attack upon the corps where the king ſtood, with ſuch irreſiſtible impetuoſity, that his majeſty would have been in great danger had not the *German* infantry interpoſed, and
f the artillery played furiouſly on the enemy with ſo much ſucceſs, as put them in ſome diſorder. One diſcharge of the cannon had ſwept away an intire line of the fartheſt advanced battalion, by means of which the *French* cavalry broke in, and ſoon diſperſed the reſt. The battle had now continued for five hours without the ſmalleſt intermiſſion, when the *Swiſs*, deſpairing of breaking the *German* infantry, ſent a detachment to attack the *French* rear-guard. Colonel *Molin* was ſent on this command, and acquitted himſelf with great courage and addreſs: after taking a long circuit, he fell upon the *French*, who did not expect him, though he found them prepared. The duke *d'Allenzon*, who commanded the rear-guard, plied the *Swiſs* in front, while *Amand de Prie*, with the cavalry, attacked their right, and *Aubigny*, with ſome regiments of artillery, their left wing.

*Alviana and the* Venetians *come opportunely to the relief of the* French. Swiſs *retreat in good order.*

g In the mean time *Alviana* with the *Venetian* forces came up, and made his firſt effort on *Molin*'s rear, who after an obſtinate reſiſtance was defeated, and the detachment cut in pieces. Penetrating then with his freſh troops to the part where the king charged in perſon, *Alviana* aſſaulted the main body of the *Swiſs* with ſo much fury, that they began to give way, but without the leaſt diſorder, obſtinately fighting for every inch of ground they yielded. At laſt

laſt they ſounded a retreat, and marched in good order towards the *Milaneſe*, rather quitting the field than ceding the victory. Neither the king nor *Alviana* thought proper to purſue them, finding it impracticable to break forces ſo well diſciplined, without which they could expect no conſiderable advantage; and, indeed, the *French* were too wearied of an engagement which had laſted for almoſt two whole days, and the greater part of the night, to be able to continue it longer. Both *Swiſs* and *French* had loſt their beſt troops and officers, above five thouſand on each ſide being left on the field, beſides wounded. On the *French* ſide fell the duke *de Chollellerand*, the prince *de Talmont*, *Buſſi d'Amboiſe*, the brave *Imbercourt*, who had eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf in preſerving the life of the conſtable of *France*, the count *de Roye*, with a great number of other officers of valour and diſtinction. *Claude de Lorrain*, count *de Guiſe*, a young prince but twenty years of age, was killed after giving incredible inſtances of fortitude and conduct [w]. In ſhort, ſo hot and bloody was this engagement, that *Trivulcio*, who had been in eighteen battles, ſaid, 'That the battle 'of *Marignan* was the fighting of giants, all the others but the play of children.'

a b

It is ſcarcely worth while to inquire how far the *Venetians* contributed towards this victory, if ſo it may be called; probable it is, that the arrival of ten thouſand freſh troops muſt have conſiderably changed the face of affairs to the advantage of *Francis*, whatever the *French* authors allege (C). As the cardinal of *Sion* had been the chief cauſe of this engagement, in which the *Swiſs* ſuffered ſo much, they failed not to reproach him in a manner which decency will not permit us to mention. So incenſed were they againſt the prelate, that to ſave his life he was forced to fly to the emperor, who ſoon after employed him in negociations, for which he was extremely well qualified.

c

Milan, *&c. ſurrender to the* French.

After this battle the *French* and *Venetians* marched to *Milan*, the citizens throwing open the gates to receive them, and giving one hundred thouſand crowns to be exempted from being plundered. All the other towns of the *Milaneſe* followed the example of the capital [x]; but the citadels of *Milan* and *Cremona* ſtill remained firm. *Leo* the tenth, finding that the *French* and *Venetians* carried all before them, began to temporiſe, and at laſt was forced to renounce his alliance with *Maximilian* and *Ferdinand*: he alſo yielded *Parma* and *Placentia* to the *French* monarch, promiſing beſides to reſtore *Modena* and *Reggio* to the duke of *Ferrara*, the faithful and antient ally of *France*. *Francis*, on his part, engaged to aſſiſt the church againſt all her enemies, and to maintain the houſe of *Medicis* in *Florence*.

d

The ſiege of the citadel, into which *Sforza* had thrown himſelf, was now undertaken. It went on with ſo much vigour, that he was forced to capitulate upon ſuch terms as the conquerors choſe to impoſe. Before this ſiege began, *Alviana* ſeparated his troops from the *French*, in order to fight the viceroy of *Naples*, who retreated upon his approach. Upon this he marched, by the ſenate's order, to lay ſiege to *Breſcia* and *Verona*, after having requeſted of *Francis* to aſſiſt the republic in the recovery of her territories. The *Venetian* officers were divided in their opinions which of thoſe cities were to be firſt attacked. Some alledged *Verona* to be of the greateſt conſequence, ſince the ſurrender of that city would be in fact reducing the whole *Veroneſe*. Others again adviſed, that *Breſcia* might be inveſted, that a communication might be opened with *Milan*. The ſenate, not caring to determine any thing, referred the whole to *Alviana*, who marched directly to the latter place, in hopes either of ſurpriſing, or in a ſhort time of reducing the garriſon, and then laying ſiege to *Verona* before the rigour of the winter ſhould oblige him to go into quarters. But cloſe as *Alviana* took his meaſures, *Icaro*, the *Spaniſh* governor of *Breſcia*, ſuſpecting his intention, procured a reinforcement of a thouſand infantry before his arrival. *Alviana* was entirely ignorant of this, and relying on the weakneſs of the garriſon, was ſurpriſed at a reſiſtance he did not expect when he gave the aſſault. However, determined to conquer it by force, he made his approaches with ſuch diligence, and applied himſelf ſo cloſely to directing and overſeeing the works, that he was ſeized with a fever, and died in a few days [y].

Alviana *lays ſiege to* Breſcia.

Alviana's *death.*

e

In him the republic loſt one of her beſt officers, equally eſteemed by the ſenate, and beloved by the ſoldiers, to whom he was profuſely generous, and yet a ſtrict obſerver of diſcipline. In his youth his fire and courage led him to deſperate attempts, the folly of

f

[w] Guic. l. 12. Parut. l. 3. Fugger. l. 6. c. 18. Bellcar. l. 15. Simber. Rep. Helvet. l. 15.
[x] Parut. ibid. Marian. l. 30. p. 126. [y] Paruta, l. 3.

(C) *Paolo Paruta*, one of the faithfulleſt, and, perhaps, the fineſt hiſtorian of his age, ſcruples not to attribute the victory to the arrival of *Alviana* with his freſh army. He affirms, that this general not only charged *Molin* in the rear, and broke his corps, but that he puſhed through to the main body of the *Swiſs* opportunely, when the king was hard preſſed (1). *Simbers*, in his hiſtory of the *Swiſs* cantons, ſpeaks to the ſame effect, and indeed reaſon confirms the fact (2). The *French* hiſtorians do not conſider that in aſcribing the marvellous to their hero *Francis*, they deſtroy the credibility of truth. *Francis* requires not fiction to make him appear one of the greateſt characters of his time, or indeed that ever has filled a throne.

(1) *Paolo Paruta, l.* 3. (2) *Simber. Hiſt. Helvet. l.* 1.

a which he ſaw when judgment ripened with years and experience. He was ſo much the darling of the army, that they kept his body for twenty-five days, carrying it about with them in a mournful pomp whereever they marched. His diſintereſtedneſs was ſo great, that, notwithſtanding he had long enjoyed ſome of the moſt lucrative employments of the republic from his youth, yet he died ſo poor, that his body was interred at the public charge, and his widow and family ſupported by the ſenate [z].

*ALVIANA*'s death made the *Venetians* raiſe the ſiege of *Breſcia*, and attempt the reduction of *Peſcara*, in which they ſucceeded before the arrival of *John Trivulcio*. This officer had been ſent by *Francis*, at the ſenate's requeſt, to ſucceed *Alviana*. He had no ſooner taken upon him the command than he returned to *Breſcia*, agreeable to the ſenate's deſire; but
b againſt his own judgment. The event juſtified the prudence of his opinion; for the garriſon being little inferior in number to the *Venetian* army, made ſuch furious ſallies as rendered his approaches impracticable. When the *Venetians* were beſieging *Peſcara* it had been ſtrongly reinforced; and *Alviana* found it difficult enough before to erect his batteries. Juſt as *Trivulcio* had thoughts of raiſing the ſiege, a large detachment of the garriſon ſal- *The ſiege of* Breſcia *raiſed.*
lied out upon him, killed near three hundred of his troops, and took ten pieces of cannon, with ſome baggage, which they carried in triumph into the city. This loſs forced him to retreat with precipitation as far as *Coccai*, where he waited for a reinforcement from the *French* army. Before the arrival of ſuccours the winter came on; ſo that the project of again beſieging the city was deferred to the following ſpring [a].

c AFTER the conqueſt of the *Milaneſe*, *Francis* returned to his own dominions with the greater part of his army, having left no more than ſix thouſand *French* and five thouſand *Lanſquenets*, under the command of the conſtable, in *Italy*. The loſs of the battle of *Marignan* put the emperor in great pain for his poſſeſſions in *Italy*. He was ſenſible that without the *Swiſs* he could not reſiſt *Francis* and the republic; and as theſe mercenary allies were bought off at a higher price than his finances could ſupport, he formed the project of involving *Francis* at home, by engaging *Henry* the eighth in his quarrel (D) [b]. His firſt ſtep was to gain over cardinal *Wolſey*, which he effectually did by ſome promiſes extremely A. D. 1516.
flattering to the ambition of that haughty prelate and miniſter. *Wolſey* artfully repreſented to *Henry* the danger of ſuffering *Francis* to grow too powerful, and chiefly applied him-
d ſelf to the paſſions of that young monarch. In ſhort, *Maximilian* with joy ſaw his intrigues againſt the *Venetians* and *French* ſucceed to his wiſh. All the young courtiers were ſtrenuous in a rupture with *France*, while the older and more prudent part of the nation repreſented the injuſtice of breaking a treaty without the ſmalleſt provocation; and adviſed *Henry* rather to turn his arms againſt *Scotland* [c].

IN the mean time *Leo* the tenth, being informed of what paſſed in *England*, was not forward in concluding the treaty on foot with *Francis*: he ſpent a month at *Florence* quibbling about the expences in which the holy ſee ought to be reimburſed before he yielded *Modena* and *Reggio*. He was deſirous that the duke of *Ferrara* ſhould receive his inveſti-
ture from the church, though all his predeceſſors had received theirs from the empire; but
e the duke nobly rejected both propoſitions, and although he was acquainted with the combination formed againſt *France*, yet he refuſed to deſert his ally [d].

THE winter having been wholly employed in negociations and ſtate intrigues, early in *Breſcia and Verona beſieged by the French and Venetians.*
the ſpring the *Venetian* army took the field. *Trivulcio*, who commanded at the ſiege of *Breſcia* the preceding autumn, loſt ſome reputation by having ſo ſuddenly abandoned the works, and for the defeat ſuſtained, together with the loſs of his cannon. The army, however, had quartered in the *Breſcian*, in order to reſume the ſiege when the ſeaſon permitted: it was accordingly entered upon under the conduct of *Lautrec*, who ſucceeded *Trivulcio*; and another army was at the ſame time ſent to inveſt *Verona* [e]. Things were in great forwardneſs, notwithſtanding all *Leo*'s intrigues, when news arrived that *Maximilian*'s army was in
f full march towards *Verona*: he had drawn together a number of troops levied in his hereditary dominions to reſiſt *Selim*, who it was imagined propoſed entering *Germany*. Beſides this each circle of the empire had given him five thouſand horſe and ſix thouſand foot; and the five leſſer cantons of *Switzerland*, who refuſed to treat with *Francis*, ſent their quota of five thouſand infantry to *Maximilian*. With this formidable army, his march was ſo expeditious and ſecret, that neither the *French* or *Venetians* ſuſpected he had moved out

[z] PARUTA, ibid. BELCAR, l. 15. [a] PARUTA, l. 3. p. 192. [b] MARIANA, l. 80. [c] RAPIN: vid. Hiſt. Eng. etiam Negotiationes & Geſta. C. Wolſey. [d] GUIC. l. 12. [e] PARUTA, l. 3.

(D) *Leo* and *Francis* had an interview at *Bologna* a few days before his majeſty's departure for *France*. Their conferences laſted ſix days, when at laſt it was concluded, that the king ſhould take upon him the protection of the holy ſee, the pope's perſon, and of the family of *Medicis*; the pope, on his part, conſenting to recal the troops ſent to the aſſiſtance of *Maximilian*, and to withdraw his garriſon from *Verona*. How well he performed his contract will appear in the ſequel. *Spalatin. Vit. Leo.*

of

*The emperor's approach raiſes both ſieges.*

of quarters, until he deſcended the mountains of *Trente* (E) [f]. The approach of the imperial army obliged the allies to raiſe the ſieges of *Breſcia* and *Verona*, with a precipitation that more reſembled flight than a retreat. *Lautrec*, who commanded in chief at both, ſhewed at firſt great magnanimity: he ſent the king word, that he would prevent the emperor's croſſing the *Oglio*; but he did not keep his promiſe, having been miſinformed concerning the ſtrength of the imperial army, and likewiſe the depth of the river, which happened to be lower than it uſually was at that ſeaſon of the year. The Imperialiſts paſſed the *Oglio*, marching to *Cremona*, where they encamped: there they were joined by *Mincio* with the forces quartered at *Verona*, upon which they proceeded with little obſtruction to *Milan*. The imprudent conduct of *Maximilian*, in waſting time in the ſiege of *Aſola*, gave the *Venetians* time to recover themſelves, and take the neceſſary meaſures for the defence of *Milan* [g]. They had received ten thouſand *Swiſs* into their pay, raiſed in thoſe cantons in treaty with *France* by the baron *Alt Saxe*. *Trivulcio* had thrown three thouſand men into *Cremona*, and had paſſed the *Adda* to meet the *Swiſs*, and oppoſe *Maximilian*'s croſſing this river. Accordingly the emperor was repulſed at *Picighton*; after which he made a feint, as if he intended paſſing at *Caſſan*, and, in the mean time throwing a bridge over the *Adda*, detached a body of infantry to defend it, by which means he at laſt ſucceeded. Then marching ſtraight to *Milan*, he ſent a herald to demand the keys of the gates, threatning the inhabitants with the moſt rigorous treatment, if they refuſed to comply. By this time *Trivulcio* was returned to the city, and his army was a ſeaſonable reinforcement to the conſtable, who had the utmoſt difficulty to keep the inhabitants, terrified with the emperor's menaces, from ſurrendering. The nearer *Maximilian* approached the more tumultuous were the *Milanois*, either from a fickleneſs natural to them, or dread of the imperial power; nor could the commotions be fully quieted until the arrival of the *Swiſs*. So powerful a reinforcement inſpired them with courage, and now they became no leſs inſolent than they had been humble but a few hours before. Other happy conſequences to the *French* immediately followed the arrival of the *Swiſs* [h]: their countrymen in the imperial army began to murmur, and demand their pay with a boldneſs that terrified *Maximilian*. *Staffler* their colonel came to the emperor's bedſide, and demanded their penſion in terms ſo diſreſpectful, that *Maximilian* could not help reproaching him with ill manners, to which *Staffler* anſwered, 'That the *Swiſs* 'wanted florins, not breeding; and that if their engagements were not inſtantly fulfilled, 'they would embrace the offers of the conſtable of *Bourbon*.' This declaration the emperor received as extremely probable; he feared leſt the *French* might have money enough to corrupt the *Swiſs*; and he was too well acquainted with the diſpoſition of thoſe republicans to have any doubt of their receiving money upon any terms. To appeaſe *Staffler* he told him that by the next day he might depend on the payment of the arrears, and alſo a ſum in advance. After the departure of the *Swiſs*, *Maximilian* removed his quarters to another part of the camp, where he thought he might be protected by the *Germans*; but apprehending danger here likewiſe, he raiſed the ſiege, and retired to *Bergamaſco* with the *Germans*, where he encamped. The *Swiſs*, following his example, decamped likewiſe, and took the route of *Lodi*, pillaging every place in their way. They were proceeding on their march homeward, when the cardinal *Sion* came up with them, bringing with him ſix thouſand crowns, which the emperor had raiſed in the *Bergamaſco* by way of contribution. Moreover, he aſſured them of an immediate advance of fifty thouſand crowns, *Spaniſh* money, depoſited in the city of *Trente*; upon which they ſuſpended meaſures, and had ſome thoughts of returning to the ſiege, when freſh difficulties occurred. In ſhort, *Maximilian* not having performed his promiſe, the *Swiſs* returned home, the *Germans* encamped in the *Veroneſe*, the other auxiliaries repaſſed the *Alps*, and three thouſand *Lanſquentes* went over to the *Venetians*. Thus ended the formidable expedition of *Maximilian*, in the total diſperſion of an army, which under proper authority and diſcipline was ſufficient to conquer all *Italy* [i].

Maximilian *lays ſiege to* Milan.

*His army diſperſes.*

[f] Petr. Justian. l. 11. [g] Stevins. Period. l. 10. p. 961. [h] Parut. l. 3. [i] Ibid. etiam Heuterus. l. 7. c. 12. Fug. l. 6. c. 18. Marian. l. 30.

(E) *Colonna*, who was governor of *Verona*, took every meaſure to diſtreſs the *Venetian* and *French* army. To cut off their proviſion and forage he kept parties of light horſe at *Legnano*, with which he ſcoured the country, greatly diſtreſſing the inhabitants, as well as the army. *Lautrec* ſent a detachment of four hundred men at arms and five hundred light horſe to put a ſtop to theſe incurſions; but *Colonna*, receiving intelligence of their march, not only reinforced the parties at *Legnano*, but likewiſe placed an ambuſcade ſo judiciouſly, that the *Venetian* proveditor fell into it, and was defeated. Another detachment, under *Urſini*, was more fortunate; for having encountered a body of three thouſand Imperialiſts, he defeated them with the loſs of eight hundred of their beſt troops (1). It may not be unſeaſonable to mention, that *Leo*, ſeeing the progreſs and ſtrength of *Maximilian*, thought he could not too early make his court. The emperor had no ſooner obliged the enemy to raiſe the ſieges of *Verona* and *Breſcia*, than he ſent a nuncio to congratulate him on his arrival in *Italy* (2); though, according to the treaty of *Bologna*, he ought to have taken every meaſure to ſtop his progreſs.

(1) *Guicc. l.* 12. (2) *Petr. Juſtinian l.* 11.

But

a But neither the *Venetians* or *French* profited much by the diſorder in the imperial army: the former thought of nothing more than eſtabliſhing themſelves quietly in the dutchy of *Milan* by a firm peace; while the *Venetians* in vain complained of a breach of contract in not aſſiſting them in the recovery of their dominions. *Gritti* the proveditor made ſtrong remonſtrances to *Lautrec* upon his refuſal to undertake the ſiege of *Verona*; but they were ineffectual: he even propoſed, in a council of war, that the *Venetians* alone ſhould enter upon the enterprize; in which he had the concurring ſentiments of the other officers. *Lautrec*, ſeeing their reſolution, agreed to join them, and they were on their march to the *Veroneſe*, when the *Lanſquenets* refuſed to attack a town belonging to the emperor: here they were a ſecond time diſappointed, and at length forced to lay aſide the deſign [k]. *Diviſions ariſe between the* French *and* Venetians.

b An account of theſe tranſactions coming to the ſenate, they immediately ſent a reinforcement of four thouſand men, money and ſtores, with orders for the army to proceed directly to the ſiege. Accordingly *Verona* was inveſted, and the ſiege carried on with vigour on the part of the *Venetians*, but not ſo on the ſide of *Lautrec*. The proveditors uſed all their endeavours to engage the *French* heartily in the cauſe; but perceiving they were put off by frivolous excuſes, they began to ſuſpect that *Lautrec*'s conduct was the effects of ſome ſecret orders from court. Intelligence having arrived at the ſame time in the camp of a body of *Germans* that were on their march for the relief of the place, *Lautrec* ſent the proveditor notice that he would not hazard a battle, and of his intention to decamp. This he immediately effected, leaving the *Venetians* alone to conduct the ſiege, and encounter
c the approaching enemy [l]. *Verona beſieged by the* Venetians.

We muſt now inquire into the occaſion of this remiſſneſs in the *French* general, and the reaſons which induced him ſo obviouſly to break the treaty with the republic. *Francis* having recovered the *Milaneſe*, had formed new projects, in conſequence of the death of *Ferdinand*, which happened this year. He had planned the deſign of adding *Naples* to the crown of *France*, in hopes that the archduke *Charles* would not be in a capacity to lay claim to *Arragon* before he was well eſtabliſhed in his *Spaniſh* dominions. *Leo*, eager for the expulſion of the *French* from *Italy*, kept emiſſaries at the courts of the emperor, *Henry* the eighth, and the archduke *Charles*: he likewiſe uſed all his endeavours by clandeſtine meaſures to prevail on the *Swiſs* cantons to break their treaty with *France*; but his
d intrigues could not be kept ſo ſecret as not to come to the ears of the *French* monarch: upon this *Francis*, at once abandoning his ſchemes upon *Naples*, reſolved to treat with *Spain*; nor was that crown leſs diſpoſed to terms of amity. The reſult of this mutual inclination was a treaty, ſtruck up at *Noyon* by the plenipotentiaries of each, in which *Francis*, for certain conſiderations, renounced his claim to *Naples*. *Treaty of* Noyon *between* Francis *and the archduke* Charles.

This treaty was ſoon followed by another ſigned at *Bruſſels*. According to this, *Charles* engaged to prevail on his grandfather to conſign the city of *Verona* into the hands of *Lautrec*, to be delivered by him to the *Venetians* upon their paying to *Maximilian* for that reſtitution the ſum of two hundred thouſand ducats, and to *Francis* the ſum of three hundred thouſand crowns, due to him from *Maximilian*. Both theſe treaties were diametrically op-
e poſite to the inclinations and views of *Leo*, *Maximilian*, and *Henry* the eighth. The pontiff paſſionately wiſhed the decline of the *French* power. *Maximilian*'s chief view was to raiſe enemies to *Francis*, to prevent his aſſiſting the *Venetians*: he foreſaw that he either muſt ratify the treaty of *Bruſſels* and yield up *Verona*, or elſe defend his *Italian* conqueſts, without a ſingle ally againſt a powerful enemy. In this extremity he thought the moſt adviſeable meaſure would be to embroil the affairs of *Europe* in ſuch a manner, that the new war might ſtir up a league againſt *France* [m].

The ſenate of *Venice*, ſenſible that the emperor would object to the terms of the treaty of *Bruſſels*, continued their remonſtrances ſo aſſiduouſly to *Lautrec*, that not knowing how to excuſe himſelf without an open violation of the treaty, he returned to the ſiege of *Verona*;
f but in the mean time *Maximilian* thought fit to ratify the treaty of *Noyon*, and conclude a truce for threee months with the *Venetians*, during which preliminaries for a peace were to be ſettled. Thus *Verona* was put into the hands of *Lautrec*, which was delivered to the *Venetians* on their paying the ſum ſtipulated in the treaty of *Bruſſels*. *Gritti* and *Gradonico* received the city from the *French*, to the great ſatisfaction of the inhabitants, and of the ſenate and people of *Venice*. Demonſtrations of joy were made in every city belonging to the republic; preſents were ſent to *Lautrec*, and *Gritti* was ordered to eſcort him to *Milan* [n]. *Maximilian accedes to the treaty; ſo do the* Venetians. A. D. 1517.

Peace being now eſtabliſhed, and the republic reinſtated in the quiet poſſeſſion of her dominions, by a prolongation of the truce to the term of five years, the ſenate's attention
g was wholly turned to pacific meaſures. They began with eaſing the people of the burthen-

[k] Foug. d. 3. l. 5. Paruta. l. 3. [l] Paruta, l. 3. [m] Guicc. l. 12. Heuter. l. 7. c. 12. Parut. ibid. [n] Barre. Hiſt. Allem. t. 8. p. 1054.

ſome taxes impoſed for the ſupport of the war; enlarging their commerce, and promoting induſtry, trade, and manufactures: nor did this wiſe body neglect the ſtudy of arts and ſciences, which could not be ſuppoſed to flouriſh amidſt a ruinous and bloody war: for this purpoſe the univerſity of *Padua*, which had been ſhut for the ſpace of eight years, was opened, and particular immunities and privileges conferred on this ancient ſeat of the muſes [o]. To provide the more effectually for the ſecurity of ſcience, which ever blows ſtrongeſt under the ſhade of peace, they added to the fortifications of the city, taking every meaſure which could prevent any farther inconveniencies to learning, or impede the education and ſtudies of youth. a

A. D. 1518. THE ſenate was ſenſible of what conſequence to the republic it was to live upon terms of amity with the Grand Seignior: they had often experienced his power; and the traffic to his coaſts was, perhaps, the moſt beneficial branch of their commerce. In order, therefore, to preſerve the friendſhip of *Selim*, two of the chief nobility, *Lodovico Mocenigo* and *Bartholomeo Contareni*, were ſent to congratulate him on his late victory over the ſophi of *Perſia*, and requeſt the continuance of his friendſhip to the republic. *Selim* received the ambaſſadors at *Damaſcus*; profeſſed great eſteem for the republic; granted the *Venetian* factories at *Tripoli*, *Alexandria*, *Bareth*, *Damaſcus*, and elſewhere within his dominions, all the exemptions, privileges, and immunities they deſired. In ſhort, ſo kindly did he receive the ambaſſadors, that they returned loaded with preſents, and highly ſatisfied with the magnificence, generoſity, and friendſhip of that monarch. A treaty of commerce with *Spain* was likewiſe concluded, by which ſome difficulties to the *Venetian* trade, which occurred upon the acceſſion of *Charles* to that crown, were wholly removed [p]. b c

THE pope, the emperor, and the *Venetians*, were all equally deſirous to preſerve the ſweets of peace which they had juſt taſted. To this end a prolongation of the truce was wiſhed for by all parties, though two years were yet unexpired. The emperor was for referring matters to *Leo*, and propoſed him as an arbiter of the terms on which it ſhould be extended; but the republic choſe to conſult with *Francis*, and to put her intereſts into the hands of that powerful and ancient ally. *Leo* was prompted to eſtabliſh tranquility among the chriſtian princes, from a deſire of uniting them againſt *Selim*, whoſe power became formidable. *Francis*, having confirmed the truce between the emperor and the *Venetians*, the pope then ſet to work to engage them in a new holy war: his utmoſt endeavours were uſed with the republic, whoſe marine he knew would be abſolutely neceſſary to his deſign; but the *Venetians*, ſenſible of the benefits they drew by their commerce from *Selim*'s friendſhip, returned anſwer that his holineſs might depend on them when the other princes were ready to take the field; ſooner to equip fleets and raiſe armies would only expoſe them to the reſentment of a monarch able at one blow to cruſh the republic. It was plain to the ſenate that ſuch an anſwer laid them under no hazard of quarrelling with *Selim*, ſince they were aware of the impractibility of uniting in one deſign the ſtrength of ſo many contending and oppoſite intereſts as were required to complete *Leo*'s ſcheme [q]. d

A. D. 1519. *Death of* Maximilian. SOON after the concluſion of the treaty with the republic, the emperor *Maximilian* died, after a reign of twenty-five years and five months: his death being known to the frontier garriſons, they began to make incurſions into the *Venetian* territories, and to commit acts of hoſtility, as if the treaty was extinct by the deceaſe of one of the parties; but theſe irregularities were ſoon prevented by remonſtrances the ſenate made to the princes of the empire. e

Francis *the firſt and* Charles *of* Auſtria *from pretenſions to the empire.* In the mean time *Francis* the firſt and the archduke *Charles* of *Auſtria*, now king of *Spain*, made preparations to ſupport their mutual pretenſions to the empire. *Italy* in general was more diſpoſed towards the election of the former, and particularly the *Venetians*. *Francis* ſent *Taligni* in quality of plenipotentiary to the ſenate: his commiſſion was to borrow a ſum of money to ſupport his maſter's election; to procure a body of troops to give weight to his pretenſions; and to conſult the neceſſary meaſures in caſe *Charles* ſent an army into *Italy*, to compel *Leo* to abſolve him from the oath made to *Julius* concerning the inveſtiture of *Naples*. The ſenate anſwered *Taligni* in terms of affection and friendſhip for *Francis*: as to money, they told him of the low condition of the treaſury, exhauſted by long wars, notwithſtanding which they would raiſe for his uſe one hundred thouſand ducats: with regard to the forces required, they apprehended they would not be granted a paſſage; or if they were, that they could be of little conſequence to the king's affairs, and might involve the republic in a war: however, as to the third article of his requeſt, the ſenate aſſured his majeſty that any attempts to enter *Italy* in a hoſtile manner, would be oppoſed with all their forces and influence; for that the republic had ever made a point of protecting the holy ſee, and their obligations to *Francis* would induce them to be no leſs regardful of his dominions [r]. f g

[o] PARUTA. ibid. [p] PAPUTA. b. 4. 251. [q] SPALATIN. vit. Leon. BARON. An. 1519. [r] PARUTA. l. 4. p. 125.

a In the mean time the archbiſhop of *Mentz*, having convoked the diet at *Frankfort* on the twenty-eighth of *June*, *Charles* was there proclaimed emperor by the name of *Charles* the fifth. The diſappointment of *Francis* is attributed, by the marſhal *Fleuranges*, to his refuſing to take into his pay the troops of the circle of *Suabia*, after their making ſome overtures to that effect.

Soon after the acceſſion of *Charles* to the imperial dignity, *Selim* died, and was ſucceeded in the *Othoman* empire by *Solyman*, his only ſon, an enterprizing, ambitious, and courageous prince. *Lewis* king of *Hungary*, knowing the young emperor's extenſive projects, and hatred of Chriſtianity, prepared for war, inviting all the other Chriſtian princes to unite with him, and particularly the republic. Inſtead of acceding to the propoſals of *Lewis*, the ſe-
b nate ſent *Marco Rinco* to *Conſtantinople* to congratulate *Solyman* upon his acceſſion, and procure a confirmation of the treaty with his father, which was readily granted. *Solyman* even conſented to join a ſquadron to the *Venetian* fleet for the ſecurity of their commerce, at that time infeſted by pirates: and he ſo far honoured the republic as to ſend a plenipotentiary to the ſenate, to notify his acceſſion, and grant the *Venetian* merchants all the privileges they required. This confirmation of peace with ſo powerful a monarch, afforded the utmoſt joy to the republic; their commerce was thereby ſecured, and the ſtate freed from the apprehenſions of a war it was in no condition to ſupport. In conſequence, their fleet ſailed to the coaſt of *Barbary*, where it was extremely ſucceſsful againſt the pirates [s].

Not to trace all the cauſes which occaſioned a rupture between the emperor and *Francis*,
c ſufficient it is, that *Francis*, aware of the approaching ſtorm, prepared accordingly. He ſent ambaſſadors to *Rome* and *Venice*, to endeavour to draw the pope and republic into a league for the defence of *Italy*, and to prevent *Charles* from going to *Rome* to receive the imperial crown from the pope. His miniſter at *Rome* had no ſatisfactory anſwer from *Leo*, who was reſolved to wait conjunctures, and be determined by circumſtances. At *Venice* his ambaſſador received a promiſe, that the ſenate would provide for the ſafety of *Italy*; yet did the republic harbour ſuſpicions that a ſecret treaty between *Charles* and the king was in agitation. This aroſe from intelligence they had of *French* and *Spaniſh* envoys meeting at *Montpelier*, for a final diſcuſſion of all differences.

The negotiation at *Montpelier* coming to nothing, *Charles* ſent an ambaſſador to the ſe-
d nate to negociate an alliance with the republic, whoſe friendſhip he perceived would be neceſſary to his deſigns on *Italy*. As the ſenate inſiſted upon the entire reſtitution of all the places they poſſeſſed taken by *Maximilian*, the ambaſſadors took their leave, without bringing things to an iſſue [t].

This year was entirely conſumed in negotiations; in all of which the republic kept aloof, not caring to break with *Charles*, and yet eager to preſerve the alliance with *Francis*. Nor A. D. 1520.
did the following year produce any open violence, although *Europe* was threatened with a terrible ſtorm from an army *Solyman* had levied, with intention, as was ſuppoſed, to invade *Hungary*, and extend his conqueſts on that quarter. Near two hundred thouſand men had been raiſed in the *Aſiatic* provinces and *Greece*; an armament which ſtruck the *Hungarians*
e with terror, and compelled them to ſolicit the ſuccour of all the neighbouring powers. *Philippo Morotſoſtrot*, of *Agria*, was ſent to *Venice* to requeſt the aid of the republic. His ſpeech in the ſenate was ſo affecting and pathetic, that this wiſe body, unmindful of their commerce, and the true intereſt of the commonwealth, conſented to ſend ambaſſadors to the courts of *Vienna*, *Paris*, and *London*; and at the ſame time to furniſh *Lewis* of *Hungary* with a ſum of thirty thouſand ducats [u].

*The king of* Hungary *ſolicits the aſſiſtance of the* Venetians *againſt the* Turks.

A few days after the departure of the *Hungarian* miniſter, died *Loretano* the doge, after A. D. 1521.
a glorious, but troubleſome, reign of nineteen years and eight months. As he was a prince endued with every human virtue, was wiſe, brave, and generous, his death was much lamented, and no leſs felt by all degrees of men. "He was, ſays *Sanſovino*, not only learn-
f "ed; but, by his liberality and taſte, the cauſe of learning in others." After an elegant funeral oration pronounced over his body by *Andrea Navagiro*, he was buried with great ſolemnity, and attended to the grave by the unfeigned tears of his affectionate and ſorrowful ſubjects [w].

## *ANTONIO GRIMANI*, Doge LXXVI.

The great aſſembly now met for the choice of a ſucceſſor, when *Antonio Grimani*, father Antonio Gri-
of the cardinal of that name, was elected by univerſal conſent. *Antonio* was rich, had borne mani, *doge* LXXVI.
the higheſt offices of the ſtate, and paſſed through a life ſtrangely chequered and variegated with good and bad fortune. It was but lately he was recalled from baniſhment, in which
g he lived ſince the laſt *Turkiſh* war, where he was ſuppoſed not to have diſcharged his duty.

[s] Parut. l. 4. p. 272. [t] Guic. l. 13. [u] Parut. ibid. Foug. l. 4. d. 4. [w] Sansov. del vit. Princip.

At

At his acceſſion the republic was in peace, it is true; but the ſeeds of war were ſo plentifully a
ſown every where, that a rich crop of misfortunes and the evils neceſſarily attending might
ſoon be expected. Propoſals were ſtill making to the ſenate by *Charles* the fifth, extremely
advantageous to the intereſt of the republic; yet ſo faithful were the *Venetians* to *Francis*,
that they declined every overture, and even ſending an ambaſſador to congratulate the em-
peror on his acceſſion. *Charles*, perceiving their fidelity to their ally, thought of a meaſure
which he doubted not would excite jealouſies, and oblige them to have recourſe to him: it
was the ſending a plenipotentiary to the court of *France*, as if he intended to ſettle the affairs
of *Italy* without concerning himſelf with the *Venetians*. This in ſome meaſure anſwered the
intention: however, a treaty he ſoon after concluded with the pope, and a plan formed for
expelling the *French* out of *Milan*, being accidentally diſcovered, more cloſely cemented the b
republic with *Francis*[x].

THE policy of the ſenate was to preſerve peace, but this was found impoſſible amidſt the
intrigues of *Charles*, *Leo*, and the *French* monarch: they endeavoured to mend the breach
between his holineſs and the king; but finding their endeavours ineffectual, the army was
put in readineſs to march to the relief of *Milan*, knowing that upon its ſafety depended the
ſecurity of their own dominions. Things now being ripe for action, the imperial army,
joined by the pope's forces, marched to beſiege *Parma*. The trenches were not opened
when *Lautrec*, after receiving a reinforcement of *Swiſs* and *Venetians* came to its relief, and
forced *Proſpero Colonna*, the imperial general, to abandon his deſign. *Proſpero* was, indeed,
in a condition to defeat *Lautrec*, had not the ſudden aſſault the duke of *Ferrara* made upon c
*Reggio* and *Modena* obliged him to divide his forces.

*LEO* began to harbour ſuſpicions of the emperor in conſequence of this diſappointment:
he had ſupported the whole expences of the ſiege, and attributed the want of ſucceſs to ſe-
cret orders *Colonna* had received. *Charles*, chagrined with the pope's jealouſy, was more
than ever deſirous of engaging the *Venetians* in his party; but all his endeavours could not
alter the ſenate's purpoſe[y].

BOTH armies were ſtrongly reinforced by large bodies of *Swiſs* in the ſervice of each; and
*Charles*, having no hope from the *Venetians*, ordered *Colonna* to march directly for *Milan*. The
*French* and *Venetians* were commanded by *Lautrec*, who, hearing of *Colonna*'s intention, ſet
out directly for *Caſſan*, in order to prevent his croſſing the *Adda*: but *Colonna* forcing a march d
got thither before him, and purſued his route to the capital of the dutchy. *Lautrec* ſtill de-
termined to give him battle, had he not in his march been deſerted by the *Swiſs*, who mu-
tinied for want of their pay. This circumſtance threw the affairs of *Francis* and the repub-
lic in diſorder, and compelled *Lautrec* with the remainder of his forces to throw himſelf into
*Milan*, and provide for a ſiege. In the mean time *Colonna* was advanced, and meaſures
taken for inveſting the city: *Peſcara* made an attack upon that quarter where *Trivulcio* and
the *Venetians* were on guard. As the fortifications here were not completed, the garriſon was
ſoon defeated: but *Trivulcio*, who was then ſick in bed, inſtantly getting up, marched
againſt *Peſcara* with a few troops he had collected, not doubting but honour and reaſon
would prevail on the reſt to return. In this, however, he was diſappointed, and after e
fighting bravely with a handful of men againſt a multitude, he was made priſoner, with
ſeveral *Venetians* of diſtinction. *Lautrec* upon this, deſpairing of being able to preſerve the
city, put a ſtrong garriſon in the citadel, and retired with the remaining forces to *Coma*.
*Milan* was ſacked and plundered for ten days ſucceſſively; nor was there an inſult or cruelty
which the inhabitants did not ſuſtain from the rapaciouſneſs of the *Swiſs*, and brutality of
the Imperialiſts[z].

Colonna *inveſts* Milan.

Trivulcio *taken priſoner*, Milan *ſurrenders*.

FROM hence *Colonna* marched to *Coma*, which he beſieged, and took after a ſhort but
briſk aſſault. The ſucceſs of *Colonna* procured *Charles* the ſurrender of *Lodi*, *Pavia*, *Pla-
centia*, *Parma*, and ſoon of *Cremona*, without ſtriking another blow. Thus did the *French* f
loſe *Milan*, without one battle, or memorable effort, when the approach of winter put a
ſtop to the conqueſts of *Colonna*, and preſerved the remains of *Lautrec*'s army in *Venetian*
quarters. The pope's death likewiſe impeded farther military tranſactions. This event
changed the face of affairs, and reduced *Colonna* to as weak a ſituation as *Lautrec*[a]. Intel-
ligence of *Leo*'s death was no ſooner received in the army, than of twelve thouſand *Swiſs*
he had in pay, no more than five hundred remained: the *Florentines* likewiſe withdrew;
and though the *Germans* kept the field, yet was their number too inconſiderable to under-
take any enterprize, or even to reſiſt the enemy, if ſeaſonably reinforced. *Francis* impru-
dently neglected his affairs in *Italy*, and the *Venetians* alone were not able to ſeize the op-
portunity, when *Milan* might as eaſily be recovered as it had been loſt. However, they
took every poſſible meaſure: they levied troops; they ordered their garriſons to march in- g
to the field; and they tampered with the *Swiſs* cantons, who ſeemed diſpoſed to receive

[x] GUIC. l. 13. PARUTA, l. 4. Leon. BELCAR. l. 17.
[y] Hiſt. citat. ibid.
[z] GUIC. l. 13. PARUT. l. 4.
[a] GUTHER. vit.

their

a their pay, and aſſiſt *Francis*. Upon this *Lautrec* was induced to enter upon action in the depth of winter; but the miſconduct of *Bozoli*, whom he had ſent with a ſtrong detachment into the *Parmeſan*, obliged him to relinquiſh his deſigns [b].

STRONG bodies of *Swiſs* and *Venetians* having joined him about the month of *April*, *Lautrec* reſolved to inveſt *Milan*, and take the advantage the low condition of the enemy afforded. His intention was to take it by aſſault; but the ſtrength of the garriſon, and the enmity of the citizens to a *French* government, of which they were heartily tired, obliged him to turn the ſiege into a blockade. *Maximilian Sforza* in the mean time returned to *Pavia* with ſix thouſand *Lanſquenets*. Hence he paſſed through the *Veroneſe* to *Caſſel-Major*. b Croſſing the *Po*, he arrived at *Placentia*, where, joining the marquis of *Mantua*, he proceeded to *Milan*; upon which *Lautrec* removed his camp to the diſtance of five miles from the city. A. D. 1522. French *beſiege* Milan.

A DETACHMENT from *Lautrec*'s army had beſieged and taken *Novara*; after which he marched with the main body and inveſted *Pavia*, where the marquis of *Mantua* was left by *Sforza* to command: his batteries played with fury upon the walls, nor did the marquis neglect any thing neceſſary to a vigorous defence: the city, however, muſt ſoon have ſurrendered, had not *Colonna* found means to convey a reinforcement into it of two thouſand infantry, chiefly *Corſicans*. This obliged *Lautrec* to raiſe the ſiege, as he perceived by the ſtrength of the garriſon that the iſſue muſt be precarious, and the execution bloody and c tedious. Retiring to a village called *Monce*, he reſolved there to wait the arrival of a ſum of money he expected from *France*: *Colonna*, having intelligence of this convoy, ſent a detachment under *Anchiſes Viſconti* to intercept it, which obliged the treaſurer to ſecure himſelf in *Arone*, ſending from thence advice to *Lautrec* of his ſituation. *Viſconti* poſted himſelf ſo advantageouſly, that it was impoſſible for the convoy to paſs or be reinforced but by forcing a paſſage, which the detachment ſent by *Lautrec* was too weak to attempt [c]. Lautrec *inveſts* Pavia. *The ſiege raiſed.*

IN the mean time the *Swiſs*, for whom this money was intended, became impatient: three days they waited; but on the fourth ſent one of their principal officers to *Lautrec* with three propoſitions, viz. that he would inſtantly pay them, diſcharge them, or lead them againſt the enemy; propoſitions equally whimſical and difficult. The Imperialiſts were encamped d at *Bico*, a village three miles from *Milan*, or rather they were cantoned in a large park, ſurrounded by a deep ditch, which rendered an attack extremely hazardous. *Lautrec* remonſtrated with the *Swiſs*; but all the anſwer he could procure was *Money*, a *Diſcharge*, or *Battle*: however, he obtained from them ſome little time to reconnoitre the enemy; after which he divided his army into three bodies for the attack, as this was the only alternative he could embrace. Before the engagement began, *Sforza* joined *Colonna* with ſix thouſand *Lanſquenets*; upon which *Lautrec* a ſecond time remonſtrated to the *Swiſs*, but they were obſtinate. No ſooner did the trumpets ſound than the *Swiſs*, deſpiſing danger, flew over the ditch, and prepared to mount the counterſcarp in the face of cannon and volleys of ſmall arms: the conſequence was, that in the ſpace of half an hour they loſt one thouſand of e their beſt troops. The ſecond line, not daunted with the deſtruction of the firſt, marched on with equal intrepidity, and met with the ſame fate, leaving in the foſſe about two thouſand ſoldiers, *Albert de la Pierre*, their general, and four other officers of diſtinction. The *French* and *Venetians* on the other ſide were not more ſucceſsful, though leſs unfortunate as to their loſs: *Lautrec*'s brother attacked the bridge, which, after a vigorous action, he was forced to quit, having loſt about ſeven hundred of his troops: ſuch was the iſſue of the affair at *Bico*, which happened upon the twenty-eighth of *April*, A. 1522. Some hiſtorians alledge, that *Lautrec*'s loſs next day amounted to five thouſand men, of which, on the part of the *Swiſs*, three thouſand fell. Next day he retired to *Trezzo*, and the day following the *Swiſs* returned to their cantons; the marquis of *Piſcara* was for purſuing them, but was diſf ſuaded by *Colonna* to run any farther hazards, ſince the ſure conſequence of their victory already acquired, would be the total conqueſt of the *Milaneſe*, and diſbanding of *Lautrec's* army [d]. Before the end of the autumn, the Imperialiſts were intirely maſters of the *Milaneſe*, *Cremoneſe*, and all the other appendages of the dutchy of *Milan*. French *defeated.*

IN the mean time *Charles* the fifth, knowing of the great preparations the *French* monarch was making for the recovery of the *Milaneſe*, made one more attempt to gain the *Venetians*; but with as little ſucceſs, it being the intention of the republic to keep well, if poſſible, with both parties, although a body of their troops acted in conjunction with the *French*.

THIS year *Adrian* the ſixth, who ſucceeded *Leo* in the pontificate, laboured with all his g might to bring about a truce for three years among the Chriſtian potentates. The great progreſs of the *Turks* in *Hungary*, as well as their conqueſt of the iſland of *Rhodes*, gave his A. D. 1523.

[b] PARUTA. l. 4. [c] PARUTA, l. 4 GUIC. l. 14. [d] Memoire de Ballai. l. 2. BELCAR. l. 17. PARUTA, ibid.

holineſs great apprehenſions about the fate of *Italy*. *Charles Lennoy*, his intimate friend and viceroy of *Naples*, perſuaded him that *Francis* alone oppoſed his pious deſigns; and the emperor and king of *England* had filled him with notions of the great authority and power of the head of the church. Flattered with theſe hopes, *Adrian* publiſhed a bull, by which, in virtue of the power delegated to him by the Almighty, he ordered all Chriſtian princes and ſtates to obſerve a truce of three years, under the penalty of interdiction and excommunication. *Francis*, paying no regard to the ſacred mandate, and continuing his preparations againſt *Italy*, the pope joined in the new formed league againſt this monarch, and omitted nothing to gain the *Venetians*. New envoys were every week coming from *Charles*, with different propoſals and terms. At laſt the affair was debated in the ſenate with great warmth, ſome adviſing to embrace the emperor's party and the league, others to continue their alliance with *Francis*, a prince of valour equal to his power [c]. The ſenate would ſeem to be divided into two factions; one in favour of *Francis*, headed by *Andrea Gritti*, a man of great authority and merit; the other by *Georgia Cornari*, no leſs reſpected for his prudence and wiſdom than his opponent. Theſe two noblemen ſupported their different ſentiments with great vehemence and warmth, each producing ſo many ſtrong and ſpecious arguments as rendered it next to impracticable to decide upon their merit. The arrival of the biſhop of *Bayeux*, ambaſſador from *Francis*, and of an envoy from *Henry* the eighth, ſtill more, if poſſible, perplexed their deliberations. The firſt intreated they would ſuſpend their determination, until the arrival of the *French* army, which he aſſerted would enter *Italy* in leſs than a month. This was reaſon enough for the *Engliſh* and imperial miniſters the more preſſingly to ſolicit them to an immediate reſolution; tho' at the ſame time they pretended to disbelieve the aſſertion of the *French* ambaſſador, under the notion that *Francis* could ſpare no ſuch army at a time when his own kingdom was in danger.

Adrian *the ſixth joins in the league againſt* France.

At length, by the intrigues of *Charles*, of *Adrian*, and the *Engliſh* ambaſſadors, a perpetual peace and alliance between the emperor, *Ferdinand*, the archduke of *Auſtria*, and *Francis Sforza*, duke of *Milan*, on the one hand, and the republic of *Venice* on the other, was concluded. The conditions were, that the ſenate ſhould ſend, if neceſſary, twelve hundred horſe and ſix thouſand foot for the protection of the *Milaneſe*: that they ſhould have the ſame number ready to oppoſe the invaſion of *Naples* by any Chriſtian potentate: that *Charles* ſhould provide an equal number of forces for the defence of the *Venetian* dominions againſt all enemies without diſtinction: that the republic ſhould, in the term of eight years, pay to the archduke the ſum of two hundred thouſand ducats, as an indemnification of former loſſes: that the republic ſhould poſſeſs all her cities, towns, forts, and territories on the continent, with the ſame juriſdiction, power, and authority, as at the ſigning of this treaty: that all perſons baniſhed their country, and expelled the ſenate for having engaged in the emperor's cauſe, ſhould be recalled and reinſtated in their former poſſeſſions; and that beſides, they ſhould for life enjoy an annual penſion of five thouſand ducats, in recompence of their ſufferings (A). The pope and *Henry* the eighth were guarantees of this treaty, and the kings of *Poland*, *Hungary*, *Portugal*, the duke of *Savoy*, with a number of petty princes, were admitted as aſſociates [f].

*The final reſolution of the ſenate, and concluſion of a treaty with the emperor, &c.*

No ſooner was the treaty concluded than the republic ſent an ambaſſy to the emperor, to compliment him on the occaſion. Their next meaſure was to provide a general to conduct the intended armaments. *Trivulcio* was ſuppoſed too much attached to the *French* intereſt; yet, as he had always behaved with a ſcrupulous regard to honour, it required ſome delicacy to diſmiſs him without giving offence. It was therefore propoſed, that a penſion of three thouſand ducats ſhould be ſettled on him for his ſupport as a private citizen, on preſumption he would not chuſe to draw his ſword againſt his king and country. The terms were offered, but rejected by *Trivulcio*, who preferred returning into *France*. In his room, the ſenate appointed *Franciſco Maria*, duke of *Urbini*, commander in chief of all their forces [g]. Such a change in the policy of the ſenate made moſt people imagine, that *Francis*, deprived of ſo powerful an ally, would forbear his intended expedition. Inſtead of which, he, undaunted by the league, remained firm in his reſolution, and made greater preparations than before for the execution. The conſtable of *Bourbon*'s defection ſomewhat retarded his operations; but upon his flight every thing went on for the march of the army. However, the king contented himſelf with ſending *Bonivet* with the troops, amounting to twenty thouſand horſe and foot.

[c] Guic. l. 15. Paruta, l. 5. Guther in Vit. Adrian VI. [f] Parut. ibid. Fug. l. 5. d. 5. [g] Parut. l. 6.

(A) As the *Venetians* were in treaty with *Solyman*, and from thence drew very extraordinary advantages, they did not chuſe to run the hazard of offending him by having his name mentioned in this new treaty of alliance (1).

(1) *Hiſt. Med. l.* 13.

*BONIVET*

a *BONIVET* paſſed the *Alps* in the end of *Auguſt*, or beginning of *September* this year; and coming to the frontiers of the *Milaneſe*, ſoon reduced *Novarra* and all the country on the farther ſide of the river *Meſin*. *Proſpero Colonna* had neglected to fortify and garriſon the places of moſt importance, not imagining that *Francis*, who had ſo many enemies to combat in his own dominions, could ſpare an army to *Italy*. But finding his conjecture falſe, he was compelled to retire in great diſorder to *Milan*. He had but five thouſand men; a body inſufficient to defend ſo large and ill-fortified a city. Experience, however, had taught him, that he was not to conclude what an enemy would do from what he himſelf, in their circumſtances, might think convenient: inſtead therefore of abandoning the dutchy, he began with all diligence to repair his former error, thinking it time enough to retire
b when the enemy made him unable longer to reſiſt [h].

Had *Bonivet* marched directly to *Milan*, without waiting to reduce the country as he proceeded, the gates would have been opened; but he injudiciouſly eſteemed a day more or leſs of little conſequence. Thus he loſt four or five days, which afforded *Colonna* time to put the capital in a ſtate of defence. The republic, having notice of their approach, ordered their army to aſſemble on the banks of the *Oglio*: they alſo reinforced the garriſons of *Crema* and *Bergamo*, ſending a body of troops likewiſe to join *Colonna*. When *Bonivet* came before *Milan*, he found the city ſo well prepared for a defence, that without attempting to form the ſiege, he took the reſolution of encamping at *Chirabella*, to cut off the convoys from the allied army; but his meaſures were ſo ill concerted, that, after perſiſting in the
c deſign till the end of *November*, he was forced to remove at a greater diſtance, his army being in want of proviſion and forage [i].

Bonivet's *error, and* Colonna's *diligence the cauſe of the ill ſucceſs of the* French.

*BONIVET*, unſucceſsful here, found means, however, to take *Monza*, *Lodi*, and to relieve the city of *Cremona*, which was in great diſtreſs, the city being in the hands of the Imperialiſts. The *Milanois* and *Germans*, apprehending that *Bonivet* might lay ſiege to *Cremona*, preſſed the ſenate to order their army into the *Cremoneſe*; but they choſe to refer the whole to the diſcretion of the general. *Franciſco Maria*, unwilling to endanger the army committed to his care, encamped between *Romano* and *Martinenga*, with which the Imperialiſts were diſſatisfied. Some reports of a ſecret treaty between the imperial and *French* monarchs, gave birth to the cautious meaſures of the *Venetians*, who were apprehenſive of entering up-
d on hoſtilities and waſting their troops, while it was doubtful whether an alliance, planned for their deſtruction, might not be in agitation: their general, therefore, kept aloof, until the ſtorms which threatened the republic were diſpelled; and the ſenate uſed the utmoſt diligence in forming new levies, and preparing againſt the doubtful events of fortune, and policy of the imperial and *French* councils [k].

Bonivet *retires from* Milan, *and takes* Lodi.

During this ſtate of affairs and ſuſpence of action, from the mutual jealouſy and diſtruſt of the parties, as well as the approach of winter, pope *Adrian* the ſixth died on the fourteenth of *September*, A. 1523. His death was a fatal ſtroke to the confederacy, depriving it not only of the pontifical authority, but of large pecuniary ſupplies. *Julius de Medicis*, who was choſen in his ſtead, by the name of *Clement* the ſeventh, aſſumed a conduct totally
e different from that of his predeceſſor. This prelate, perfectly acquainted with public affairs, obſerved that *Adrian* had too eaſily acknowledged the weakneſs and fallibility of the church; a practice contrary to the politics of former popes, who never aſſented to the reformation of abuſes, but to obtain ſome very important object. *Charles* had incurred the diſpleaſure of many of the princes of the empire, by making too great conceſſions to the court of *Rome*; yet would not *Clement* renew the truce his predeceſſor had made with the head of the empire. He gave the emperor to underſtand, that his intention was to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality; nor muſt his imperial majeſty reſent this conduct, which reſulted from his ſenſe of the duty of the common father of *Chriſtendom*; his deſire of uniting Chriſtian princes, and of oppoſing the quick growth of the *Othoman* power [l].

f The conduct of *Clement* extremely embarraſſed the duke of *Bourbon*. The emperor had given him, after his eſcape from *France*, the command of his forces in *Italy*; but he ſent him no money for the payment of the troops, nor was it poſſible for the duke to ſatisfy their demands, as neither the pope or the republic of *Florence* furniſhed their ſtipulated ſubſidies: he found means, however, to draw ſome money from the inhabitants of *Milan*; and at laſt he engaged the pope to give him twenty thouſand ducats, and to uſe his influence with the *Florentines* to remit fifty thouſand crowns, on condition that the duke kept the tranſaction a profound ſecret [m].

Mean time the *Venetians* had appointed eight of their chief citizens to compliment *Clement* on his acceſſion to the papal dignity. The ſenate was ſenſible of the importance of being on good terms with his holineſs: his abilities were unqueſtionable, and it was reaſon-

[h] Guic. l. 15. Parut. ibid. [i] Capella. Hiſt. Med. l. 3. [k] Paruta. l. 6. Guic. l. 15. [l] Guic. l. 15. Anton. de Vera. Hiſt. de Charles, p. 124. [m] Belcar. l. 18.

ably presumed that his policy would vary in many particulars from that of *Adrian*. The ambassadors assured the pope of the republic's esteem of his private as well as public character; of their desire of being united in interest with him; and of implicitly following the measures his holiness would prescribe. They were well received at *Rome*; but during their residence, *Grimani*, the doge died, after having governed for near two years (B), and was succeeded by *Andrea Gritti*, unanimously elected on account of his experience in public affairs, and the ability and integrity with which he had always conducted several of the highest offices. [n] a

## *ANDREA GRITTI*, Doge LXXVII.

Andrea Gritti, *doge* LXXVII. A. D. 1524.

In this manner concluded the year 1523. In the beginning of the following, the duke of *Bourbon*, having been reinforced with six thousand *Germans*, and joined at length by some *Venetians*, put himself in motion, at the head of thirty thousand men. *Bonivet*, the *French* general, was now in his turn greatly perplexed how to act: he had but twenty thousand men, and no money, which was a circumstance common to both sides. He had, indeed, engaged ten thousand *Swiss* and five thousand *Grisons*; but could derive no great advantage from auxiliaries, whose courage was proportioned to the subsidy received. In this conjuncture he resolved to give battle to the Imperialists, before they became acquainted with his situation; but the duke of *Bourbon* wisely declined an action, though he was superior in number, determining either to famish or disperse *Bonivet*'s army by procrastination [o]. b

In the mean time the Imperialists recovered *Vercelli*, by means of a secret correspondence with *Tetti*, the chief of the *Gibelline* faction. *Bonivet* finding himself almost surrounded, had thoughts of retiring; but was prevented by *Renca de Ceri*, who promised to bring him five thousand *Grisons*. The imperial general, receiving intelligence of their march, sent *Jean de Medicis* with three hundred lances, six hundred chosen horse, and seven thousand foot, to intercept the detachment [p]; and he so harrassed the *Grisons* with perpetual skirmishes before they reached *Gravina*, that, finding no *French* escort or money on their arrival, they returned home, giving *Jean de Medicis* a promise not to attempt any thing, unless they were pursued. *Bourbon*, being informed of this success, wrote to *Medicis* to invest *Biagrasso*, the only town the *French* now held upon the *Thesin*. *Medicis* after c

Medicis *takes* Biagrasso. destroying the bridge which *Bonivet* had thrown over that river, attacked the town defended by one thousand *Italians*, and took it in four hours: here he found some rich booty, of which the *French* had pillaged the *Milanois*. *Bonivet*'s measures being entirely disconcerted by the success of the enemy, he returned to *Novara*, to facilitate his junction with ten thousand *Swiss* then on their march. *Bourbon*, to prevent his junction, encamped between *Vercelli* and the *French*, which motion obliged *Bonivet* to advance to *Romagnano*, where he threw a bridge of boats over the *Secchia*, and crossed without opposition. The next night he joined the *Swiss*, who charged him with a breach of promise, not only refusing to act in conjunction with him before their subsidy was paid, but drawing off others of their countrymen, by their disaffection [q]. Alarmed with this accident, *Bonivet* thought of nothing but repassing the *Alps*, and getting clear of *Italy*. The Imperialists stuck close to his rear, and charged him with great vigour. *Bonivet* being wounded, was carried off the field, the chavalier *Bayard* commanding in his room, and resisting the enemy with great intrepidity, until he lost his life. After this action the Imperialists laid siege to *Lodi*, where *Bussi d' Amboise* commanded, and had it soon delivered to them by capitulation. The *Venetians* bore no share either in the pursuit or siege, the proveditor refusing to exceed the articles of the treaty, saying, that the senate had engaged only for the defence of the *Milanese*. *Soliman*'s great preparations, his ambitious spirit, together with the pope's equivocal conduct, made the senate resolve upon keeping as much aloof as was consistent with the terms of their engagement with the emperor. It was apparent that, either for fear of the power of *Francis*, or distrust of the emperor, *Clement*, ever since his accession, inclined to the *French* interest. Though the republic had no doubt of the pontiff's intentions, yet not caring to quit the emperor's alliance before they were assured of the friendship of the *French* monarch, they kept their army in a state of inaction, waiting the issue of the duke *de Bourbon*'s ex- d e f

Swiss *revolt from* Bonivet.

*Rear of the* French *defeated*

[n] Paruta, l. 5. [o] Guicc. l. 15. Capella. l. 3. [p] Paruta, ibid. Fouc. l. 6. d. 5. [q] Guicc. l. 15. Capella. l. 3.

(B) The government of this prince was too short to afford instances by which to judge properly of his character. He is represented by *Sansovino* and other historians, as a person of great prudence, gravity, and experience in public affairs. He was buried with great pomp, and an elaborate oration was pronounced on the occasion; though we cannot venture to ascribe to him all the virtues mentioned in a professed panegyric.

pedition

a pedition into *Provence*. The fruitleſſneſs of this ſcheme, and the ſudden march of *Francis* into *Italy*, his laying ſiege to *Pavia*, and at the ſame time, by another army, invading the kingdom of *Naples*, threw the republic into great perplexity. Both ſides ſolicited her friendſhip: ſhe was already in treaty with the emperor; but the *Venetian* forces in *Italy* were too weak to protect the *Milaneſe*, much leſs their own dominions, if, by her adherence to her engagements, the republic ſhould incur the reſentment of *Francis*. In ſhort, the ſenate entruſted the direction of their affairs to *Clement*, who ſecretly concluded a treaty between *Francis* and the *Venetians* [r].

By theſe temporizing meaſures, and political balancing, the ſenate procured ſome advantages, but little honour to the republic. The *Venetian* army ſtill continued inactive:
b their intentions were not known to the duke *de Bourbon*; ſo little, indeed, that he was ſoliciting the ſenate to ſend the army to his relief, as he was retiring before *Francis*: nor was the ſenate well determined whether they ſhould not comply with his requeſt at the very time when they had concluded a treaty with the enemy. In the battle which ſoon after enſued at *Pavia*, we do not find that the *Venetians* had any ſhare (C) on either ſide, or that their forces were at all preſent.

The victory at *Pavia* filled with conſternation and fear all the ſtates not in alliance with the emperor: upon this the *Venetians* propoſed to *Clement* the forming a league againſt the power of this monarch, who, by his victorious army, might ſoon render himſelf maſter of all *Italy*; but, during their negociations with his holineſs, the ſenate thought it ad-
c viſeable to tamper with the emperor, and prevent an open rupture with that monarch before they were in a condition to reſiſt his power: for this purpoſe, *Lorenzo Priuli* and *Andrea Novagiaro*, were ſent to congratulate him upon his victory, and to excuſe their delay in not ſending forces to join his army. Mean time a treaty offenſive and defenſive was concluded between the pope, the *Venetians*, *Francis Sforza*, and *Peſcara*, who ſoon after treacherouſly revealed the whole to the emperor. *Moron* appeared in behalf of *Sforza*, *Montiban* repreſented his holineſs, and *Santi* had full powers to tranſact the affairs of the *Venetians*. The contents of the treaty were an alliance to expel the Imperialiſts out of *Italy*, to which the *French* were invited to accede: it was ſtipulated that the marquis of *Peſcara* ſhould be placed at the head of this alliance, and ſhould ſeparate himſelf with
d all convenient expedition from the imperial forces, in order to oppreſs them the more eaſily, if they refuſed to aſſiſt him in the conqueſt of *Naples* [s].

A. D. 1525. Venetians *in treaty with both the emperor and* Francis.

*League betwixt the pope, Venetians, Peſcara, and* Sforza, *againſt the emperor.*

It was ſoon after that *Peſcara*, imagining he might draw conſiderable advantages from ſo important a diſcovery, ſent his chief confident *Caſtallo* to the emperor, to acquaint him with the whole tranſaction, and to aſſure *Charles*, that he had no other deſign in becoming a confederate in the alliance, than to procure the more certain intelligence. *Charles* wrote him back, to continue the correſpondence with the *Venetians*, the pope, and *Moron*; but a few days after returned *Caſtallo*, with orders to ſeize on the chancellor, and employ all means for the immediate reduction of *Milan*. The orders were punctually executed, and *Moron* impriſoned in the citadel of *Pavia* on the fourteenth of *October*; a circumſtance
e which entirely diſconcerted the *Venetians*, who now found themſelves expoſed to the emperor's reſentment, without being able to rely on the conſtancy of the pontiff. *Peſcara* demanded, that *Milan*, *Cremona*, and all the places ſituated on the *Adda*, ſhould be delivered to the emperor: to which *Sforza*, who was then ill of a fever, agreed, excepting *Milan* and *Cremona*; which, he ſaid, he could not ſurrender but to his imperial majeſty in perſon. He added, that *Moron* had taken upon him to negociate this alliance upon his own authority. *Peſcara*, upon this anſwer, threw off the maſk; convoked the eſtates of the *Milaneſe*; accuſed *Sforza* of high treaſon; and obliged the inhabitants of the duchy to take an oath of allegiance to the emperor. He even laid ſiege to the citadel of *Cremona*, and inveſted the city of *Milan*.

*Emperor ſeizes on the duchy of* Milan.

f The *Venetians* were no leſs embarraſſed than the pope and *Francis Sforza*. *Martin Caraccioli*, ambaſſador of *Charles* the fifth at *Venice*, was then negociating a peace, or rather an alliance between his maſter and the republic. By accepting the terms offered, the ſenate foreſaw their liberty would be in imminent danger; and by rejecting them, their ter-

[r] Parut. l. 5. Guic. ibid. Foug. d. 5. l. 6. Hiſt. citat. ibid. [s] Paruta, l. 5. Guicc. l. 16. Fug. d. 5. l. 6.

(C) It would occaſion repeitions were we here to give the progreſs of this campaign, which will more properly be treated elſewhere. Sufficient it is, that, previous to the ſiege of *Pavia*, *Francis* deſired that the treaty with the pope and *Venetians* might be made public, which the former refuſed. The hiſtorians of the republic affirm that the ſenate aſſented to this requeſt; but no where do we find conſequences of their aſſent any way advantageous to *Francis*. The ſiege of *Pavia* was conducted ſolely by *French* troops, and the battle which followed, wherein that monarch was made priſoner by the Imperialiſts, was unfortunate chiefly on account of his inferiority. In ſhort, to the irreſolute conduct of the republic may be aſcribed the misfortunes of that hero, and the ſucceſs of the emperor.

titories on the continent would be expoſed to all the horrors of war, as ſoon as *Milan* and *Cremona* were reduced. Leſs timid, and more penetrating than *Clement*, they told *Caracciioli*, that the late league was formed with no other purpoſe than to reinſtate *Sforza* in his dominions: that it was evident the emperor had no intention to accede to it, becauſe he deprived that prince of his dominions: that they could think of no alliance with his majeſty before *Sforza* was reſtored; and however great their reſpect was for the emperor, it was ſtill greater for truth, fidelity, and their promiſe. Had *Clement* the ſeventh given an equal proof of his conſtancy, the emperor would have been greatly perplexed how to act; but his holineſs, deſirous of ſhewing his refined policy, fell into the ſame ſnare in which he had been lately taken. *Salveari*, his legate in *Spain*, was negociating with *Charles*, at the ſame time that another of his miniſters was treating with *France* and the republic, to engage them in an alliance againſt that monarch. *Clement* attended with impatience for the iſſue of the legate's intrigues; and he had fixed the day for ſigning the treaty with the *French* and *Venetians*, when he received intelligence that his other legate had concluded affairs at *Madrid* [t], the emperor having agreed to oblige the duke of *Ferrara* to reſtore *Reggio* and *Rubiera* to the holy ſee. Nothwithſtanding this, upon *Francis*'s refuſal to ratify the oppreſſive treaty of *Madrid*, by which he was ſet at liberty, the pope was no leſs eager than the *Venetians* to congratulate him on his return to his kingdom. He even commiſſioned his legate to conclude an alliance with *Francis*, the *Venetians*, and *Sforza*, againſt the emperor [u]. a

A. D. 1526.

ONE does not know what to make of the politics of *Rome* and *Venice* during this period. *Clement* and the republic were every month changing ſides, forming new ſchemes, and entering into new engagements, which they never executed: they perceived that whether *Francis* or *Charles* became ſuperior, their power muſt ſink in proportion to the encreaſed influence of either of thoſe monarchs in *Italy*. As their conduct, therefore, depended upon conjunctures, the event of a battle or treaty between thoſe great rivals, it was neceſſarily unſteady, fickle, and changeable. Two things contributed to haſten the concluſion of this league with *Francis*: the firſt was, that the citadel of *Milan* which the Imperialiſts were then beſieging, muſt ſoon ſurrender without reinforcements, which neither his holineſs or the ſenate would venture to ſend, until they were aſſured of the aſſiſtance of the *French* monarch: the other was, that *Francis* imagined the equivalent of two millions for the duchy of *Burgundy*, which he offered the emperor, would have more weight after the publication of this alliance. Certain it is, that he ſigned the treaty of *Cognac* with this view chiefly. e

*Treaty of* Cognac *between* Francis *the firſt*, Clement *the ſeventh, and the* Venetians. d

*MONCADA*, the emperor's ambaſſador at *Rome*, laboured with great diligence to detach his holineſs and the republic from *Francis*; but the ſenate kept *Clement* firm to his engagements: and as for themſelves, they told the ambaſſador, that when his imperial majeſty was inclined to treat of peace upon reaſonable terms, he would always find the republic well diſpoſed to an union; but that it became his imperial majeſty to declare his ſerious intentions by actions rather than mere profeſſions; that if he would raiſe the ſiege of *Milan*, reinſtate *Sforza* in his dominions, and perform the articles of their laſt contract with him, it would then be proper time to talk of laying down arms, and the tranquility of *Italy*. *Moncada*'s anſwer being couched in general terms, it was evident that *Charles* had nothing leſs in view than to accede to thoſe propoſals. The confederates in the mean time ſent an ambaſſy to *England*, to invite that monarch into the league, or at leaſt to uſe his influence with the emperor to releaſe the hoſtages given by *Francis*, and renounce the article of the treaty of *Madrid* which regarded *Burgundy*, for a valuable conſideration [w]. c

BEFORE the event of his ambaſſy was known, the league was publiſhed; and the *Venetians* ſent into the field an army of ten thouſand foot, nine hundred lances, and eight hundred light horſe, taking at the ſame time a ſtrong body of *Swiſs* into the pay of the republic. Upon the junction of this army with the *Swiſs*, it was determined to undertake the relief of *Milan*, while the marquis of *Saluſſes*, with one thouſand *French* infantry, and a proportionable number of cavalry, was to lay ſiege to *Navarro* and *Alexandria*. A general rendezvous was appointed at *Chiari*, from whence the army was to march as conjunctures might require. f

Venetians *take* Lodi.

WHILE the army was getting ready, *Malateſte Baillon*, with a detachment of *Venetians*, entered upon action, having found means to ſeize upon *Lodi*, although defended by a numerous garriſon, and provided with all the neceſſaries to ſuſtain a ſiege. Immediately upon this ſucceſs, the whole army, croſſing the *Po*, joined the pope's forces, and marched towards *Milan*. The city was in the hands of the Imperialiſts; but the exorbitant contributions

[t] ANTON. DE VERA, Hiſt. de Charles, p. 130. [u] ANTON. DE VERA. ibid. [w] PARUTA, l. 5. GUICC. l. 16.

they

a they had raiſed for the ſupport of the army, had ſo alienated the minds of the citizens; that the duke *d'Urbini*, who commanded the *Venetians*, had no doubt of an inſurrection in his favour. *Milan* was accordingly inveſted, and the ſiege carried on with great vigour, when *Urbini* received intelligence that the duke *de Bourbon* had thrown himſelf, with a conſiderable reinforcement, into the city; that he had brought money for the payment of the troops; and that the Imperialiſts were aſſembling a powerful army x (D). After weighing circumſtances, the duke determined to raiſe the ſiege; which he did accordingly, retiring unmoleſted to *Marignan*. The ſenate had conceived great expectations from this enterprize; now they were chagrined upon the retreat of the army. The duke *d' Urbini* ſent *Lodovico Gonzaga* to juſtify himſelf at *Venice*; and his reaſons appeared ſo convincing, that the ſenate was
b perfectly ſatisfied with his conduct. But the caſe was otherwiſe with the pope, who greatly reſented not only this particular action, but the general behaviour of the duke. His holineſs was outrageous that his officers ſhould be ſo entirely neglected by *Urbini*, and never conſulted upon affairs of the greateſt moment. To appeaſe *Clement*, and prevent diviſions in the army, the ſenate ordered *Urbini*, for the future, to hold a council with the pope's chief officers, particularly his general *Franciſco Guicciardini*, and to undertake nothing without his concurrence y.

*The confederates equip a fleet.*

At this time a fleet was equipped to annoy, in conjunction with the pope's gallies, the coaſts of the enemy. Divers propoſals were made concerning the courſe they ſhould ſteer, and their firſt effort. The pope urged the fleet's ſailing to *Apulia*, to fruſtrate the
c deſigns of the *Coloneſſi*, who had there aſſembled an army. *Francis* and the *Venetians* joined in a contrary opinion, imagining an attack upon *Genoa* of more conſequence to the common cauſe. As *Francis* agreed to ſtrengthen this armament by a powerful ſquadron, the admiral was appointed by his recommendation, and *Pedro Navaro* made commander of the combined fleet. After various delays on the ſide of *Francis*, and ſuſpicions on that of the pope and republic, at length *Armiero* the proveditor ſailed from *Corfu* with thirteen gallies to *Teracino*, where he met with *Doria*, and eleven of the pope's gallies. Hence they proceeded to *Leghorn*, where they joined *Pedro* with four *French* galleons and ſixteen light gallies: here it was determined to reduce *Genoa* under the ſubjection of *France*, for the benefit of the confederacy: firſt they ſailed to *Porto Venieri*, which, with all the other towns to *Monaco*, they ſoon re-
d duced. The fleet divided, the *Venetian* and pope's gallies ſteering to *Porto Fino*, and *Pedro Navaro*, with the *French* ſquadron, to *Savona*, which immediately ſurrendered. Their firſt deſign was to prevent ſuccours by ſea from being ſent to *Genoa*, knowing the city was ill ſupplied: by this means they expected ſoon to compel the inhabitants to accept an eaſy capitulation. In all probability the admirals muſt have ſucceeded, ſo well had they taken

*Block up* Genoa.

x Parut. ibid. Foug. d. 5. l. 6. y Parut. Guicc. l. 19.

(D) It muſt be obſerved that *Baillon*'s ſucceſs at *Lodi*, was ſufficient to reduce all the other towns of the *Milaneſe*, had the *Italians* either conduct or courage to purſue the advantage. This city opened a paſſage more commodious than the river *Adda*; it prevented the emperor's troops from all communication with the garriſon of *Cremona*, and from ravaging the *Parmeſan* and *Placentin*, and furniſhed the confederates with ſupplies from the fertile country of *Milan*, as far as the gates of the capital. Had *Urbini* marched directly thither, he would have foiled all the vigilance of *Levé*, the governor. That general had under him but three hundred lances, three thouſand *Germans*, and five thouſand *Spaniards*; an army inſufficient to carry on the ſiege of the citadel, to reſtrain the citizens, extremely incenſed againſt the Imperialiſts, and defend themſelves againſt a ſuperior army. But the duke *d'Urbini*, overlooking thoſe advantages, declared he would not inveſt *Milan*, until he was joined by a body of *Swiſs*, to ſupport the ſhock of the enemy's infantry. The pope's officers remonſtrated in vain, that the opportunity would be loſt; that *Levé* would receive ſuccours; that they could not ſally out, for fear of being attacked in the rear by the garriſon of the citadel, with every other argument that could poſſibly engage him in the undertaking; but he perſiſted in his reſolution to run no hazards; and the officers of the holy ſee were compelled to deſiſt, the pope having ſubjected them to the authority of the duke. Thus the fair occaſion elapſed without an atrempt made, when two hundred of the citadel garriſon made their way ſword in hand through the lines of the Imperialiſts, and acquainted the army, that the citadel was at the laſt extremity, they having made their eſcape for want of proviſions. This at length determined the duke to advance within a league of the city, where he was joined by a body of *Swiſs*. He then called a council of war, to deliberate on which ſide he ſhould make the attack; but during the ſitting of the council, the duke of *Bourbon* reinforced *Levé* with eight hundred *Spaniards*, and a ſum of money. The next day *Urbini* planted a battery againſt the *Roman* gate of the city; and the ſiege was going on briſkly, when the ſucceeding night the Imperialiſts made a furious ſally upon his artillery; but after a warm diſpute were repulſed. Upon this it was that the duke *d'Urbini* reſolved ro raiſe the ſiege, as if he had actuallybeen defeated, and had loſt his artillery. When the retreat was ſounded, *Guicciardin*, an officer in the pope's ſervice, ran to his tent, and told him, the confederates would for ever loſe their reputation, if they retired for ſo ſlight a cauſe, eſpecially as the enemy was repulſed: he ſaid, the conſequence of a retreat would be the immediate ſurrender of the citadel. But he was anſwered coldly by the duke, that it was a general's duty to be careful of the army committed to his charge, and to place it beyond the reach of danger. *Jean de Medicis*, however, did not decamp before ſun-ſet. He commanded the pope's infantry, and had once thoughts of continuing the ſiege; but finding his force too ſmall, he retreated with drums beating, without being purſued by the Imperialiſts (1).

(1) *Guicc. l.* 17. *Heuter. l.* 5. *c.* 6. *Spond. ad An.* 1526. *No.* 7. 8.

their meaſures, had not jealouſies among themſelves ariſen: *Navaro* accuſed *Doria* of treachery, and permitting ſhips laden with proviſions to enter the city; and *Doria* envied the ſuperiority given *Navaro*. *Genoa* likewiſe received ſmall ſuccours from the continent, but nothing equal to the exigences of the city. For their ſecurity towards the ſea, the inhabitants had ſtationed ſome large ſhips with heavy artillery at the mouth of the harbour: beſides theſe, they gave *Guiſtiniani* the command of ſix light gallies, to ſkirmiſh with the confederate fleet, within reach of the cannon of the larger ſhips, in order to divert their attention from the expected convoys. The confederate troops being landed, the city was inveſted on all ſides, and the batteries played with great fury on the walls. To ſecure themſelves from the attacks of the peaſants from without, *Navaro* ordered a trench to be formed round the camp. The garriſon, finding itſelf thus cooped up, determined upon making a ſally; but the confederates, having intelligence or ſuſpicion of their deſign, landed *Doria* and *Grimani*, with eight hundred more troops and ſome pieces of artillery: beſides, their light gallies were drawn up along ſhore in ſuch a manner, as to bring their cannon to bear on the garriſon, if they ſtirred. However, without being diſcouraged, the *Genoeſe* made a vigorous ſally, and were bravely received: the combat continued obſtinate for ſome time, when at length the beſieged were driven back within their walls with great loſs [z]. Notwithſtanding this defeat, the count *Gabriel Martinenga* bravely defended the city until the following year, when *Lautrec* ſent *Cæſar Fregoſa* with a ſtrong reinforcement to the beſiegers, which obliged the count to ſurrender. *Martinenga*, captain-general of the *Genoeſe*, was made priſoner, *Theodore Trivulcio* appointed governor in the name of the *French* king, and the citadel, into which *Adorni* the doge had retired, was ſurrendered a few days after [a].

*The forces landed, and the city inveſted.*

MEAN time the retreat of the duke *d'Urbini* with the confederate army was attended by the ſurrender of the citadel of *Milan*, three days after *Sforza* had obtained terms more reaſonable and eaſy than he could expect, conſidering the condition of the garriſon at the time he ſigned the capitulation: he was in want of ammunition, proviſion, and men, while thoſe that remained were quite exhauſted and ſpent with the tedioufneſs of the ſiege. The pope had alſo been unfortunate in his deſign upon *Sienna*: but beſides the retreat of *Urbini*, and the ill ſucceſs of the enterprize againſt *Sienna*, two other circumſtances contributed to diſappoint the hopes, and reverſe the former ſucceſs of the confederates: the one was the diſturbances excited by the *Colonni* at *Rome*. *Clement* the ſeventh, by the mediation of *Moncada*, the Imperial miniſter, had been reconciled to his family, having conſented to an interview with *Veſpaſian Colonna*, for this purpoſe. An agreement was ſigned, in which the pope engaged, for certain conſiderations ſpecified, to protect them againſt their rivals the *Urſini*: but about a month after, *Veſpaſian* permitted his couſin, the cardinal *Colonna*, to advance with eight hundred horſe and three thouſand foot, and take poſſeſſion of three of the gates of the city. *Clement* had only time to retire to the caſtle of *St. Angelo*; upon which *Moncada*, who was privy to the deſign of the *Colonni*, went to him, and after repreſenting his danger, adviſed him to a truce for four months with the emperor, to which the other confederates might accede if they pleaſed. No ſooner was this truce ſigned, than *Clement* recalled his troops under the duke *d'Urbini*; which greatly diminiſhed his ſtrength, and gave the firſt fatal blow to the confederacy [b]. Another cauſe of its decline was the arrival of *George Fronſperg*, with a body of four thouſand *Lanſquenets*, levied at his own expence in *Germany*. This corps the archduke *Ferdinand* joined with a conſiderable corps of cavalry: *Fronſperg*, at their head, paſſed the mountains of *Trent*, and arrived in the *Mantuan*, in ſpite of all the oppoſition made by the *Venetians*. But before we mention this expedition, it may be proper to ſpeak of the motions of the *Venetian* army after the retreat from *Milan*, and taking of *Monza*.

DUKE *d'Urbini* had taken the reſolution to return once more for the relief of the citadel, when intelligence was received of its ſurrender. Upon this he turned his thoughts to the ſiege of *Cremona*; to inveſt which city he ſent a ſtrong detachment under *Baillon*, who acquitted himſelf ſo well at *Lodi*. *Baillon* found the city fortified with a double trench, and well provided; nevertheleſs, he inveſted it with great diligence and vigour: but, finding his troops unequal to the undertaking, he ſent to *Urbini* for a reinforcement of infantry, which was complied with. After the ſiege had continued for ſome days, the duke grew impatient about the conſequences: he knew how much a ſecond diſappointment of this nature would prejudice his reputation and hurt the cauſe, and therefore reſolved to direct the ſiege in perſon. Leaving the *Venetian* cavalry, and the *Swiſs*, to the number of thirteen thouſand, to proceed to *Milan*, he marched with all the *Venetian* infantry to *Cremona*: his batteries played with great fury for ſeveral days, but without effecting a breach, upon which he determined to undermine the walls: by this means ſeveral large breaches were

*The Venetians beſiege and take Cremona.*

[z] Ibid. etiam FOLIET. Hiſt. Gen. l. 12. [a] PARUT. l. 5. [b] GUIC. l. 17.

made,

a made, which he ſtormed with ſo much ſucceſs, that the garriſon hung out a flag of truce, and the city was ſurrendered upon moderate conditions [c].

NOTWITHSTANDING this ſucceſs, the above circumſtances weighed down the balance againſt the republic: *Urbini*'s army was much diminiſhed by the retreat of the eccleſiaſtical forces, while the duke of *Bourbon* was in a fair way of being greatly ſtrengthened by the junction of *Fronſperg*. Before the truce between *Clement* and the emperor was concluded, *Fronſperg* had arrived in the *Mantuan*: here *Jean de Medicis* was detached againſt him, who, imagining the *Lanſquenets* had no artillery, approached in reconnoitring them ſo near, that he was ſhot in the knee by a cannon-ball, of which he died. After the death of the brave *Medicis*, no one preſumed to oppoſe the march of the *Germans*, who arrived without farther
b obſtruction in the *Placentin*, where they joined the duke of *Bourbon*.

*The pope's forces recalled, in conſequence of a truce with the emperor.*

ON this junction the duke propoſed going directly to *Milan*, to prevent the deſigns of *Urbini*; but *Fronſperg* anſwered fiercely, that the *Germans* would not move an inch farther till their ſubſidy was paid: to appeaſe him *Bourbon* was under the neceſſity of coining the church-plate, and putting the rich inhabitants to the torture to extort their money. After this he proceeded on his march; but as he made ſeveral turnings from the direct road, the pope began to entertain apprehenſions leſt he might enter the territories of the holy ſee, or ſtrike off towards *Bologna*, and from thence to *Tuſcany*. With theſe ſuſpicions he requeſted the ſenate that they would order *Urbini* to croſs the *Po* with all expedition, to ſecure *Tuſcany* and the eccleſiaſtical territory; but as the ſenate was under ſome fears for their
c own dominions, they did not chuſe to comply wholly with his deſire: yet, willing to give his holineſs all the ſatisfaction they could, conſiſtently with their own ſafety, *Lodovico Piſani* was ſent with a ſtrong detachment for the defence of the pope's dominions; the marquis of *Saluſſes* with the *French* and *Swiſs* followed, after which *Vitturi* the proveditor croſſed the *Po*, with the reſt of the army. To prevent the *Florentines* from entering into precipitate meaſures out of dread of an enemy who ſeemed ready to fall upon *Tuſcany*, the ſenate ſent *Marco Foſcari* to acquaint that republic with the ſteps taken for their ſecurity, and to keep them firm in their intereſt [d].

BEFORE we conclude the tranſactions of this year, we muſt take ſome notice of the naval affairs. A great fleet of forty men of war was fitted out at *Carthagena* for the relief of
d *Genoa*, which was reduced to the greateſt extremity, and at laſt taken by *Navaro* before this fleet put to ſea. As intelligence of the ſurrender of the city was not yet received in *Spain*, the viceroy of *Naples*, who commanded the armament, ſteered directly for the gulph of *Genoa*, where he fell in with *Navaro*, who bravely attacked him with ſeventeen gallies, and obliged him to ſheer off. Towards the end of the engagement a ſtorm aroſe, and ſoon effected what *Navaro* had left undone; for the *Spaniſh* navy was totally diſperſed, and many of the ſhips periſhed. As only the *French* ſquadron was engaged in this rencounter, the council of ten recalled *Armiero* the *Venetian* admiral, for not aſſiſting *Navaro*; but he cleared himſelf to the ſatisfaction of every one, it being impoſſible for him to beat up againſt the wind. The viceroy arrived with a part of his fleet in the port of *Sienna*; ſome veſſels got ſafe
e to *Cayetta*, and a few made the ports of *Sicily*. As they had a ſtrong body of infantry on board, their arrival in *Italy* greatly diſturbed the *Venetians*; but their courage revived on the arrival of *Marco de Cere* and *Vitelli* with the pope's forces. Previous to this, the viceroy, having joined the *Coloneſſi*, who were again in arms, laid ſiege to *Froſſolona*: he was battering the town, and ready to give the aſſault, when the confederates arrived opportunely, and obliged him to decamp with ſuch precipitation, as to ſet fire to his magazines.

*The* Spaniſh *fleet defeated by* Navaro, *and afterwards diſperſed in a ſtorm.*

SO deſirous were the confederates of puſhing the good fortune with which the preceding year concluded, that they determined upon the invaſion of *Naples* in the depth of winter, amidſt extreme cold, and every inconvenience of a rigorous ſeaſon. About the end of
f *January*, the ſenate ſent orders to *Auguſtino de Nulla*, appointed proveditor in the room of *Armiero*, to ſail to *Civita Vecchia*: here he was to join the pope's fleet, and from thence proceed in concert to *Naples*. While the *Venetians* were embarking the land-forces, the earl of *Vaudemont* arrived from *France*, and engaged as a volunteer in the expedition. *Renca de Cere*, mean while, entered the *Abruzzo* with ſix thouſand men, where he ſoon made himſelf maſter of *Aquila*. *Doria* ſailed with part of the fleet to *Pozzuolo*, which he attacked with great vigour; but finding a ſtouter reſiſtance than he expected, he abandoned the enterprize, although his ſucceſs would have been attended with very ſignal advantages to the allies, on account of the harbour of *Baia*. When *Doria* was reinforced he attacked and took *Stabia*, in leſs than two days, with *Coraſſa*, and five hundred men priſoners. On the tenth day after the arrival of the fleet in the gulph of *Naples*, *Sorrento* was ſtormed and
g taken; in conſequence of which ſeveral other ſea-port towns and forts ſurrendered without exchanging a blow.

A. D. 1527.

*The ſucceſs of the confederates on the coaſt of* Naples.

[c] HEUTER. l. 9. GUICC. et PARUT. [d] GUICC. l. 18.

Now the confederate fleet, meeting with no obſtruction, approached ſo near the pier of *Naples*, that their cannon played with ſome ſucceſs upon the walls. Various opinions were delivered among the officers concerning the expediency of beſieging the capital, ſome affirming, that the ſurrender of *Naples* would be followed by the reduction of the whole kingdom. No time, they ſaid, ſhould be loſt while the city was under the conſternation their ſudden appearance muſt have occaſioned, and ſo ill provided. Others, on the contrary, were of opinion, that they ought to wait for the arrival of *Renca de Cerè*, their forces not being ſufficient to inveſt ſo large a city. As to the delay, they ſaid, it would be an advantage, ſince the garriſon was in great want of bread, which alone might produce a revolution in their favour, the inhabitants being in general diſaffected to the *Spaniſh* government: however, the former ſentiments prevailing, an herald was ſent to ſummon the city. *Moncada*, who commanded for the emperor, inſtead of yielding to this ſummons, marched out with two thouſand foot and five hundred horſe, to obſtruct the enemy's approaches. This brought on a ſkirmiſh to the advantage of *Baillon*, who commanded the *Venetians*, and took ſome field pieces belonging to the beſieged, driven back to the city. Notwithſtanding this fortunate beginning, the enterprize failed, either from want of money, or, what is more probable, in conſequence of the late truce between the pope and the emperor. Certain it is, that the eccleſiaſtical forces not only refuſed to act in concert with the *Venetians*, but many went over to the enemy. It is likewiſe affirmed, that the former truce was extended by a new agreement between his holineſs and the viceroy, which obliged the *Venetians* totally to give up thoughts of the ſiege. The pontiff was greatly over-reached in this new convention; for having diſbanded his army, he was left expoſed to the mercy of the enemy: the conſequence of which was the taking of *Rome*, the impriſonment of his perſon, and the intire ruin of his affairs [e].

The ſenate of *Venice* remonſtrated to *Clement* upon the imprudence of his conduct, which he diſregarded, as proceeding from private views: but that they might not be wanting to themſelves, orders were diſpatched to the duke of *Urbini* to join the marquis of *Saluſſes*, and oppoſe the duke of *Bourbon*, who with the Imperial army, was in full march to *Rome*. The Imperial army had, for ſome time, taken up free quarters in *Tuſcany*, and this oppreſſion, together with the apprehenſions he was under for the lands of the church, it was that induced *Clement* to haſten the agreement with the viceroy, which he thought would perfectly ſecure his territories. He perceived, when too late, his error. The duke of *Bourbon* marched with prodigious expedition to *Rome*, deſtroying all the country, to prevent his being purſued by the *Venetian* army. This had its effect; the duke *d'Urbini* could proceed no farther than *Viterbo*, for want of proviſion and forage. *Bourbon* advanced to *Rome*, attacked it, and was killed: but the prince of *Orange* taking the command, the city was reduced, pillaged, and given up a prey to the cruelty and rapaciouſneſs of the Imperialiſts [f].

The duke of *Urbini*'s conduct is deſervedly blamed on this occaſion; had he advanced, he might, with the greateſt facility, have ruined the Imperial army, unmindful of every thing but plunder. 'Tis true, he pretended the want of ſubſiſtence for his army, and the truce the pope had made with the emperor, by which he forfeited the protection of the republic. But his firſt objection might be obviated by making a ſmall circuit into a more fertile and better provided country; and the other had no weight, ſince his buſineſs was to deſtroy, if poſſible, the Imperial army, without regarding the advantage the pope might deduce from it, as long as the republic was benefited. It muſt be owned the duke *d'Urbini* loſt ſeveral advantages during the courſe of this war, either through want of courage, or at leaſt from too cautious and ſecure a conduct. His meaſures wanted vigour, and the opportunity was often loſt in the time he took to deliberate. The ſenate, grieved at the ſucceſs of the Imperialiſts, the captivity of *Clement*, and the pillage of *Rome*, diſpatched immediate orders to advance towards the city, and, by his army, give weight to their negociations to procure the liberty of the pontiff. But it was now too late; the pope and *Rome* were in the power of the emperor, and his victorious army elated with plunder and ſucceſs. A new levy of troops was likewiſe made to oppoſe *Antonio de Leva*, upon the confines of *Crema* and *Lodi*; while their ambaſſadors in *France* and *England* took every meaſure to make the firſt proceed with vigour in the war, and the latter to break with the emperor. It muſt be owned, that the ſpirit of the republic ſeemed to be exerted, upon this occaſion, in a manner worthy of their antient fame, their free conſtitution, and their conſtant regard to the liberties of *Italy*. The fleet being greatly weakened by ſickneſs, which prevailed among the ſeamen and land-forces, an augmentation of the marine was decreed. Beſides the ten thouſand *Swiſs* which they had perſuaded *Francis* the firſt to engage, the ſenate took an equal number into their own ſervice. The beſt officers were received into their pay;

*The ſenate ſends orders to* Urbini *to march to the relief of* Rome.

*The vigorous meaſures of the* Venetians.

[e] Paruta. l. 5. Guic. l. 18. [f] Guicc. et Parut. ibid. Sleidan. l. 6. Mem. du Bellai. l. 5.

a among the reſt the count *Gaiazzo* and the marquis *de Palavicini.* To *Francis Sforza* they lent ten thouſand ducats, to reinforce the body under him by new levies; and garriſons were put into the towns of *Romagnia* and *Ravenna* [e].

In this manner did the republic take her meaſures for oppoſing the power of *Charles* the fifth, and procuring the liberty of *Clement*. In the mean while, the duke *d'Urbini* was preparing for executing the orders of the ſenate: he ſent *Baillon* with a detachment to reduce *Peruſia*, which he ſoon performed, placing in it a *Venetian* garriſon. Thence he marched to *Orvietto*, where he was ſtrengthened by an addition of ſome *French* and eccleſiaſtical troops: upon this he aſſembled a council, read the ſenate's inſtructions for the relief of the pontiff, and deſired the advice of the principal officers concerning the poſſibility
b of the enterprize. It was the opinion of the proveditor *Piſani*, and all the other officers, that the ſenate ſhould be obeyed, and even a battle hazarded, if neceſſary. *Vitturi* alone oppoſed this advice, affirming that their army was neither numerous enough, nor ſufficiently diſciplined to engage the Imperial forces, who were old experienced ſoldiers, now elated and fluſhed with victory. *Urbini*, who was not of an enterpriſing genius, was eaſily perſuaded into an opinion which had leſs danger, though leſs honour, than that of *Piſani* and the council. Without farther deliberation the ſenate's inſtructions were laid aſide as impracticable and hazardous in the preſent conjuncture: he contented himſelf with ſending *Bazolo* with a body of horſe towards *Rome*, to aſſiſt any opportunity which might offer to the pope of making his eſcape, and conducting him to the army: but *Bazolo* ſoon returned
c without effecting any thing, having found that the Imperialiſts had ſurrounded the caſtle of *St. Angelo* with ſtrong trenches [h].

Incensed at theſe delays the ſenate recalled, ſuperſeded, and impriſoned *Vitturi* for the advice he had given *Urbini*, while that noble officer found means to juſtify his own conduct. More peremptory orders were then ſent to the duke, to attempt, at all events, the ſetting *Clement* at liberty; but this he abſolutely refuſed, inſiſting that his army was unequal to ſuch an undertaking, and offering rather to reſign than occaſion ſuch a calamity to the republic, as muſt neceſſarily attend his defeat. So ſpeciouſly did he cover his timidity with the cloak of prudence, that the ſenate was appeaſed, and he confirmed two years longer in the command [i].

*Vitturi is recalled, and impriſoned.*

d *FRANCIS* the firſt was making great preparations by ſea and land for the relief of *Italy*, and the *Venetians* taking every poſſible meaſure to oppoſe the emperor; but the prince of *Orange* was, in the mean while, increaſing his forces, and living luxuriouſly upon the ſpoils of *Rome*, and, indeed, the riches of all *Europe*, which the popes had amaſſed in that capital. The retreat of the duke *d'Urbini* to the frontiers of *Sienna*, left the Imperialiſts in full ſecurity; a circumſtance which *Urbini* might have improved to his advantage, had he been of a leſs timid diſpoſition [k]. His army conſiſted of two thouſand men at arms, one thouſand three hundred light horſe, two thouſand *Lanſquenets*, an equal number of *Swiſs*, and ten thouſand *Italian* foot: beſides theſe the marquis of *Saluſſes* had with him ſeven thouſand *French* and *Swiſs* infantry, with a proportionable number of horſe; yet was nothing at-
e tempted either for the honour of the republic, the pope's enlargement, or the freedom of *Italy*. True it is, that peſtilence and famine greatly afflicted the troops; but if the enemy ſuffered leſs by the latter, they were, at leaſt equally miſerable in the former reſpect. The whole ſeemed now to depend on the *French* and *Engliſh*, between whom and the emperor negociations had been carrying on for ſeveral months. As neither ſide would recede from the terms propoſed, *Francis* and cardinal *Wolſey* held a conference at *Amiens*, upon the means of proſecuting the war with *Charles* the fifth, which was now deemed unavoidable: here they ſigned three different treaties, which were little more than explications, modifications, and enlargements of a former treaty, concluded the thirteenth of *April* immediately preceding [l].

*Peſtilence and famine prevail among the troops.*

f At this time *Francis* ſent *Lautrec* at the head of an army into *Italy*, with which he croſſed the *Alps* in the month of *Auguſt*: it was compoſed of twenty-ſix thouſand men; that is, ſix thouſand *Lanſquenets*, under count *de Vaudemont*; ſix thouſand *Gaſcons*, under *Pedro Navaro*; four thouſand *French* commanded by the ſieur *Baries*; together with ten thouſand *Swiſs*: *Mondragon* conducted a numerous artillery; and the whole, when joined by the marquis of *Saluſſes*, formed a very conſiderable army. *Lautrec* firſt laid ſiege to the citadel of *Boſco*, in the territory of *Alexandria*, which he took after a ſiege of ten days, making the garriſon, conſiſting of one thouſand *German* and *Italian* infantry, priſoners of war: he then inveſted *Alexandria*, where he was attended with equal ſucceſs: the city he put into the hands of *Sforza*'s officers. After theſe conqueſts the *Venetians* and *Sforza* preſſed *Lautrec* to
g undertake the ſiege of *Milan*: others were of opinion, that he had better march to *Rome*,

Lautrec *takes* Alexandria.

[e] Paruta, l. 6. [h] Ibid. etiam Guicc. l. 18. [i] Foug. l. 7. d. 5. Parut. l. 6. [k] Heut. l. 9. [l] Barre de Allem. t. 8. p. 522.

and

and ſet the pope at liberty; and they enforced this piece of advice by inſiſting upon its being the chief object of the treaty with *England*, *Venice*, and *Sforza*. On the contrary, the ſenate repreſented that *Milan* was but weakly garriſoned, and that in conſequence of its reduction the Imperialiſts would evacuate *Rome* and the kingdom of *Naples*: however, *Lautrec* oppoſed to both opinions the poſitive orders of the kings of *England* and *France*, ſaying, that while thoſe monarchs ſupported the burden of the war, it was no more than reaſonable their inſtructions ſhould be obeyed; that as to procuring the pope's enlargement, it could no way be done ſo effectually as by reducing the kingdom of *Naples*, which was in want of men, money, and proviſions. The truth was, that *Francis* was unwilling to beſtow any trouble in beſieging *Milan*, which was by treaty to revert to *Sforza*, and this made the *Venetians* equally indifferent about the ſucceſs of *Lautrec*'s expedition to *Naples* [m]. a b

On the twenty-eighth of *October Lautrec* paſſed the *Po*, in the face of the garriſon and cannon of *St. John*'s fort, where he waited for reinforcements of *Lanſquenets* and *Swiſs*. The ſlowneſs of his march occaſioned a report that he had ſecret orders to precipitate nothing: he ſtayed for ſome time about *Parma* and *Placentia*, under pretence of drawing the duke of *Ferrara* into the confederacy. Both that prince and the marquis of *Mantua* did, in effect, quit the emperor's party to join with the allies: all which advantages afforded a plauſible pretext for *Lautrec*'s meaſures; yet it is certain the true motives of his delay proceeded from ſecret orders to wait the emperor's final anſwer to the propoſals made to him by the miniſters of *England* and *France* [n].

*Duke of* Ferrara *joins the allies.*

Nor did the duke *d'Urbini* make more haſte with the *Venetian* army to the theatre of action: he remained near *Montifiaſcone* quite inactive, notwithſtanding the weakneſs of the enemy, and the approach of *Lautrec*, furniſhed him with a fair opportunity of ſtriking ſome deciſive ſtroke. His conduct raiſed ſuſpicion of his fidelity at *Venice*, in conſequence of which a guard was put over his wife and family at *Murana*: intelligence of which coming to the duke, he requeſted leave to appear before the ſenate to juſtify himſelf. So ſpecious was his manner, that the ſenate, ſtill convinced of his innocence, continued him at the head of the army, and removed the guards placed over his family [o] (E). c

Winter now approaching, negotiations for a general peace were renewed. The ſenate willingly liſtened to pacific meaſures, the finances of the republic being wholly exhauſted by ſupporting the burthen of a war, in which, however, ſhe was only an auxiliary. Propoſals were made by his moſt Chriſtian majeſty and the republic, that the emperor ſhould deliver up the royal hoſtages of *France*, ſet the pope at liberty, reinſtate *Sforza*, and reſtore all he had taken from the church. Although the emperor did not entirely reject the terms, yet, by demanding a prodigious ſum of money from the *Venetians*, he kept the treaty in ſuſpence, determining to act according as circumſtances might appear more or leſs favourable towards the end of the campaign. It was evident from his conduct, that *Charles* was deſirous of appropriating the dutchy of *Milan* to himſelf, ſince he conſtantly referred the diſputes with *Sforza* to be decided by arbitration afterwards, while his troops ſhould remain in poſſeſſion of the dutchy. As the emperor would not renounce this point, the negociations were broke off, and new preparations for continuing the war ſet on foot [p]. d e

*Propoſals to the emperor for a peace.*

A. D. 1528. No ſooner was the pope ſet at liberty, than the deſign he had formed of re-eſtabliſhing his family at *Florence*, made him intirely alter the maxims of his former policy: his long impriſonment had afforded him leiſure to reflect upon the ill-judged meaſures by which he had been hitherto governed. Thus, when the ambaſſadors of *France*, *England*, and the republic waited on him at *Orvietto*, to ſolicit his concurrence to the league, he pretended it was neceſſary to the well-being of *Chriſtendom* that there ſhould be a mediator of differences, who would labour for the public tranquility; and that nothing could be more ſuitable to his circumſtances, or agreeable to his diſpoſition, than ſuch an office: nevertheleſs, he gave them to underſtand, that if *Lautrec* obliged the Imperialiſts to abandon *Rome*, he would take other meaſures. In ſhort, he ſaid enough to convince the allies, that his ſole aim was to deliver the church out of the hands of the emperor, and then to embrace that ſide which promiſed faireſt for his intereſt and ſecurity [q]. f

*LAUTREC*, who penetrated the views of his holineſs, did not think proper to pay implicit obedience. Departing from *Bologna* in *January*, he took the route of *Naples*, after

[m] Guicc. l. 18. Parut. l. 6. [n] Heut. l. 8. Foug. l. 7. d. 5. [o] Parut. l. 6. [p] Guicc. l. 19. Sleidan. l. 6. [q] Parut. l. 6. Heut. l. 9. Guicc. ibid.

(E) *Antonio Marcello* was ſent by the ſenate with a few light ſhips to ſcour the ſeas infeſted by pirates. In his courſe he fell in with a *Turkiſh* man of war, which he engaged, miſtaking her for a pirate. The battle was bloody; but terminated in the defeat of *Marcello*, three of whoſe ſhips were taken. The ſenate ſummoned him before the avogari; but the Grand Seignior, pleaſed with their reſpect to his flag, returned the ſhips, with aſſurances of his friendſhip. Upon this the ſenate decreed an ambaſſy of thanks (1).

(1) *Paruta, l.* 6.

ſending

a ſending *Vaudemont* and *Tremouille* to force the pontiff to a final declaration. *Clement* ſtill found means to excuſe himſelf; he ſaw all *Europe* in motion, and deſired to wait the iſſue of this war, in order to take his meaſures more ſecurely. In fact, he made uſe of a variety of expedients, arts, and wiles, to avoid diſobliging either party. In the mean time, he had the modeſty to demand of the *Venetians* that they would ſurrender to him *Cervia* and *Ravenna*; a requeſt no way agreeable to the ſenate, or to that humility his holineſs expreſſed. The matter was debated, and it was concluded to ſend an ambaſſy to the pope, to deſire he would firſt terminate other affairs, or at leaſt grant ſome equivalent.

*LAUTREC* departing from *Bologna*, as we have mentioned, arrived in *February* in the b *Abruzzo*. *Apoli*, *Aquila*, and all the neighbouring towns, opened their gates, and received him as their deliverer. It was not without great difficulty, that the prince of *Orange* could prevail on the imperial army to depart from *Rome* and take the field, where, for nine or ten months, they had lived luxuriouſly in free quarters, and the full exerciſe of every violence they choſe to commit: however, as he was not imcumbered with artillery, the prince ſoon got the ſtart of *Lautrec*, who, notwithſtanding, advanced to *Pouille*, which ſurrendered without terms. He would infallibly have reduced the whole country by the terror of his arms, had not the prince of *Orange*, with intention to ſecure the road through *Barri*, encamped upon an eminence defended by the cannon of *Trani*. But he was ſoon obliged to decamp with precipitation, and expoſe himſelf to the hazard of a defeat, had he been purſued; inc ſtead of which *Lautrec* amuſed his army with battering the walls of *Melfi*, where *Caraccioli* commanded a garriſon of three thouſand men. The governor withſtood the firſt aſſault: but at the ſecond he was forced, and the garriſon, with near four thouſand of the inhabitants, were put to the ſword. The prince of *Melfi* was made priſoner of war, and his wife and children, who had retired into the citadel, ſurrendered at diſcretion [r]. *Lautrec takes Melfi.*

No ſooner had *Melfi* been reduced, than *Borletta*, *Trani*, *Venoſa*, *Capua*, *Nola*, *Accora*, *Averſa*, and all the other cities beſides *Manfredonia*, *Gaieta*, and *Naples*, yielded to *Lautrec*. On the other hand, the *Venetians*, having reduced *Monopoli*, ſent a reinforcement of two thouſand men to the *French* army. *Lautrec* leaving them for the protection of his conqueſts, marched with the reſt of his forces to *Naples*. While he was encamped before this d city, a ſquadron of ſixteen *Venetian* gallies came along the coaſt of *Apuglia*, to aſſiſt in the conqueſt of the kingdom by the reduction of other places ceded to them by the treaty. Theſe were *Otranto*, *Brundaſiacar*, *Monopoli*, *Trani*, *Nola*, and *Pulignan*, two of which were already ſurrendered. They were proceeding with great rapidity, when a requeſt from *Lautrec* arrived, that they would ſpeedily join the ſquadron under *Doria*, and jointly block up *Naples* by ſea. *Pietro Landi* then haſtened his meaſures, and, in a few days, made himſelf maſter of all the cities ſtipulated by treaty to be ceded to the republic [s]. *Almoſt all the kingdom of* Naples *ſubmits to* Lautrec.

Before *Landi* quitted the coaſt of *Apuglia*, the viceroy formed a ſcheme for ſurpriſing the *French* ſquadron under *Doria*. It conſiſted but of eight ſmall gallies, to attack which he equipped, with great ſecrecy and expedition, ſix gallies, four pinks, and ſix brigantines, e well manned, and carrying a thouſand harquebuſiers over and above their complement of ſeamen. The command of this armament was given to an officer named *Gobbo*, remarkable for his ſkill and experience in naval affairs, attended by the marquis *de Guaſt*, with a number of volunteers *Spaniſh* and *German*. *Gobbo* ſteered out of the harbour; but *Doria*, having had intelligence from *Lautrec* of his deſign, took on board four hundred land forces, and, weighing anchor, ſtood out to ſea in line of battle. Both admirals diſplayed abundance of military ſkill to keep the windward, and gain other advantages, when at laſt they engaged with great reſolution. *Doria* began the attack, and poured in vollies of great and ſmall ſhot with ſuch fury and judgment, that the enemy were forced to change their diſpoſition, and bring up freſh ſhips. Upon this the battle was renewed, and ſupported, for ſef veral hours, with great vigour and equality, when the *Venetian* fleet coming up, attacked *Gobbo*'s rear, and ſoon turned the ſcale [t]. *Gobbo* was defeated with great loſs, and the combined fleet ſailed triumphant into the harbour of *Naples*. 'Tis true, *Doria*'s fleet and his own ſhip ſuffered greatly both in hull and rigging: his captain was killed, with a number of ſoldiers and ſeamen; the reſt of the ſquadron loſt in proportion; but the joy of victory compenſated this misfortune. On the enemy's ſide were killed *Hugo de Moncada*, *Cæſar Fermancoſca*, with about one thouſand ſoldiers and mariners. The marquis *de Guaſt*, *Santa Cruz*, *Colonna*, *Serenon*, and the beſt officers of *Naples*, were made priſoners. By this victory the city was totally blocked up on the ſea-ſide, at the ſame time that it was in great want of proviſion, and ſtraitly inveſted by the land forces. *Lautrec* was oppoſed by a numerous g garriſon of choſen troops. His own army, from the exceſſive heat of the climate, was ſickly, and numberleſs other difficulties he encountered in this enterprize; however, as the *A ſea-fight between* Doria *and* Gobbo.

[r] Paruta. l. 6. Heut. l. 9. [s] Guic. l. 19. Paruta, ibid. [t] Foug. l. 7. d. 5. Parut. l. 6.

total reduction of the kingdom depended on the fate of the capital, he puſhed the ſiege with all imaginable vigour. The prince of *Orange*, who had the ſole command in the city after the death of *Moncada*, employed all his addreſs to ſupport the ſpirits of the beſieged; yet he could not have reſiſted ſix days longer, for want of ſuſtenance, if the face of affairs in the allied army had not undergone a great alteration. The diſeaſes, which before had greatly diminiſhed the number of the beſiegers, were now turned to a peſtilence that ſwept them off by hundreds in a day. So great havock had it made, that, before the middle of *July*, there remained not above four thouſand infantry and gens d'arms fit to engage. *Lautrec*, attacked by the epidemical diſtemper, was no longer able to command, nor even to keep his camp in ſecurity; a circumſtance of which the prince of *Orange* did not fail to make his advantage. The beſiegers were harraſſed and alarmed with perpetual ſallies, which they were in no condition to ſuſtain; and, to crown their misfortune, *Andrea Doria* openly embraced the ſide of the emperor, while his nephew *Philippo Doria* connived at his treachery, and ſuffered all ſorts of proviſions to paſs his fleet into the city. *Lautrec*, finding his army dwindled to a handful, himſelf emaciated and confined to his bed, ſurrounded by enemies in the middle of an enemy's country, without all ſupport except from his own courage, took his diſappointment ſo much to heart, that he expired. It was the opinion of the marquis of *Saluſſes*, who ſucceeded to the command, that neither his authority or ſtrength was equal to the hazard of continuing the ſiege: he therefore turned his whole thoughts to the meaſures proper to abandon it, after it had coſt the lives of near fifteen thouſand men. Upon his decamping, the Imperialiſts attacked his rear, but were repulſed; after which he threw himſelf into *Averſa* with the few troops that remained. *Pedro Navaro* fell into the hands of the enemy in this retreat: he was carried priſoner to *Naples*, where he died a few days after. Now the Imperialiſts beſieged the *French* army in their turn, who, upon a wound which diſabled the marquis of *Saluſſes*, ſigned a capitulation, which their diſtreſs rendered leſs diſgraceful. Among other conditions, the marquis ſtipulated to have all thoſe places, in poſſeſſion of the *French* and *Venetians*, yielded up to the emperor without loſs of time [u].

*Peſtilence in the* French *camp.*

Lautrec *dies, and the marquis* Saluſſes *decamps, and is beſieged in* Averſa.

NOR was the loſs of the army and kingdom of *Naples* the whole misfortune ſuſtained by the confederates. The arrival of the duke of *Brunſwic* with twelve thouſand *Germans* in *Italy*, had entirely brought fortune on the ſide of the emperor: this general entered *Lombardy* by the *Veroneſe*, where joining *Antonio de Leva* with his *Spaniards*, he undertook the ſiege of *Lodi*. Happily for the *Venetians* the place was ſtrongly garriſoned, and the reſiſtance it made gave the republic time to make freſh levies to oppoſe the duke. Four thouſand *Swiſs* were taken into pay; numbers of light horſe were brought from *Greece* and *Dalmatia*; and garriſons put into all their principal towns, with governors of approved fidelity and valour. During the ſiege of *Lodi*, the duke *d'Urbini* firſt viſited *Verona*, the walls and garriſons of which he ſtrengthened: the ſame he did at *Breſcia*, *Bergamo*, and other cities. After this he greatly harraſſed the duke of *Brunſwic*, by attacks on his convoys, forages, *&c.* and by giving perpetual alarms to his camp. In conſequence the duke of *Brunſwic* raiſed the ſiege; and finding his army diminiſhed, all the cities by which he was to march ſtrongly garriſoned, with a variety of other obſtructions thrown in his way, he retired into *Germany* [w] (F). In his retreat his rear was briskly charged by a ſally from the garriſon of *Bergamo*, and a conſiderable number of priſoners taken.

*The duke of* Brunſwick *comes with twelve thouſand men into* Italy.

*He retires into* Germany.

AFTER the capitulation at *Averſa*, and retreat of the duke of *Brunſwic*, the count de St. *Pol* arrived with a *French* army in *Italy*, and joined the duke *d'Urbini*: they propoſed carrying on the war chiefly in *Lombardy*, to oppreſs *Antonio de Leva*, who had but eight thouſand men; but without entirely abandoning the towns in *Naples*; for both *Francis* and the republic had refuſed to ratify the convention at *Averſa*. They might certainly have ſucceeded in their deſign, had not ſo much time been conſumed in deliberating upon the meaſures neceſſary to oblige *Leva* to evacuate *Lombardy*; but this wiſe general ſeizing the conjuncture, fortified himſelf and encreaſed his army. The confederates begun their operations by inveſting *Vigevano* and *Pavia*, which afforded *Andrea Doria*, now in the ſervice of the emperor, an opportunity of retiring to the coaſt of *Genoa*. *Doria* practiſed every means to induce the citizens to ſecond his deſigns: he repreſented to the people that a *French* government would leave them nothing beſides the name of a republic: the nobility he dazzled with the

[u] PARUTA, l. 6. GUIC. l. 19. SLEID. period. 10. p. 1006. [w] PARUTA. l. 6. GUIC. ibid.

(F) *Paruta* and the *Italian* writers aſcribe his retreat to the wiſe conduct of the republic, and activity of the duke *d'Urbini*. But *Bellai* in his memoirs, and all the *German* hiſtorians, are of a different opinion. Private diſcontent, ſay they, induced him to this: *Charles* did not much countenance his expedition, knowing that the duke, by marriage, formed pretenſions to the crown of *Naples* (1).

(1) *Barre. Hiſt. Allem. t.* 8.

advantages

a advantages of the ancient inſtitutions, by which they always held the reins of government. Knowing that peſtilence had reduced the garriſon to a fourth of their number, that they were retired into the citadel to avoid infection, and that the city was left in a manner deſolate, he approached with his gallies, and landed ſix or ſeven hundred ſoldiers. *Doria* found the gates open to him; and once poſſeſſed of the city, he ſoon obliged *Trivulcio* and the garriſon in the citadel to ſurrender: then aſſembling the nobility, he remitted into their hands the government of the city; in remembrance of which the republic erected a ſtatue to his memory, and honoured him with the title of father and reſtorer of his country.

Doria *expels the* French *from* Genoa, *and reſtores liberty.*

DURING theſe tranſactions at *Genoa*, the confederate army reduced *Pavia*; in conſequence of which ſeveral other cities ſurrendered. *Antonio de Leva*, finding himſelf harder preſſed b than ever, formed a project hardly to be parallelled in hiſtory: having collected all the wheat and corn in the *Milaneſe* under ſpecious pretexts, he diſtributed it among certain bakers in whom he could confide, with orders to ſell each loaf at the price of a crown. By this means he drew money to the army from thoſe who were able to pay for bread, while the poor periſhed with hunger. The *Milanois* complained to the emperor, but his low finances could admit of no remedy: without money *Leva*'s army would deſert, and this was to be procured by no other means than the moſt cruel oppreſſion. At laſt the inhabitants, rendered deſperate by misfortune, maſſacred a number of his officers, and made attempts upon *Leva*'s own life. The reins of government were broke, and the ſpirit of revolt every where excited, had *Urbini* and St. *Pol* known how to uſe the opportunity: but theſe two officers, inſtead of c ſnatching this happy occaſion for the recovery of the *Milaneſe*, were planning fruitleſs ſchemes to beſiege *Genoa*.

*The confederates take* Pavia.

DURING the winter of this year, negociations for a peace as uſual were carried on, but A. D. 1529. without effect. Several ambaſſies between the pope and *Venetians* had paſſed concerning *Cervia* and *Ravenna*, which his holineſs ſtill inſiſted on being ceded to him; but nothing was concluded before the treaty of *Cambray* took place towards the end of the campaign. The war was ſtill carried on in *Naples* and the *Milaneſe*: in *Calabria* and the *Capitanata* the united *French* and *Venetians* bravely withſtood the ſuperior force of the Imperialiſts, obſtinately diſputing every village they loſt: both ſides ſeemed equally to divide the ſucceſs, and nothing happened deciſive. It was not ſo in the *Milaneſe*, where *Antonio de Leva*, re- d ceiving a reinforcement of three thouſand *Spaniards*, preſſed the allies with great vigour: they loſt the opportunity of laying ſiege to *Milan* before *Leva* was ſtrong enough to take the field, waſting their time in marches and the ſiege of places, but little contributing to bring the war to an iſſue. St. *Pol*, was full of the notion of recovering *Genoa*, which *Urbini* oppoſed, inſiſting on the war's being continued in the *Milaneſe*: theſe diſputes between the two generals prevented the execution of any deſign. At laſt the armies ſeparated, and St. *Pol* ſoon after was defeated by *de Leva*, and himſelf made priſoner.

ABOUT this time the emperor ſent the cardinal *Santa Cruz* to *Rome*, to negociate a peace among the contending parties: he began by ordering *Oſtia* and *Civita Vecchia* to be ceded to his holineſs. Ambaſſadors were likewiſe ſent by *France* and *England*, with inſtructions e to the ſame purpoſe: following their example, the republic gave ample powers to *Gaſpar Contareni*, her reſident, to enter upon ſuch terms and articles as were conſiſtent with the honour of the ſtate, and her engagements to his Chriſtian majeſty: they ſolicited the pope to become mediator in their differences, and the ſenate promiſed, on theſe conditions, to deliver up *Cervia* and *Ravenna*. While the emperor and *Venetians* were thus bribing the pope with promiſes, they were likewiſe preparing for the event of a fruitleſs iſſue to the negociations: the duke *d'Urbini* was continued three years longer in his employment; *Fregoſa* was appointed ſuperintendant of the army; count *Gorazzo*, general of the horſe; *Antonio Caſtello*, captain of artillery; and *Nani*, proveditor to the forces, which were greatly augmented. Several promotions were likewiſe made in their marine; and a fleet of fifty gallies f equipped, with every thing ready to put to ſea. The ſum of twelve thouſand ducats was lent to the *French* king, and three thouſand to *Francis Sforza*, to enable them to ſend their quotas into the field, if the negociations took no effect. Thus, after the war had already coſt the republic above five millions of gold, did ſhe not only furniſh her own proportion, but ſupply her allies with money to carry their engagements into execution x.

STILL the campaign went on in *Naples*. Count *Guaſt*, with ſix thouſand *Germans* and *Spaniards*, laid ſiege to *Monopoli*, a town garriſoned by *Venetians*, and commanded by *Andrea Gritti* and *Vitturi* the proveditors. After having battered it for ſome time, and effecting a breach, the count gave the aſſault, maintained it with vigour, but in the end was repulſed with the loſs of four hundred men: this defeat, with ſome reinforcements which g *Renca de Cerè* threw into the garriſon, obliged him to raiſe the ſiege. After the repulſe of

x GUIC. l. 19. BARRE, t. 8. p. 2.

the

the enemy at *Monopoli*, the *Venetian* fleet coming before *Brundusium*, soon obliged it to capitulate. a

*ANTONIO DE LEVA*, having defeated St. *Pol* in the *Milanese*, proposed pushing his conquests to the *Bergamasco*, *Cremasco*, and *Brescian*; but in this he was opposed by the *Venetian* army, which marched with great expedition to *Cassan*. The duke *d'Urbini*'s light horse greatly annoyed the enemy, cut off their forage and provision, and reduced *de Leva* to great difficulties. A detachment of Imperialists crossing the *Adda*, to scour the *Brescian*, and levy contributions, fell into an ambuscade laid by the *Venetian* general, and was cut off. The two camps being pitched within a small distance, daily skirmishes past, both sides using all means to procure some advantage of situation, by which to draw the enemy to a battle upon unequal terms. *Gorazzo*, at length, without intending it, brought on a general engagement, which terminated to the advantage of the *Venetians*, the enemy having been repulsed with the loss of fifteen hundred men; a victory this upon which *Urbini* greatly piqued himself, it being almost the only one he could boast during the war *y*. b

ALL this while the pope, under the mask of common mediator, was attentive to his own interest only: his aim was not only to re-establish his family in *Florence*, but to render himself master of *Perusia* and *Ferrara*, and to recover *Cervia* and *Ravenna*, of which he was deprived by the *Venetians*. At last a treaty with his holiness was signed, in which, among other articles, it was stipulated, that *Charles* should put him in possession of *Cervia*, *Ravenna*, *Modena*, *Reggio*, and *Rubienza*. Not long after, in the month of *August*, another treaty was concluded at *Cambray*, by *Margaret* of *Austria* and *Louisa* of *Savoy*, in the names of the emperor and of *Francis* the first. This pacification was matter of great discontent to the senate of *Venice*: they not only resented *Francis*'s having signed it without their consent, but his renouncing the dutchy of *Milan* without any cession in favour of *Francis Sforza*, and his engaging to restore the towns belonging to the republic in *Naples*, to the emperor. To satisfy the senate, excuse the treaty, and procure restitution of the *Neapolitan* cities, he sent an ambassador to *Venice*. Thus remained *Venice* without an ally to oppose the power of the emperor in *Italy*: *Francis* was, indeed, using all his influence with the emperor and the senate to bring them to a reconciliation; but the *Venetians* were so unwilling to see the imperial authority established in *Italy*, and *Charles* so determined upon that point, that little progress was made in the mediation. The affair was canvassed for several days in the senate, some alledging the necessity of coming to terms, others advising the continuance of war, unless the emperor gave more evident signs of his serious intentions: they enumerated the disadvantages under which *Charles* must engage to carry on another campaign: the *Turks* had taken *Buda*; schisms were risen in the church, which every where were ready to kindle up a civil war in *Germany*; his troops were mutinous for want of pay; their towns were all strongly fortified, well garrisoned, and able to spin the war to great length, before they could be reduced. These and other reasons induced the senate to resolve keeping their army on foot, until such terms were offered as they could accept consistently with the safety and honour of the state *z*. c d

A. D. 1530. AT length, upon the emperor's arrival in *Italy*, matters were finally concluded, to the great satisfaction and joy of the republic and of *Francis Sforza*, who was reinstated in his dutchy, on promise of paying a certain sum of money to the emperor. Ambassadors were afterwards sent to *Bologna*, to compliment his imperial majesty upon this general tranquility he had so graciously restored. *Charles* made the ambassadors some valuable presents, which, on their return, were laid up in the treasury; all such gifts being esteemed the property of the public, and not of the individual on whom they were bestowed. These marks of esteem the senate soon returned, by ordering the imperial army to have free quarters while it passed through the *Venetian* dominions. The governors of the cities kept open table for the officers, and the emperor's own table was supplied with the richest wines and most expensive delicacies at the charge of the republic. e

*The* Venetians *entertain the emperor magnificently.*

f

*CHARLES* being at this time earnestly solicited by the Protestants to call a general council, he referred the matter to *Clement*. His holiness, apprehending dangerous consequences from a free assembly, advised the emperor to excuse them by the secular power: he likewise endeavoured to draw the *Venetians* into this opinion, and to assist the emperor in that attempt; but the answer of the senate was agreeable to the reputation acquired for moderation, wisdom, and justice. They represented to his holiness the scandal it would bring upon the church to oppose arguments by arms; that it ill became the professors of reason and truth to avoid the trial, and a candid discussion of points, wherein reason and scripture only could be judges; that to persecute schismatics was the surest method to propagate their errors, since where force was used, the people generally concluded justice was wanting; that as to the princes of *Italy*, and themselves in particular, a long war had so exhausted them, g

*y* PARUTA, l. 9. *z* PARUTA, l. 7.

a that nothing leſs than ſelf-defence, and the protection of Chriſtianity, could induce them to undertake another; that the free cities of the empire were reſolute in denying the emperor ſupplies, unleſs he convoked a council; and that his imperial majeſty, by his own ſtrength, was very unable to levy forces adequate to the enterprize [a].

THE pope clearly perceived the force of this reaſoning: his ſecular views rendered moderation in ſpiritual matters neceſſary, and though the head of the church, yet could he, in favour of a temporal point, relax from that ſeverity which his predeceſſors thought the duty of the repreſentatives of Chriſt.

ANOTHER circumſtance contributed to fix the ſenate in the reſolution to engage in no quarrels on the continent. *Solyman*'s power, by his conqueſts in *Hungary* and other parts of b *Europe* and *Aſia*, became extremely formidable to the *Venetians* and many other Chriſtian ſtates. Some late changes in the *Othoman* government had proved hurtful to the commerce of the republic, and threatened a ſtorm which might diſturb the preſent tranquility. A. D. 1531. To guard againſt every event, the *Venetians* reſolved upon fitting out a ſtrong fleet, to ſupport the expences of which they ſolicited the pope for a remiſſion of the tenths levied upon the clergy within their dominions; but he refuſed them, and the ſenate was forced to have recourſe to another expedient.

THE war between the *Turks* and *Hungarians* had been carried on for above a year, and now the emperor *Charles* declared againſt *Solyman*. His holineſs ſent a nuncio to *Venice* to engage the republic in an alliance to reſiſt the *Turk*; but the *Venetians*, though they purſued c their preparations, did not care to form leagues which they were apprehenſive might leave them to ſupport a hazardous war, at leaſt the greateſt burthen of the expence: their anſwer, therefore, was general to his holineſs.

IN the mean time *Charles* the fifth raiſed a prodigious army, with which he encamped before *Vienna*, there to wait *Solyman*'s arrival. *Doria* likewiſe conducted a numerous fleet to oppoſe *Imeral* the *Turkiſh* admiral, while *Capello* commanded a fleet of near ſixty *Venetian* gallies, with which he lay off *Corfu*. *Doria* formed a project of obliging the *Venetians* to join in the war, by raiſing the ſuſpicions of the *Turkiſh* admiral that the fleets were united; but *Capello* fruſtrated this intention by a viſit he made *Imeral* during his ſtay at *Prevoſa*. The years 1531 and 1532 paſſed without the emperor's coming to blows with the Grand d Seignior: *Charles*, therefore, paſſed in the beginning of the year 1533 into *Italy*, where he was met by the ambaſſadors of all the *Italian* princes and ſtates. His deſign was to renew a treaty with them for the defence of *Italy*; into which all his art could not draw the *Venetians*, who were apprehenſive of diſobliging *Solyman*, *England*, or *France* [b].

*The emperor's preparations for waging war with* Solyman.

AN extraordinary piece of art and familiarity was made uſe of to render the republic ſuſpected by thoſe princes; for when the league was publiſhed, the *Venetians* were included, though without any authority on their ſide: a circumſtance that gave umbrage to *Solyman*, until the matter was cleared up to his ſatisfaction. Peace was the great object of the ſenate's views, could it be obtained with honour and ſafety. A long and ruinous war had greatly reduced the affluence of this rich commonwealth: the diſcoveries of the *Portugueſe* e and *Spaniards* had leſſened the extent of the *Venetian* traffick; but did not wholly ruin it. They ſtill kept poſſeſſion of the valuable trade of the *Levant*, *Syria*, and the coaſts of *Africa* and *Egypt*. The three laſt years of peace had greatly recovered the exhauſted finances of the ſtate; but this, inſtead of encouraging the *Venetians* to enter upon new meaſures for a war, more ſtrongly puſhed them to endeavour preſerving poſſeſſion of the bleſſings they began to enjoy. Some little encounters with the pirates of *Angier*, however, diſturbed the public repoſe. *Dandolo*, with ſeven *Venetian* gallies, fell into the hands of thoſe barbarians; to revenge which the ſenate once intended iſſuing orders to *Capello* to deſtroy the town, and exterminate that neſt of thieves and robbers; a reſolution that was laid aſide as prejudicial to the commercial intereſt, by giving umbrage to the Grand Seignior and other powers f with whom they were at peace.

HOWEVER, their pacific determinations did not prevent the ſenate's being involved in another affair, which, with an untoward beginning, had a fortunate iſſue. While *Jeronimo Canalis*, the proveditor, was convoying with twelve gallies a fleet of merchants bound for *Syria* and *Alexandria*, a *Turkiſh* ſquadron was deſcried at ſome diſtance giving chace, with a bloody flag at the top-maſt-head. *Canalis* was greatly inferior in ſtrength, yet determined to fight it to the laſt: he found means to gain the windward of the enemy, and attack them to great advantage. The battle was extremely obſtinate, the gallies of *Canalis* and the *Turkiſh* baſhaw having frequently boarded each other. In the end, the ſuperior ſkill of *Canalis* prevailed over numbers; the baſhaw was made priſoner, four *Turkiſh* gallies ſunk, g and three taken [c]. All the *Venetian* fleet and inhabitants of *Candia* rejoiced at this victory,

[a] GUIC. et PARUTA, ibid. [b] PARUTA, l. 7. BARON. ſub. A. 1531. [c] MAUROCEN. l. 4. PARUTA. ibid.

and extolled the conduct and valour of *Canalis*; but the transaction excited other sentiments in the senate, who apprehended the consequences. The admiral's courage deserved the highest encomiums; circumstances would admit of no other conduct consistently with the security of the fleet; yet a war with *Solyman* was what the senate, of all things, the least desired. It was not doubted, as all the *Venetian* merchantmen were detained in the *Turkish* ports, but *Solyman* intended to revenge this affront; to divert him from which the senate sent a solemn ambassy to *Constantinople*, to apologise for the late unfortunate transaction, and offer the punishing *Canalis*, if required. But here the generosity of the Infidel stood *Canalis* in more stead than the gratitude of his own countrymen. *Solyman* was angry at the last proposal, and rejected it with disdain, saying, that the conduct of the *Venetian* admiral deserved the highest rewards; and that it was pity he did not serve a state able to pay a just regard to his merit. He then set the *Venetian* ships at liberty, in honour, he said, to *Canalis*, rather than regard to the ambassy: a greatness of mind which equally astonished and ashamed the republic (A).

*Solyman detains the Venetian merchants in his ports, but soon enlarges them.*

ALL this while war was carried on by sea between *Solyman* and the emperor *Charles* the fifth: *Doria* his admiral had taken *Moron*, *Patras*, and other places in the *Morea* the preceding year, which were all retaken this year by the famous *Barbarossa*, appointed admiral of all the *Turkish* navy. After this transaction *Barbarossa* steered to *Italy*, wasted and destroyed the coast of *Calabria*; thence sailing to the coast of *Africa*, he took *Tunis*, and returned triumphant to *Constantinople*.

A. D. 1534.

THE *Venetian* republic passed this year in the same tranquility it had done the preceding, unless we except a skirmish which happened in the gulph of *Venice* with *Filippo Mazzo*, a knight of *Malta*, who lived by piracy. *Mazzo* was taken by the *Venetian* admiral, beheaded on the poop of his own ship, and the *Turkish* slaves on board set at liberty; an action extremely grateful to *Solyman*, but displeasing to *Charles* the fifth, under whose protection the knights of *Malta* had been for some years; but when matters were properly represented to the emperor he was appeased [d].

MEAN time *Clement* the seventh resigned his last breath, after a life of unsuccessful ambition; and was succeeded in the pontificate by *Alexander Farnese*, by the name of *Paul* the third. On his accession the senate sent an ambassy of eight senators with compliments of congratulation, and wishes that the same spirit of justice and moderation, which had governed his actions for the space of fifty years, might still continue to direct his councils; but *Paul*, with his new dignity, had assumed a spirit more agreeable to it and the disposition of his predecessors. *Guido Ubaldo*, son to *Francisco Maria*, duke *d'Urbini*, having married *Julia*, the only child of *John Varran* duke of *Camerino*, ought in right of his wife to have succeeded to that dutchy after the death of his father-in-law; nor was it doubted but he would without opposition, when very unexpectedly *Paul* the third declared the dutchy a fief of the church, to which *Ubaldo* could have no pretensions. This declaration he answered by the powerful argument of arms, a conduct that greatly incensed the *Venetians*, who had taken *Urbini* under their protection, and soon made them alter their sentiments of the moderate and pacific disposition of his holiness. Not caring, however, to enter upon a dispute with him, the senate applied to the emperor, who found means to persuade the pope to depart from the rigour of his professions. What most of all wrought upon him was a proposition made by the *Venetians* of giving his son *Pietro Lodovico* an handsome equivalent in *Romagnia* for the surrender of *Cervia* and *Ravenna* to the republic. His holiness lent a willing ear to whatever tended to exalt and firmly establish his family: he began therefore to recede from his claim on the dutchy of *Camerino*, being willing to gain the *Venetians*, the natural protectors of his son, should he be established in *Romagnia*.

A. D. 1535.

WHILE the pope and *Venetians* were engaged in negociations of this nature, the emperor was raising a powerful army, and equipping a numerous fleet, to the great terror of the *Italian* states, who were ignorant of his designs. At last it was known that this armament was destined for *Africa*, and against *Solyman*. The *French* resident at *Constantinople* had used clandestine means and unjustifiable intrigues to prejudice *Solyman* against the *Venetians*, tho' with what view we are at a loss to conjecture: he whispered about the city that *Charles* was excited to this expedition by the persuasions and promises of the republic, than which nothing could be less true, at the same time that he preserved all the appearances of friend-

*The intrigues of the* French *resident at the* Porte.

[d] PARUT. l. 8. BARON. sub A. 1534. MAUROCEN. l. 5.

(A) *Canalis* died this year, soon after those marks of honour were conferred on him by the *Othoman* emperor; and the senate, in recompense of the services he had done, decreed that his son should during his life enjoy the revenues of the isle of *Corfu* (1).

(1) *Paruta*, l. vii.

ship,

a ſhip for the *Venetian* reſident. However, *Solyman* was too generous to form his judgment upon ſecret inſinuations; he therefore put the queſtion to the reſident, who fully ſatisfied him of the falſity of the allegation and fidelity of the republic: he even ſent an ambaſſador extraordinary to *Venice*, with teſtimonies of his regard; and to aſſure the ſenate that no indirect practices whatever ſhould alter his ſentiments of friendſhip for their republic. Thus ſtood affairs during the year 1535, when *Charles*, having finiſhed his expedition by taking *Tunis*, *Goletta*, and other places, returned to *Naples*, there to paſs the enſuing winter e.

WHILE the emperor was carrying on the war againſt the Infidels in *Africa*, *Francis Sforza*, A. D. 1536.
duke of *Milan*, died without iſſue; an event which it was univerſally believed would break the repoſe of *Italy*. The republic was unwilling that the *Milaneſe* ſhould be annexed to the
b dominions of the houſe of *Auſtria*, whoſe neighbourhood they apprehended on many accounts, and yet to ſolicit *Charles* the fifth to confer the dutchy upon ſome private perſon, required delicacy to avoid offence: but the *French* monarch, renewing his claim to this dutchy, eaſed the ſenate of their embarraſſment, and paved the way for a treaty with the emperor for the ſecurity of *Italy*. This treaty was ſcarcely concluded, when *Beauvoix*, one of the gentlemen of the bed chamber to *Francis*, came to *Venice* to acquaint the ſenate of his maſter's intentions, and to ſolicit the aid and alliance of the republic. Giving any encouragement to this propoſition would be an infraction of the treaty with *Charles*; the ſenate, therefore, contented itſelf with anſwering his majeſty in general terms, teſtifying their reſpect for his perſon, and deſire of preſerving the public tranquility. *Francis*, how-
c ever, perſevered in his reſolution of ſending an army into *Italy*, and for this purpoſe demanded a paſſage of the duke of *Savoy*, which was denied: this augmented his majeſty's diſpleaſure againſt the duke, and kindled thoſe ſparks of reſentment, which had for ſome time been ſmothered in political reaſons, into an open rupture. A variety of circumſtances now contributed to oblige *Francis* to declare his ſentiments of the duke: he had furniſhed the duke of *Bourbon* with money; he had congratulated the emperor on *Francis*'s impriſonment; he had conducted intrigues for the drawing off the *Swiſs* from their engagements with *France*; beſides making the purchaſe of *Aſt*, the duke refuſed to lend *Nice* for holding an interview between the king and pope *Clement*; his majeſty's claim to the dowry of *Louiſa* of *Savoy*, his mother; with a number of other particulars, all contributed
d to bring matters to a criſis. The duke, knowing the reſentment of the *French* monarch, ſolicited the emperor's help to oppoſe ſo powerful a prince. Intelligence of this negociation coming to the ears of *Francis*, made him haſten his preparations; accordingly he invaded *Piedmont* with a numerous army: he ſoon rendered himſelf maſter of *Turin*, *Pignerol*, and *Foſſan*. The city *Vercelli* was near falling into his hands, had not *Antonio de Leva*, with the imperial army, marched opportunely to its relief f. Thus a war was again lighted up in *Italy*, which *Paul* the third took every meaſure to extinguiſh. The great difficulty was to find a medium of agreement between the pretenſions of *Charles* and *Francis* to the dutchy of *Milan*; for as to the war with *Savoy*, that was only a neceſſary ſtep towards the entrance of the *French* army into the *Milaneſe*: however, negociations for this purpoſe were ſet on
e foot, which broke up without coming to any reſolution. The emperor was deſirous of giving the *Milaneſe* to the duke *d'Angouleſme*, and *Francis* was no leſs deſirous that it ſhould be conferred on the duke of *Orleans*: ſo violent was the emperor, that he offered to reſt the deciſion on the iſſue of a ſingle combat between himſelf and the *French* king.

Francis *enters* Piedmont *with an army, and overruns the country.*

WHILE the emperor was planning meaſures for checking the progreſs of the *French* conqueſts, *Francis*, with the aſſiſtance of ſome *Italian* princes, who had declared in his favour, formed an enterprize againſt *Genoa*, to reduce it under his power: this obliged the imperial army to withdraw from *Provence*, for the protection of the emperor's dominions in *Italy*. *Roderigo d'Avalo*, the imperial ambaſſador, arrived in *Venice* to acquaint the ſenate with the emperor's reſolution to invade *France*, and to requeſt their aſſiſtance. In conſequence ſix
f thouſand foot were raiſed, under the conduct of *Antonio de Caſtello*. The ambaſſador had aſſurances given him of the reſpect the republic ſhould always preſerve for his imperial majeſty; of the ſenate's reſolution to protect the *Milaneſe* againſt all enemies whatever. A farther augmentation of the troops was likewiſe made, the rendezvous appointed for aſſembling the army at *Azola*, with orders they ſhould be ready to march on an hour's notice; yet, with all theſe preparations, ſo nicely did the ſenate balance between the rival powers, that neither ſide was diſſatisfied with their conduct; the emperor eſteemed them his allies, and *Francis* could not look upon them as enemies, as they had taken no meaſures againſt his intereſt g.

IN this ſituation ſtood affairs, when a truce for three months was agreed upon between
g the emperor and *Francis*: notice of which was ſent to the ſenate by the former, together with the conditions preliminary to a general pacification: viz. That *Francis* ſhould declare,

e BARRE, Hiſt. All. t. 8. p. 2. f PARUT. ibid. etiam BARON. ſub. A. 1536. g PARUT. l. 9. MAUROCEN. l. 5.

before the expiration of that time, whether he would accept of the *Milaneſe* for the duke *d'Angouleſme*, and marry him to the widow of *Sforza?* If within this period he came to no reſolution, in that caſe the emperor ſhould have power to beſtow the dutchy on the infant of *Portugal*, or on *Emanuel*, ſon to the duke of *Savoy*. He requeſted to know the ſenate's ſentiments upon this ſubject; inſiſted upon the neceſſity of forming a league among the *Italian* princes for the ſecurity of *Italy*, and giving weight to the negotiations. The ſenate made anſwer, that as to the *Milaneſe* they could determine nothing, until they were acquainted more particularly with his imperial majeſty's intention: then when he ſhould directly nominate a ſucceſſor, they would then take their meaſures. As to the league, they thought it more neceſſary to oppoſe the growing power of the *Othoman* empire, than that of any chriſtian potentate. The ſenate then acquainted the pope with this anſwer to the emperor's embaſſy: they gave his holineſs the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of the pacific diſpoſition of the republic, whoſe chief deſire it was to preſerve the tranquility of *Italy*. They uſed their influence to induce him to mediate a peace, which at length he complied with, by ſending ambaſſadors to the courts of the emperor and of *Francis*. But his endeavours were fruitleſs, both ſides being rivetted in their implacable reſentments [h].

a

b

During this interval, *Francis* left no ſtone unturned to draw the *Venetians* off from their attachment to the emperor, or rather from their neutrality. After ſeveral indirect attempts, at laſt he ſent a plenipotentiary with full powers to engage them in his alliance upon their own terms. The faireſt promiſes were made to the ſenate, and the moſt engaging proſpects laid before them, but nothing could prevail on them to break their engagements with the emperor, or diſturb the repoſe of *Italy*. *Francis*, failing in this point, had recourſe to the *Porte*. He thought that by engaging *Solyman* to ſend an army into *Puglia*, he would at leaſt draw off the *Venetian* forces from the *Milaneſe*, and thus open a way for his own army into the dutchy. Although he had at that time a reſident at *Conſtantinople*, yet he now diſpatched an ambaſſador extraordinary to *Solyman*. This miniſter began his operations by repreſenting to the *Othoman* court the growing greatneſs of the emperor; the danger there was of his acquiring univerſal monarchy; the neceſſity of combining againſt him for their mutual defence; the facility with which the *Turkiſh* army might paſs into *Italy* by ſea; and the advantages that would reſult to that empire from ſuch a meaſure. The picture was artfully drawn; whatever tended to increaſe the difficulty of the enterprize was thrown into ſhade, while the beauties of the proſpect, and every other inducement, were placed in the moſt conſpicuous light. The grand vizier entered heartily into the views of the *French* king: he laid the ſcheme before *Solyman* with ſuch other blandiſhments as ſoon induced that ambitious monarch to embrace propoſals ſo agreeable to his natural diſpoſition, and thirſt of empire and glory. His pride was likewiſe flattered with this requeſt from a powerful chriſtian potentate; and it afforded a fair opportunity of ending the *Perſian* war, in which, without any advantage, he had conſumed ſuch immenſe treaſures, and ruined fine armies. It was therefore determined in the divan to raiſe numerous forces, and early in the ſpring to invade the imperial dominions in *Italy*.

c

d

*SOLYMAN*, thinking it neceſſary to engage the *Venetians* in his intereſt, if poſſible, ſent for that purpoſe an ambaſſador to the ſenate: their anſwer was, that they were equally diſpoſed to cultivate his friendſhip, from a regard to his perſonal merit and their mutual intereſt: they, however, declined declaring themſelves more explicitly; but although *Solyman* was ſatisfied with this general anſwer, it was otherwiſe with his miniſters, who expected to draw great advantages from a war with the republic. To gain their ends, they began with falſe complaints of the *Venetian* officers in the *Turkiſh* dominions; with impriſoning the perſons and confiſcating the effects of the merchants of the republic, under various and frivolous pretences. This they doubted not would produce altercations, which might probably terminate in a war: their trade in *Syria* was, beſides, taxed with a duty of ten *per cent*. their conſuls letters to the ſenate were frequently intercepted; and two of the republic's ſhips ſeized in an open and violent manner in the iſland of *Rhodes*, and port of *Alexandria*. Theſe were, indeed, moſt impolitic meaſures; for however a war with the republic might tend to the emolument of individuals, it could not but be prejudicial to the *Othoman* empire, and to the deſigns of *Solyman*. It was, in fact, compelling a ſtrong maritime power to unite itſelf cloſely with the emperor of *Germany*, and putting him upon a footing with the *Porte* in the only particular wherein he was inferior. This the ſenate foreſaw, and thence doubted not but *Solyman* would diſclaim, and redreſs the injuries done to their ſubjects without his conſent or knowledge. *Tomazo Mocenigo* was accordingly diſpatched to *Conſtantinople*, to repreſent the grievances of the republic to the *Othoman* miniſtry, and to the Grand Seignor in perſon, if ſatisfaction could not be obtained otherwiſe. *Mocenigo* applied directly to the emperor, and obtained the moſt favourable anſwer he could deſire. *Solyman* expreſſed his reſentment and ſorrow for the injuries the *Venetian* ſubjects

e

Solyman *taxes the* Venetian *commerce.*

f

g

[h] Ibid. etiam Baron. ibid.

a had ſuſtained; he apologized for them by profeſſing his ignorance, and promiſed they ſhould be immediately redreſſed to the utmoſt of his power. At the ſame time that this declaration was perfectly conſiſtent with the juſtice and generoſity of *Solyman*, it was alſo adapted to his circumſtances; for a rumour prevailed that the ſophi of *Perſia* was again preparing to enter the field with a numerous army, which obliged the *Othoman* to be cautious how he drew upon him the reſentment of ſo powerful a ſtate as *Venice* [i].

*His anſwer to the ſenate's remonſtrance.*

However, as the preparations by ſea and land continued with vigour through the *Turkiſh* empire, it put the ſenate under the neceſſity of guarding againſt a ſtorm, the deſtination of which was uncertain. The garriſons were reinforced by a new levy of eight thouſand foot; all the old gallies put in commiſſion, and orders iſſued for building fifty
b more with all poſſible diſpatch. An embargo was laid upon all the ſhipping in the ports, in order to man the fleet, and ſecure tranſports, if occaſion ſhould require. *Girolamo Peſſari* was made captain-general of the fleet, agreeable to the uſual method of chuſing by lot in the council of the *pregadi*. In this office he was confirmed by the great council, as there was not in the republic a perſon more skilled in maritime affairs, or of greater experience [k].

But however vigorous the meaſures of the ſenate might appear, there ſtill was a deficiency which could not be remedied but by the oppreſſion of the people. The treaſury was low, and now an entire ſtop would be put to commerce, that perpetual ſource of wealth to the *Venetian* ſtate: to obviate in ſome meaſure this evil, three procurators of St. *Mark*'s church were made, each of whom furniſhed the government with twelve thouſand ducats:
c then the ſenate applied to the pope for leave to levy two hundred thouſand ducats upon the clergy. His holineſs ſhuffled about this requeſt, ſometimes alledging their poverty, at other times pretending to give no credit to *Solyman*'s intention to attack *Italy*. In this ſituation the ſenate was forced to commit to Providence the care of thoſe numerous forces they were raiſing, determining, in caſe of neceſſity, to lay another tax upon the people in a manner in which it would be moſt tolerable.

Nor was the emperor *Charles* without apprehenſions of the *Turkiſh* preparations: he ordered his gallies to be in readineſs in all the ports of *Sicily* and *Naples*, the care of which he committed to *Andrew Doria*, a *Genoeſe*; but that republic detained *Doria* and the ſquadron under his command, for the defence of the city in caſe of a viſit from the *French*
d king.

During theſe preparations, *Solyman* began his march towards *Albania*, at the head of a powerful army, while his fleet, amounting to three hundred ſail, under *Luſi*, baſhaw, ſailed from the ſtreights of *Gallipolis*. The baſhaw arrived at *Modon* before the ſenate came to a reſolution: various were the opinions in the ſenate; ſome were for embracing a neutrality, others for joining the emperor, and the reſt were for waiting until the *Turkiſh* fleet ſhould, by ſome motion, declare its deſtination. At laſt it was reſolved to leave the whole to the conduct of *Peſſari*, and appoint *Giovanni Vitturi* his lieutenant. *Francis*, having notice of the embarraſſment of the ſenate, thought this a fit opportunity to turn the ſcale in his own favour. With this view he ſent an ambaſſador to *Venice*, with propoſals extremely advan-
e tageous to the republic: theſe were, to reſtore her former poſſeſſions in the *Cremoneſe* and *Ghiaradadda*; to reduce to her obedience the cities of *Ravenna* and *Cervia*, which ſhe had been forced to relinquiſh by the late treaty; together with the territories of *Puglia*, *Otranto*, *Brunduſium*, *Monopoli*, *Polignan*, and *Trani*. After various debates, a general reply was made to the ambaſſador's propoſals: upon which *Antonio Cornaro*, a perſon of great influence and authority, reproached the ſenate, 'for balancing a minute between intereſt, and 'the duties of ſolemn treaties. He told the *French* ambaſſador, that it had always 'been the practice of the republic never to deſert their allies; that they were now under 'engagements to the emperor; that it would be baſe to renounce them; that the noble 'ſpirit of *Francis* himſelf would deſpiſe the meanneſs of allies he could neither truſt nor
f 'eſteem [l].' The vehemence with which *Cornaro* uttered this ſpeech drew many to his opinion. It ſoon became more general, and at laſt was paſſed as the unanimous anſwer of the ſenate.

*The* French *king's propoſal to the* Venetians.

All this while the deſtination of the *Turkiſh* fleet was perfectly myſterious, as well as the conduct of the baſhaw. In paſſing the channel of *Corfu*, he ſaluted the caſtle in a friendly and reſpectful manner: he ordered the authors of ſome depredations committed on the *Venetian* traders to be hanged up at the yard arm; and preſerved a conduct ſo ambiguous as greatly perplexed the ſenate. Several unlucky accidents ſoon, however, changed the face of affairs, and produced an open rupture. A *Venetian* galley had ſunk a *Turkiſh* ſhip going
g with proviſions to the baſhaw's fleet, becauſe ſhe refuſed to pay the uſual honours to the flag: four ſhips ſtationed in the channel of *Corfu*, attacked and put to flight three *Turkiſh*

A. D. 1536.

[i] Paruta, ibid. [k] Maurocen. l. 5. Baron. Ann. ibid. [l] Paruta, ibid.

gallies ſent to convoy an ambaſſador ſent by the baſhaw to *Peſſari* to demand ſatisfaction for the foregoing violation of the treaty. Another cauſe of the war aroſe from a diſpute between a *Turkiſh* galley and one of *Contareni*'s, in which the former was taken with the loſs of two hundred men. Theſe injuries the baſhaw retaliated by others; and at laſt, ſeized upon four gallies which had been ſeparated from *Peſſari*'s ſquadron. Other hoſtilities of the ſame nature were interchanged, and every thing contributed to bring about an open declaration of war: however, the ſenate ſtill reſolved to wait, until they could be better informed by the *Venetian* envoy who attended *Solyman*'s perſon, and followed the army. Mean time, all the ſubjects of the republic in the *Turkiſh* dominions were impriſoned; their ſhips and effects ſeized; and particularly three large gallies at *Alexandria*[m]. Soon after which the *Turkiſh* fleet ſailed to *Corfu*, and attacked the citadel, at that time commanded by *Babon di Nalda*, with a garriſon of two thouſand men.

*Solyman's officers impriſon the* Venetian *ſubjects.*

Now all hopes of peace being vaniſhed, orders were diſpatched to *Peſſari* to hazard a battle rather than the loſs of *Corfu*; but he, relying upon the ſtrength of the place, and number of the garriſon, did not chuſe to expoſe the ſtate to ſo great a danger as muſt attend the defeat of the fleet. *Barbaroſſa*, the *Turkiſh* admiral, having landed twenty-five thouſand men on the iſland, after waſting every thing with a barbarous fury, laid ſiege to the citadel. He erected a number of batteries, which the briſk fire of the garriſon deſtroyed as ſoon as they were opened. The ſiege being ſpun out to ſome length, induced *Solyman* to undertake it in perſon. This he did, attended by the grand vizier; but they found the ſituation ſo ſtrong, the beſieged ſo reſolute, and ſuperior in the uſe of cannon, that they reſolved to drop the enterprize. Willing, however, to make a merit of neceſſity with the republic, he told the *Venetian* envoy, that if the ſenate would indemnify the expences of the war, he would withdraw his fleet and army from *Corfu* and the dominions of the republic. The envoy told him, that he had no inſtructions to enter into ſuch engagements; but that he would acquaint the ſenate with the propoſals. But before an anſwer could be returned, *Solyman* was forced, by the briſk ſallies of the garriſon, to abandon the iſland. From hence he turned his arms to the *Morea*; and part of the fleet was ſent to inveſt *Napoli de Romagnia* and *Malveſia*, while *Barbaroſſa*, with the remainder, ſcoured the iſlands of the *Archipelago*, of which he took ſeveral. But the deſigns of *Solyman* againſt the cities of the *Morea* were fruſtrated by the prudence and ability of *Vittor de Gazzoni*, the *Venetian* general in that quarter. He had taken ſuch precautions to fortify and augment the garriſons, that the *Turkiſh* general, after opening his trenches before *Napoli*, was forced to retire, and give up all expectation of ſucceſs.

A. D. 1537. Barbaroſſa *attacks* Corfu.

*He is repulſed.*

In the mean time *Peſſari* and *Vitturi* were not idle: they divided the fleet, the former laying ſiege to *Scordona*, and the latter to *Obruazzo*. After having levied, with this deſign, a ſufficient body of forces, *Peſſari* attacked *Scordona*, which being but weakly fortified, he entered it by aſſault, and put the garriſon to the ſword, diſmantled the town, and intirely razed the citadel. *Vitturi* was leſs ſucceſsful before *Obruazzo*, which had regular fortifications and a ſtrong garriſon: he began with erecting batteries, in which he was diſturbed by the continual ſallies of the enemy: however, before he had made any conſiderable progreſs in his approaches, he received orders from *Peſſari* to raiſe the ſiege, and haſten to *Corfu* with the fleet, as he apprehended a ſecond deſcent upon that iſland[n].

Peſſari *takes* Scordona *from the* Turks.

The winter coming on, hoſtilities ceaſed, and negotiations for a peace ſucceeded, before any deciſive blow had been ſtruck. *Solyman*, by his grand vizier, made ſome overtures to the *Venetian* envoy, which he tranſmitted to the ſenate. They were ſo little conſiſtent with the power, pride, and ambition of that monarch, that the ſenate ſuſpected their ſincerity; but they received every propoſal with reſpect. As the emperor *Charles* and the pope ſeemed deſirous of uniting with the republic againſt the *Turks*, the ſenate was the leſs aſſiduous to embrace the terms offered by *Solyman*, until they knew the iſſue of the negociations for a league now on the carpet. A ſtrong party aroſe in the ſenate for peace with the *Turks*: they urged the inſincerity of *Charles*, and impotency of the pope; the ſecret and deep views of the former, and the dilatorineſs of the latter. They ſet forth the low ſtate of the treaſury; the ſtagnation of commerce; the diſaffection of *Doria* the imperial admiral, whoſe coldneſs had nearly occaſioned the loſs of *Corfu*; the inability of the people to ſupport a war by additional taxes; the power of the enemy, and the little advantage to be expected even from a ſucceſsful war. Theſe arguments were oppoſed by others no leſs ſpecious; the oppoſite party inſiſted that *Solyman* had no real intention ſo ſoon to end a war which he had undertaken from motives of ambition; that his propoſals had no other view than to break off the intended league with the emperor and the pope, that he might then attack them ſingly and without allies: they aſſerted, that delays would be of dangerous conſequence, as the emperor might in the mean time conclude a peace with the *Porte*, and

[m] Maurocen. l. 6. Baron. An. 1536-7. [n] Maurocen. l. 6. Paruт. l. 9.

by

a by this means be rendered incapable of embracing the offers of the ſenate; that their ſo immediately accepting the overtures made by *Solyman*, would be a declaration of their inability to carry on the war; it would betray their weakneſs, and furniſh him with arguments for riſing in his demands: laſtly, it was urged that as they muſt, however ſupport an army and fleet until the tranquility of *Italy* was reſtored, they might with the ſame expence watch the motions of *Solyman*, and keep aloof until affairs could be eſtabliſhed upon a ſolid baſis. After ſeveral warm debates, they determined to amuſe *Solyman*, until the reſult of their negociations with the emperor and pope could be certainly known. Inſtructions were diſpatched to their envoy to leave no means untried to penetrate into the councils of the ſeraglio, and in the mean time to give the grand vizier hopes that the ſenate would em-
b brace any reaſonable terms of accommodation [o].

Hitherto, indeed, hoſtilities had been committed, but war was not declared, and it was expected that the ſword might ſtill be ſheathed without farther bloodſhed. It was always the opinion of the moſt prudent, that the republic ought not to be ſwayed, by the liberal promiſes of *Charles*, to undertake a hazardous war againſt the *Porte*, but upon neceſſity; nor, on the other hand, ſhould ſhe be terrified, by the great preparations of *Solyman*, into conceſſions unworthy of the rank ſhe maintained. The emperor was now ſoliciting the ſenate to join his fleet, to reſiſt the attempts of the infidels upon *Italy*; and the ſenate replied in equivocal terms. To another requeſt the imperial miniſter made, that the ſix thouſand troops ſtipulated for the defence of *Milan*, ſhould march into that duchy; they
c anſwered, that it would be time enough to perform their engagements when the *Milaneſe* was attacked.

In the mean time all neceſſary preparations were making for ſecuring the territories of the republic againſt incurſions; all the garriſons in the *Morea* were augmented and furniſhed with ſtores, ammunition, and proviſion. Twenty-five gallies were diſpatched for the ſecurity of *Candia*; the towns in *Dalmatia* were put in a ſtate of defence; and *Corfu* was not neglected. At laſt the intreaties, intrigues, and promiſes of *Charles* prevailed; the ſenate acceded to the propoſed league, and a treaty of alliance offenſive and defenſive between his imperial majeſty, the pope, and the republic was concluded. It was ſtipulated, that the emperor ſhould furniſh eighty-two gallies, the *Venetians* the ſame number, and the pope
d thirty-ſix men of war and gallies: that his holineſs ſhould ſupport one-ſixth of the expences of the war, and the reſt be equally divided between the emperor and the republic. *Doria*, the emperor's admiral, was made commander in chief of the combined fleet. *Ferdinand*, king of the *Romans*, was included in the league, becauſe it was expected he would be able to make a diverſion in *Hungary*. Room was alſo left for the *French* king to join in the confederacy; and the pope was to uſe his influence with the king of *Poland* to embrace it, and join his arms to reſiſt the common enemy. They even went ſo far as to divide their conqueſts; not doubting but they would ſoon become maſters of all the *Turkiſh* dominions in *Europe*. But as *Baronius* obſerves, it ſeldom happens that thoſe have their wiſhes accompliſhed whoſe hopes are too ſanguine. The event ſhewed the prudence of that advice which
e the republic neglected, not to confide too much in the aſſiſtance of allies. The treaty was ſigned at *Rome* in the month of *February*, 1538, not one of the articles of which were ever punctually executed by any one of the parties, excepting the republic. *Capella* was made admiral of the *Venetian* fleet, *Grimani*, patriarch of *Aquileia*, a *Venetian* by birth, of the pope's gallies. As the pontiff was but badly provided in ſhipping, the *Venetians* conſented to ſupply his quota for a certain ſubſidy, which he carefully avoided paying. That nothing might obſtruct the vigorous proſecution of the war, the *Venetians* offered their mediation to eſtabliſh peace between the emperor and *Francis*. For this purpoſe a congreſs met; but, after tedious debates, broke up without coming to any reſolution. In conſequence, *Charles*
f failed in his engagements to the ſenate, almoſt as ſoon as he had entered into them: inſtead of joining the confederates with a powerful fleet, he turned his whole attention to the ſecurity of *Milan*, and reſiſting the attempts of *Francis* [p].

*League between the pope, emperor, and* Venetians.

A. D. 1538.

Nor was this the only difficulty which the ſenate combated: in ſo low a condition were their finances, that they entertained thoughts of ſelling ſome of their poſſeſſions on the continent. A decree was paſſed that all money lent to the public ſhould bear fourteen *per cent.* intereſt: ſevere proceſſes were carried on againſt the debtors of the public, and impriſonment and confiſcation of goods made the penalties of exceeding the time appointed for payment. Three more procurators of St. *Mark*'s were choſen, who lent the public a ſum of money in the ſame manner as the others lately appointed. As for the tax on the clergy it could never be reduced to any form: the pope had permitted the ſenate to alienate the
g church goods at the rate of ten *per. cent.* to the amount of a million of ducats; but he afterwards required that this tax ſhould be levied upon the tithes for the ſpace of five years:

[o] Paruta, ibid. [p] Baron. ſub hoc Anno. Maurocen. l. 6. Barre, t. 8. p. 2.

however, the ſenate could never procure a brief, for refuſing which he always found ſome a
new excuſe. This great ſcarcity of money greatly impeded the preparations of the repub-
lic; yet nothing that could poſſibly remove the obſtruction was omitted [q].

His holineſs, obſerving that things went on but ſlowly, determined to exert himſelf in conciliating *Charles* and *Francis:* this alone could enable the emperor to perform his engagement with the league. He, therefore, laboured to procure a perſonal interview at *Nice*, where he offered to attend. The *Venetians* concurred in this propoſition, and joined their intereſt with the pontiff's to get it accepted. After preliminaries had been adjuſted, and every thing determined upon for the interview, it was ſuddenly declined by mutual deſire of the parties. A private conference, however, was held at *Avignon*, in which nothing appeared concluſive, beſides their reſolution to remain in their inveterate enmity. b

*Conference between the emperor and* Francis.

The ſpring being far advanced, the *Turkiſh* fleet covered the ſea with ſhips, ſcoured the iſlands of the *Archipelago* a ſecond time, and carried terror and deſolation where-ever it ſailed. It was reported that *Barbaroſſa* would ſteer his courſe to *Candia:* this the ſenate expected, and provided againſt. *Giovanni Moro*, the proveditor, was ſent thither in quality of governor, of whoſe great ability and experience the republic entertained a high opinion. *Moro*, on his arrival, aſſembled the principal inhabitants of the iſland, whom he adviſed, intreated, exhorted, and even perſuaded into an enthuſiaſtic reſolution of conquering or dying, by an animated and pathetic oration. In conſequence, the levies went on with ſo much vigour, that in a few days an army of twenty-five thouſand able-bodied men took the field, ready to march where-ever the ſecurity of the iſland and orders from the gover- c
nor required. The *Turkiſh* fleet ſoon came within ſight, and they were received with a ſhout from the whole army: this determined *Barbaroſſa* to alter his intention of landing near *Standia*, where he foreſaw he ſhould meet with an obſtinate reſiſtance. Coaſting along the iſland he propoſed debarking the troops at *La Suda*, where there was a good harbour and bold ſhore. The debarkation was no ſooner begun, than *Gritti*, who commanded in *La Suda*, played furiouſly with all the cannon of the town upon the enemy: a ſally was likewiſe made, and the *Turks* attacked with ſuch fury before they had time to form themſelves, that they were ſoon routed and diſperſed. Numbers, who had not time to gain their ſhips, fled up the country, where they fell into the hands of the armed peaſants, by whom they were murthered without remorſe or pity. Finding nothing could be effected on this quarter, d
*Barbaroſſa* diſpatched one hundred gallies to make an attempt upon *Sithia*, a little town upon the back of the iſland: this the *Venetians* had abandoned, not imagining it to be tenable; but they had drawn a line acroſs the country to prevent the *Turks* from advancing. In ſhort, ſo well concerted and vigorouſly executed were all the meaſures for the defence of *Candia*, that *Barbaroſſa* quitted the attempt, withdrew his fleet, and ſailed towards the *Morea* [r].

*Barbaroſſa attacks* Candia.

*He is defeated by the bravery of the* Candians.

At the ſame time the *Turkiſh* army entered *Dalmatia*, where they committed every ſort of violence and barbarity. They carried off men, women, and children; burnt and ſacked the villages and open towns, laying deſert the whole country through which they marched. So numerous was the army, and ſuch the panic they infuſed, that *Camillo Urſino*, governor e
of the province, had thoughts of abandoning the whole country, and ſhutting himſelf up with ſome troops in *Zara*; but the ſenate ſent a peremptory order to prevent a reſolution no leſs infamous than prejudicial to the republic. A levy was made of fifteen hundred horſe and twelve thouſand foot, which were immediately ſhipped for the protection of *Dalmatia*. A number of volunteers undertook the defence of the cities *Zara*, *Sabenica*, and *Catarra*; and the inhabitants of *Dalmatia* were permitted to ſend their wives and children to *Venice*, that they might oppoſe and fright the enemy without incumbrance.

*The* Turks *enter* Dalmatia.

Upon this occaſion the doge came into the ſenate, and pathetically running over the circumſtances of the republic, he enlarged upon the duty incumbent on every man to exert himſelf in defence of his country. He recommended 'unanimity and zeal as the ſtrongeſt f
'bulwarks of a ſtate; reminded them how theſe, in the laſt dangerous war, had diſen-
'gaged them from all difficulties, and at laſt procured an honourable and even a profitable
'peace: nor was the preſent danger leſs. *Solyman*, though a ſingle power, was not infe-
'rior in riches, courage, or number of forces, to the combined armies of their late enemies:
'his pride and ambition were unmeaſurable, which nothing but their conſtancy, their firm-
'neſs, and attachment to their country, could withſtand. Their expectations from their
'allies were daily vaniſhing; the tediouſneſs of their reſolutions, the ambiguity of their
'conduct was a plain indication that little confidence could be placed in the league, and
'that *Venice* muſt depend for its ſafety upon her own courage and conduct. Whatever the
'preſent difficulties might be, they would yield to ſpirit and patriotiſm. The treaſury g
'was exhauſted, but there were reſources in the pockets of individuals: he would ſet the

[q] Parut. l. 10. [r] Parut. ibid. Maurocen. l. 6.

'example,

a 'example; and he doubted not of being followed in ſo laudable a practice, by all who pre-
'ferred liberty and poverty to ſervitude and wealth, which ſolely depended on the arbitrary
'will of an imperious and deſpotic maſter. It was the teſt of a good citizen, he ſaid, wil-
'lingly to undergo all dangers, chearfully to advance his fortune, and even lay down his life
'for the benefit of the public. The preſence of the nobility would give life and vigour to
'the conduct of the ſoldiers: they would grudge no fatigues in which they ſaw their
'ſuperiors ſhare. Let every man, ſays he, aſſume that province in which he thinks his
'talents will be moſt uſeful: ſome are qualified for the field, ſome for the cabinet. In
'each of theſe departments exert yourſelves, and let your only contention be, who ſhall
'beſt ſerve his country and annoy the enemy: this will confirm to you the privileges, the
b 'reputation, and the happineſs, handed down by your glorious anceſtors. Let thoſe who
'cannot be moved by their duty or affection to the ſtate, remember that there is an obe-
'dience due to the laws and magiſtrates, who can compel them to contribute their ſer-
'vices. Let the urgency of the caſe make you diligent and vigorous in your meaſures, if
'you are deſirous of continuing the eſteem of good men, and, what is more, the applauſe
'of your own breaſts[s].'

In conſequence of this remonſtrance, ſeveral ſums of money were advanced for the public uſe, the nobility and gentry entered themſelves voluntarily in the ſervice of their country, and a ſpirit and unanimity prevailed, which gave happy preſages of a favourable iſſue to the war.

c Mean time the *Turkiſh* forces were daily pouring into *Dalmatia*: their intention was to attack all the fortified places at one time, by dividing their army, and thus prevent their aſſiſting each other. Already *Nadin*, a place of ſtrength, was fallen into their hands; the ſame fate attended *Laurena*: *Zara* and other towns were inveſted and warmly preſſed: *Zemona* and *Antivari* were little leſs than conquered, being abandoned by the garriſons, and defended only by the bravery of a few *Venetian* and *Sclavonian* volunteers. However, their reſolution, and the ſpeedy ſupplies ſent from *Venice*, triumphed over misfortune, and obliged the *Turks* to abandon *Dalmatia* with precipitation[t]. *The* Turks *are repulſed from* Dalmatia.

But the *Venetians* were not contented with relieving the beſieged towns, and driving the infidels out of *Dalmatia*, they attacked and recovered ſome of the places poſſeſſed by
d the enemy. A vigorous plan of operations was laid down, which, if purſued, would ſoon have obliged the haughty *Solyman* to ſue for peace; but the luke-warmneſs of the duke of *Urbini*, who was made general of the land-forces, ſoon convinced the moſt diſcerning, that no great matters could be expected while he commanded.

The *Venetian* fleet under *Capello* having joined the pope's gallies, commanded by the biſhop of *Aquileia*, all men were impatient for the event of this junction. Already the combined fleet was powerful enough to occaſion the retreat of *Barbaroſſa* to *Negropont*; and the emperor engaged his word to reinforce it with thirty gallies, fifteen men of war, and three thouſand *Spaniſh* infantry; a promiſe the execution of which was much doubted. However, contrary to the general opinion, *Gonzaga* arrived with the gallies at *Corfu*, the men of war be-
e ing left behind under ſome ſpecious pretext. His arrival was of little ſervice, as he refuſed to cloſe with the propoſals made by *Capello* and *Grimani*. They had agreed to ſcour the *Levant* ſeas, and ſecure the coaſts from the irruptions and deſcents of the infidels; but with this *Gonzaga* refuſed to coincide, under pretence that it would be for the diſcredit of his imperial majeſty to attempt any thing with a fleet too ſmall to ſupport the dignity of his arms. *Grimani*, tired out with tedious expectation, upon this declaration ſeparated from *Capello*, taking with him the pope's thirty-five gallies. In his courſe he made a bold, but unſucceſsful attack upon the fortreſs of *Prevoſa*; ſoon after which *Doria*, with the emperor's men of war, joined *Capello* at *Corfu*. An expreſs being ſent to *Grimani*, to advertiſe him of this junction, and of their intention to attack *Prevoſa* with the united fleets, he returned.
f The confederate fleet now amounted to one hundred and thirty-ſix gallies, thirty armed ſhips, and two galleons; a force, if rightly applied, ſufficient to cruſh the whole *Othoman* naval power. Previous to the deſcent on *Prevoſa*, they ſteered directly for the *Turkiſh* fleet in line of battle; *Doria*, as commander in chief, leading the van. *Barbaroſſa*, receiving intelligence of their courſe, retired to the ſtraits of *Gallipoli*, in order to protract the war, which he knew would breed diviſions, and ſoon ſeparate the confederates. He likewiſe tampered with *Doria*, whom he ſoon gained by liberal preſents and promiſes: a ſeaſonable advantage, as his retreat from *Corfu* had given his enemies an occaſion to tax his conduct and his courage. To reinſtate himſelf in the public eſteem, *Barbaroſſa* reſolved to come to an engagement with the confederates: and to inſure ſucceſs, he thought the moſt commo-
g dious method was to be on good terms with the chief officer[u].

[s] Parut. ibid. [t] Maurocen. ibid. et Paruta. [u] Baron. ſub hoc An. Parut. l. 10. Maurocen. l. 7.

UPON this change of opinion fifty gallies were diſpatched in queſt of the Chriſtians, a and were ſoon diſcovered by the centinels in the tops of the *Venetian* fleet; upon which a ſignal was made for engaging: they poured broadſides into the *Turkiſh* fleet ſo briſkly, that they were ſuddenly broke and put in confuſion. The *Venetians* were preparing to board them, when *Doria* ordered ſail to be ſlackened, and thus gave the *Turks* an opportunity to eſcape, when he had them at mercy. It was with difficulty the *Venetians* obeyed the order; but imagining the admiral had ſome great ſtroke in view, they complied. Finding, however, that he effected nothing for the common intereſt, the whole fleet was enraged, officers and ſoldiers equally reproaching the cowardice or treachery of *Doria*. *Capello* carried his reſentment ſo far, that *Doria* found himſelf under the neceſſity of again proceeding in order of battle againſt the enemy. After he had uſed all the diſſuaſive arguments in his b power, perceiving they had no effect, he commanded the bloody flag to be hoiſted, and led the van a ſecond time. *Barbaroſſa*, though he was alarmed at this conduct, yet ſtill relied on *Doria*'s engagements. Advancing therefore to meet the enemy, ſeveral motions were made for gaining the windward, which the ſuperior ſkill of the confederates carried: but a calm enſuing, both fleets lay for ſome hours within ſight of each other; the *Venetians* all the while impatient to engage. *Capello* ordered his large ſhips to be towed, that no time might be loſt. Theſe he placed in front, to break the firſt ſhock of the enemy, which he knew would be violent. But *Doria*'s conduct rendered every precaution uſeleſs: it was equally myſterious to his own friends and to the enemy. As ſoon as a gale ſprung up, inſtead of bearing down upon the *Turks*, as was expected, he took a long c ſweep, which ſome conſtrued into an intention of attacking their line in flank. *Capello*, however, ſaw through the artifice: upon which he immediately got into a ſmall frigate, ſailed round the fleet, exhorting them to ſeize the happy moment of ending the war. He took upon him to anſwer the conſequences of diſobeying his ſuperior: he openly accuſed him of betraying his truſt, went up to *Doria*, and intreated him to fall directly upon the enemy; but all to no purpoſe. That admiral, after exchanging a few diſtant ſhot with the enemy, retired with his ſquadron, making a ſignal for the reſt of the fleet to follow. His pretence was, that the *Turks* were drawn up ſo advantageouſly, and ſo well covered by the batteries they had thrown up on the ſhore, that it would be impoſſible to engage them with ſucceſs. The enemy, encouraged by this ſhameful conduct, attacked the rear d of the combined fleet with ſome advantage; took ſeven gallies, and nine frigates, when happily a ſtorm ariſing, prevented the purſuit. *Doria* ordered all the lights to be put out, and returned diſgracefully to *Corfu*, when he might with equal eaſe have brought both victory and honour. In his flight he was inſulted by *Barbaroſſa* himſelf, who called him in deriſion, the *Neptune* of the ſea; a name he had once deſervedly borne on account of his ſkill in maritime affairs [w].

*The baſe conduct of* Doria.

*Obliged to attack the* Turkiſh *fleet.*

Doria's *diſgraceful retreat.*

THUS ended the battle of *Nicopolis*, near the promontory of *Actium*, from which time the naval abilities of the Chriſtians would ſeem to decline. All blamed *Doria*, ſome attributing his conduct to cowardice, ſome to jealouſy of the *Venetians*, but the greater number to treachery (A): his future conduct was conſiſtent. The fleet ſailing from *Corfu* to e *Caſtlenuovo*, a town formerly belonging to the *Venetians*, *Doria* garriſoned it with *Spaniſh* ſoldiers, retaining it for the uſe of the emperor; after which he returned to *Sicily*, without attempting any thing farther. *Jovius* ſays, that *Doria* deſpiſed all the reproaches thrown out againſt him, ſatisfied that he acted according to his orders; thus transferring the whole blame on the emperor, who wanted nothing more than to engage the republic in a ruinous war with the infidels. His motives, according to that hiſtorian, were to ſeize upon their poſſeſſions on the continent, as ſoon as they were reduced ſo low, as to be unable to ſupport another war. *Sigonius* and others ſcruple not to charge the whole miſconduct upon the *Venetians*. Not contented with vindicating *Doria*, where he is unjuſtly blamed, he ventures to applaud his conduct, where, if we can at all rely on the concurring teſtimony of all the *Venetian* f writers, it is utterly indefenſible. What ſets his treachery or cowardice in the moſt conſpicuous view is his refuſal, upon the intreaty of *Capello*, to attack *Barbaroſſa*, notwithſtanding he had been weakened by the loſs of half his fleet in a ſtorm. In excuſe of this, his panegyriſt *Sigonius* advances but frivolous and weak arguments [x].

SOON after the departure of *Doria* to *Sicily*, *Grimani* likewiſe drew off the pope's gallies, under pretence of the rigour of the ſeaſon, and the hazard of keeping the ſea longer

[w] PARUTA, l. 10. MAUROCEN. l. 7. [x] PARUTA, ibid.

(A) This laſt conjecture is ſupported by the authority of the *Turks* themſelves, who owned, that a ſcandalous ſecret correſpondence had been carried on between *Doria* and *Barbaroſſa*. *Baronius* has a long detail of this tranſaction, in which he does the *Venetians* great juſtice, attributing the whole diſgrace to the corruption of the *Genoeſe* admiral. But the cleareſt proofs are to be found in *Peter Bembo*'s epiſtles to his brother the cardinal (1).

(1) *Vid. Ep.* 1. *l.* 1. *Baron. t.* 8. *p.* 168. *ſub Ann.* 1538.

a Thus the *Venetians* were left alone to oppoſe an enemy ſo greatly ſuperior, which, with the diſgrace at *Actium*, the inſolence of *Doria* in putting a *Spaniſh* garriſon in a town belonging to the republic, plainly indicated the hazard of continuing the war, intolerable on account of the expence. All theſe circumſtances co-operating, the ſenate was induced to think of a peace upon ſuch terms as could be procured. Certain ſecret intelligence tranſmitted to the council of ten, perſuaded them that *Solyman* was no leſs diſpoſed to a compoſition: however, without diminiſhing the dignity of the ſtate, they could not publicly ſend an ambaſſador to make propoſals. To avoid ſuſpicions of this kind, *Lorenzo Gritti* went to *Conſtantinople*, in order to ſound the ſentiments of the divan, but under pretence of ſettling the affairs of his brother, lately deceaſed. *Gritti* entered upon the affair with the utmoſt deli-
b cacy, firſt propoſing a truce, which was rejected, and afterwards a general pacification. In this his deſigns were ſeconded by the *French* reſident, who had his ſecret reaſons for acting in the manner he thought would be moſt grateful to the republic. *Solyman* ſoon conſented to a ſeparate peace with the *Venetians*, but refuſed to include the emperor, againſt whom he was deſirous of turning the whole weight of the *Othoman* power. *Charles* coming to the knowlege of *Gritti*'s negociation, ſent an ambaſſador to *Venice* to obſtruct the peace: his views were not yet anſwered; the republic was ſtill too powerful to be made a prey: every poſſible means was therefore uſed to oblige her to continue the war. Don *Diego de Mendoza*, the *Spaniſh* miniſter, complained in the ſenate of a conduct ſo injurious and diſreſpectful to his maſter, and unfaithful to the alliance. The ſenate anſwered him by retorting the emperor's breach of engagements, the dilatory meaſures of his councils, and
c the treachery of his admiral: they told him, that as to the league, it wholly conſiſted of promiſes never performed; that they were made the tools of the emperor's politics, and the whole load of the war was thrown upon *Venice*. Altercations of the ſame nature paſſed at the imperial court between the *Venetian* ambaſſador and the *Spaniſh* miniſtry *y*.

In this ſituation ſtood affairs towards the cloſe of the year 1538, when *Gritti* the doge *The doge dies.*
died, after he had occupied that dignity with great applauſe for the ſpace of fifteen years: he was then in his eighty-fourth year, a prince of prudence, benevolence, and many other amiable virtues; a great promoter of the liberal arts, and of public charities. Some noble foundations of this kind, begun under his auſpices, are ſtanding monuments of his liberality, piety, and taſte; the elegance of the architecture being exceeded by nothing be-
d ſides the utility and piety of the deſign. *Gritti* had maintained the people in the full extent of their liberties, and the republic in the poſſeſſion of all her dominions, through a period abounding more, perhaps, than any other in hiſtory, with dark intrigues, deceitful friendſhips, and cruel wars. He died in the full exertion of his mental, and without diminution of his bodily faculties, eſteemed and lamented by all good men, as the father of his country, the patron of merit, and the ſuccour of the poor and oppreſſed *z*.

## *PIETRO LANDO*, Doge LXXVIII.

*GRITTI* was ſucceeded by *Pietro Lando*, elected after the uſual forms: he cloſely pur- Pietro Lando, *d.* LXXVIII.
ſued the meaſures of his predeceſſor, and with equal zeal deſired to put a period to a bur-
e thenſome and pernicious war. The envoy's negociations went on but ſlowly at *Conſtantinople*, the emperor *Charles* having thrown many embarraſſments in his way, however ſtrenuous the doge and ſenate were in purſuit of pacific meaſures. This obliged the republic to augment her ſtanding forces, fleet, and garriſons, finding how little they were to rely upon auxiliaries and allies, and how uncertain the proſpect of ending the war. Orders were diſpatched to *Contareni*, the proveditor, in *Candia*, to equip twenty-five gallies; levies were raiſed in the city, and four thouſand artificers enrolled in the public ſervice, who ſhould be obliged to practiſe rowing, and make four cruiſes a year, certain privileges being decreed to thoſe who ſhould exceed the number of expeditions ſpecified. The old duke of *Urbini* being dead, his ſon *Guy Ubaldo* was created generaliſſimo of the *Venetian* forces on
f the continent. *Moro*, the proveditor, was appointed to command the naval armaments of the republic, during the abſence of *Capello*, at that time in *Venice* for the recovery of his health, impaired in the public ſervice. *Moro* being ſoon after killed in ſome popular ſeditions in *Candia*, *Thomaſo Mocenigo* was appointed in his room by the ſenate.

In this manner did the *Venetians* prepare againſt the precarious iſſue of tedious negotiations. Neither were the *Turks* idle: *Barbaroſſa* could not digeſt the loſs of *Caſtlenuovo*, and was determined, at all events, to attempt the recovery of a place of great importance to the *Othoman* naval power. He had left a diviſion of the fleet, conſiſting of thirty ſail, under *Dragut* his lieutenant, to block up the *Venetian* ſquadron in *Corfu*, and ſcour thoſe coaſts: this *Dragut* effectually performed, laying his ſcheme ſo artfully, that he drew a part of the
g *Venetian* fleet into an ambuſcade, by which he drove three gallies on ſhore, where they were

*y* Baron. A. 1538. *z* Parut. l. 10. Maurocen. l. 5. 6.

ſtaved

ſtaved to pieces, and took one large ſhip of war. Elated with this ſucceſs, he made a deſcent on *Candia*, burning and waſting the coaſts; but was ſoon attacked by the militia with ſo much courage and impetuoſity, that, after a brisk action, the *Turks* were defeated, and driven with great ſlaughter to their ſhips [a]. a

About this time young *Gritti* returned from *Conſtantinople*, where all he could obtain was a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities for three months, in order to adjuſt the preliminaries of a general pacification; to negociate which *Pietro Zeno* was ſent in quality of ambaſſador extraordinary to *Solyman*: during the preparations for this ambaſſy, *Gritti* was returned as reſident, with advice of the republic's intention to ſend an ambaſſador. *Zeno* died ſoon after his departure from *Venice*, and *Thomaſo Contareni* was nominated to ſucceed him, who, on his arrival at *Conſtantinople*, ſoon obtained a prolongation of the truce. *Barbaroſſa*, however, was intent on recovering *Caſtlenuovo*, which, being held by a *Spaniſh* garriſon, he thought he might attack it without infraction of the truce with *Venice*. Coming before it with above one hundred gallies, and a body of troops raiſed by the beglerbeg of *Greece*, he ſummoned the governor to ſurrender, threatening him with all the horrors of war, if he refuſed. The *Spaniards* offered to deliver the city to the *Venetians*; but this they would not accept, ſaying it was now too late: had it been given them according to the expreſs terms of the league, they would then have known how to act, but at preſent their acceptance would be an infraction of the truce with *Solyman*, and the means of breaking off the treaty in agitation. *Barbaroſſa* a ſecond time ſummoning the garriſon, was told they ſhould defend it to the laſt extremity; upon which he erected batteries on ſhore, and bombarded the town from the fleet. The beſieged, after perſevering to defend themſelves with great reſolution, were at laſt reduced to extremities; the town was almoſt laid in aſhes, the breach in the walls made practicable, the number of the garriſon greatly diminiſhed by ſickneſs and death, and above all a famine prevailed; for theſe reaſons they capitulated, but on honourable terms [b]. b c

*The* Turks *attack and take* Caſtlenuovo.

From hence *Barbaroſſa* ſailed to *Riſano*, which he had ſurrendered to him on the firſt ſummons, the governor not believing it tenable. Leaving a garriſon here, he ſteered his courſe to *Catarra*, where *Matteo Bembo*, brother to the learned cardinal of that name, had the command of a *Venetian* garriſon. *Barbaroſſa* skreened his attack upon this place, under various pretences: he knew it to be a direct violation of the truce now ſubſiſting; but he likewiſe knew that his ſucceſs would be extremely grateful to the *Turkiſh* miniſtry. The firſt reaſon alleged in defence of this treſpaſs was, that *Catarra* was a ſanctuary for ſlaves, that deſerted the *Turkiſh* ſervice; the next was, that neither *Catarra* or any other town on that coaſt belonged to the republic; he therefore ſummoned *Bembo* to ſurrender. *Bembo* penetrated the thin artifice, and ſent him a reſolute anſwer, that nothing leſs than the expreſs command of the doge and ſenate would oblige him to abandon a town entruſted to his charge: and that he would continue to defend it againſt all the power of *Solyman*, while one ſtone ſtood upon another. Without making any reply, *Barbaroſſa* ordered the van of his fleet to advance within diſtance to batter the walls. By ſome miſconduct of the admiral they were brought ſo near, that, having been expoſed for half an hour to a hot fire from the town, they were wholly ſhattered, broken, and obliged to retire in the utmoſt confuſion and diſtreſs. The day following the reſt of the fleet advanced, having detached a few ſhips to cover the landing of the troops at ſome diſtance from the town. *Bembo* plied his artillery ſo warmly, that the *Turkiſh* general was driven back with loſs: nor did the land-forces fare better; the garriſon, having made a brisk ſally before they had time to draw up, routed them with prodigious ſlaughter, returning triumphant to the town, with a number of priſoners, ſtandards, kettle drums, and other trophies. *Barbaroſſa*, after reconnoitring the town from the land-ſide, and obſerving the ſpirit of the garriſon, thought it adviſeable to reimbark the troops, and draw off the fleet [c]. d e

The truce being near expired, and but ill obſerved by the *Turks*, the *Venetian* ambaſſador demanded an audience of the Grand Seignior. He repreſented to him the little proſpect there was of advantage to either ſide in continuing the war: he deſired a prolongation of the truce, or a peace, telling *Solyman*, that not the terror of his power, but the admiration of his virtues, made the republic ſo deſirous of entering into his friendſhip. *Solyman* was paſſive during this diſcourſe, and making no reply, referred *Contareni* to the grand vizier. His firſt propoſition to the miniſter was, that all places taken during the war ſhould be mutually reſtored; but the vizier anſwered, that ſo far from reſtoring the town he had taken, *Solyman* would hearken to no conditions, unleſs *Napoli* and *Malveſia* were ſurrendered; he even doubted whether he would not inſiſt on all the towns poſſeſſed by the republic on the *Greek* coaſt as far as *Caſtlenuovo*; and alſo on being reimburſed the expences of the war. To this *Contareni* replied, that he was but the ſervant of the ſtate, and had no inſtructions f g

[a] Maurocen. l. 6. [b] Parut. l. 11. Maurocen. ibid. Baron. ibid. [c] Maurocen. l. 4.

on

a on that head; but he was pretty certain the republic would never grant terms ſo ignominious, until they were extorted after ſhe had ſhed the laſt drop of her blood: that, for his own part, as far as his influence would extend, he would ardently oppoſe ſuch a conceſſion; and that whatever value he put upon the friendſhip of *Solyman*, he would never conſent to purchaſe it with the price of his country's honour [d].

*CONTARENI* returned to *Venice*, and laboured all in his power to prevent the ſurrender of *Napoli* and *Malveſia*; but the council of ten, perceiving that their affairs were betrayed to the *French* king and the emperor; that the people murmured under the burthen of the war; and that if it was continued, they muſt ſupport it without any expectation from their allies, reſolved to accept the conditions propoſed. Both the imperial and *French*
b ambaſſadors were indefatigable in their endeavours to form a party in the republic, to oppoſe the pacific meaſures; but all endeavours proved fruitleſs. The ſenate was determined, and in this reſolution they were confirmed by the opinion of ſome of the moſt prudent perſonages and the doge himſelf: the great obſtacle was the ſtrong attachment of the inhabitants of thoſe two cities (*Napoli* and *Malveſia*) to the republic, and averſion to the *Turkiſh* government. They requeſted, in the moſt pathetic terms, that they might not be ſacrificed to a cruel enemy; that they might be permitted to defend their liberties, which they were in hopes the juſtice of their cauſe, and their own zeal, would enable them to perform, without expence or trouble to the republic. The ſenate was moved with their remonſtrance; and ſending *Mocenigo* the general to them, promiſed that all thoſe who were deſi-
c rous of continuing under the government of *Venice*, ſhould have a proviſion equal to their preſent circumſtances. With this they were quieted, and without farther objections permitted the peace to be concluded. At laſt, towards the cloſe of the year 1540, it was ſigned at *Conſtantinople*, to remain firm and valid for the ſpace of thirty years. *Napoli* and *Malveſia* were ſurrendered to the *Turks*, the greater part of the inhabitants removing into other towns of the republic. The fleets of the ſenate were laid up, and their armies disbanded, all beſides the uſual ſtanding forces, and the ſhipping neceſſary to protect commerce [e].

*Peace concluded with* Solyman.

## SECT. VII.

d *Containing the pacific Meaſures of the Senate ſubſequent to the Treaty with* Solyman; *Death of the Doge*; *Diſturbances in* Italy; *Death of the new Doge*; *Reſignation of* Charles *the fifth*; *Death of Doge* Venieri; *a dreadful Plague in* Venice; *a freſh War with the Grand Signior*; *the Invaſion of* Cyprus; *and other Particulars.*

AFTER peace was concluded with *Solyman*, *Venice* began once more to taſte the ſweets and bleſſings of tranquility, of induſtry, and of commerce: her fleets were ſent in ſhoals to every port of the *Levant*, *Egypt*, and the *Turkiſh* dominions: they even filled almoſt every harbour in *Europe*. The diſcoveries of the *Portugueſe* had, without doubt,
e leſſened the trade of the republic, but ſtill it retained the appearance of its former grandeur. The *Venetians* engroſſed the whole *Levant* traffic, as well as that of *Egypt*, many ports in *Africa* and *Aſia*, for as yet trade had not univerſally changed the old channel: but however aſſiduouſly the *Venetians* might purſue the pacific arts, they were ſtill diſturbed by the commotions in *Germany*, and the perpetual rivalſhip between the emperor and king of *France*. Theſe princes had, indeed, confirmed the truce of *Nice*, and exchanged many other teſtimonies of mutual love and eſteem, which inſpired hopes that they had intirely laid aſide their animoſities; but a variety of accidents ſoon intervened to interrupt the wiſhed-for harmony. *John*, king of *Hungary*, dying, left an infant ſon by his wife *Iſa-*
f *bella*, daughter of the king of *Poland*: his kingdom, which by right belonged to his iſſue male, was claimed by *Ferdinand*, king of the *Romans*, in conſequence of a pretended agreement with the deceaſed. After ſeizing upon a number of towns and fortreſſes in *Hungary*, *Ferdinand*, perceiving he was likely to meet with a formidable oppoſition from the queen dowager, ſent an ambaſſy to *Solyman*, requeſting his aſſiſtance, and that he might be permitted to hold *Hungary* upon the ſame tenure as *John*; but in this he was anticipated by the dowager, who had procured a ſolemn deputation of the barons of the kingdom to *Solyman*, and that prince's promiſe that *Hungary* ſhould be kept for her infant. So incenſed was the Grand Seignior at *Ferdinand*'s claim, that, reſolving to attack him by ſea and land, he revoked the treaty with the *French* ambaſſador, and determined upon vigorous meaſures for the protection of the young king of *Hungary* [a].

g NOR were the troubles in the *Low Countries* appeaſed; *Charles* having rigorouſly puniſhed the rebellion of the *Ghentois*, by that means widened the breach between him and

[d] PARUT. l. 10. [e] Ibid. [a] BARRE, Hiſt. Allemagne, t. 9. ſub A. 1540.

*France*. *Francis* was the more encouraged in his reſentment, as he foreſaw that a powerful a
diverſion in his favour would be made by *Solyman* in *Hungary* and *Bohemia*. *Charles*'s refuſal to comply with the terms propoſed concerning the *Milaneſe* was another cauſe of grievance; but the greateſt complaint aroſe from the murder of *Rinçon* and *Tregoſa*, the *French* ambaſſadors to the *Porte*. Theſe demanding a ſafe paſſage through the *Venetian* dominions, obtained their requeſt, but were overtaken by ſome *Spaniſh* infantry near *Pavia*, and murdered. Above meaſure incenſed at this treacherous conduct, and the emperor's equivocation concerning peace and the reſtitution of *Milan*, *Francis* diſpatched another ambaſſador to *Solyman*, with inſtructions to call in his way, and lay thoſe grievances before the republic. The ſenate was provoked at the recital of an inſult upon the laws of nations; but not chuſing to enter upon another war, were ſilent; a galley, however, was diſpatched to b
convey the miniſter to *Turkey*.

*The* French *ambaſſadors murdered.*

MEAN while, as *Ferdinand*'s army had been lately defeated by the *Turks*, it was expected the emperor would have marched in perſon to his relief; but this did not coincide with his meaſures. In this ſtate of affairs the ſenate determined upon a neutrality: the republic groaned under the expences of the laſt war: peace had yet produced little effects in reſtoring commerce, or enriching the people. They were aware of the conſequence to *Chriſtendom* the loſs of *Hungary* would produce, but then they ſaw the emperor decline interpoſing: their engaging for the relief of ſo diſtant a kingdom would only bring themſelves into danger, without anſwering the end. *Ferdinand* was too weak an ally: the princes of the empire were not well affected to the houſe of *Auſtria*; they would take no ſteps which could c
aggrandize it. The reaſons for *Solyman*'s aſſiſting the dowager were obvious: he deſired nothing leſs than putting the crown upon the head of the young king; but this was a plauſible pretext for annexing *Hungary* to the *Othoman* empire. *Venice* penetrated this myſterious conduct of the different courts; ſhe traced the political clue of intrigue, but determined not to be guided by it, nor to provoke ſo powerful a monarch as *Solyman*, without her own privileges were immediately attacked [b].

A. D. 1542. THE year following his holineſs petitioned the ſenate, that the general council might be allowed to aſſemble at *Vincenza*, which they declined from an apprehenſion of giving umbrage to the *Porte*. Their refuſal had ſome colour of reaſon, on account of an accident which lately happened, that could not fail of giving offence to *Solyman*. Two *Turkiſh* d
gallies, in their way from *Barbary* to *Conſtantinople*, fell in with the *Venetian* proveditor: as they endeavoured all in their power to avoid him, it afforded a ſuſpicion they were pirates, upon which he came up, engaged, and took them, ſetting all the Chriſtians on board at liberty. This action the *Porte*, and eſpecially *Barbaroſſa*, reſented, as the gallies were his property: he threatened revenge, but was appeaſed by the ſubmiſſion of the republic, and her conſenting to repay the damages. On this occaſion *Solyman* ſent an ambaſſador to *Venice*, who was treated with high marks of diſtinction: by him the late peace was ratified and confirmed [c].

IN this manner ſtood affairs for the two following years: both the emperor and *France* laboured to engage the republic in a war, which ſhe was no leſs aſſiduous to avoid. *Francis* e
ſent his miniſter *Polin* to make any terms with the *Venetians*; but they would accept of none to break with the emperor: on the other hand, they were equally inflexible to the emperor's propoſals to engage them in an alliance againſt the *Turks*. Peace was their aim, but in purſuing it too cloſely, they run the hazard of diſobliging all parties. The *French* king was already highly incenſed againſt them, through the miſrepreſentations of his miniſters at *Venice*: they complained of an inſult upon their authority, in dragging away by force certain criminals who had ſought protection in their houſes. This affair, however, was ſet in a proper light by the memorials of the ſenate to *Francis*. Yet an accident of another nature involved the *Venetians* in diſputes with *Ferdinand* and the empire: the ſeizure of *Maran* may be deemed the firſt foundation of a future bloody war. *Bertrand de Sacchia*, a ſubject f
of the republic, was the author of this meaſure, without powers from the ſenate. Finding himſelf too weak to keep poſſeſſion, he called in the aſſiſtance of *Strozzi*, a *Florentine* refugee, who ſoon arrived with a ſtrong body of ſoldiers, and erected the ſtandard of *France* in the city. *Maran* belonged to *Ferdinand*, and the ſenate doubted not but he would attribute this violence offered to his dominions to their ſecret inſtructions. The emperor would of conſequence be offended; and yet as the *French* ſtandard was erected, and the city kept in his name, they were greatly embarraſſed. To reſtore the city might involve them in a quarrel with *Francis*, ſince they were ignorant of his ſecret motives for acting in this manner; and to remain indifferent ſpectators, would as ſurely diſoblige the emperor and *Ferdinand*: but their greateſt fears aroſe from the ſuſpicions that *Maran* might be delivered g
to *Solyman*, as *Strozzi* threatened, unleſs he was ſpeedily relieved, for he was cloſely beſieged

*The republic ſolicited both by the* French *king and the emperor.*

*Diſputes concerning the city of* Maran.

[b] MAUROCEN. l. 4. [c] PARUT. l. 10.

by

a by the imperial forces. As the diſtance of this city from *Venice* did not exceed twenty-five miles, they greatly dreaded the near neighbourhood of the *Turks* [a].

To diſengage the republic from her preſent diſagreeable circumſtances; the ſenate publiſhed a proclamation, forbidding, under pain of death, any of the ſubjects of the ſtate to aid, abet, or any ways aſſiſt, by men, money, proviſions, or arms, the city of *Maran*. They took into cuſtody the wife and children of *Sacchia*, that ſuch a pledge might be a check upon his conduct. Theſe meaſures they hoped would appeaſe *Ferdinand*: however, that *Sacchia* and *Strozzi* might not be rendered deſperate enough to put the city into *Soly-*
*man*'s hands, the ſenate ſecretly tampered with them, promiſing that all things ſhould ſoon be accommodated to their ſatisfaction. In the mean time the biſhop of *Trente* arrived at
b *Venice*, in quality of *Ferdinand*'s ambaſſador, to ſolicit a fleet for the reduction of *Maran*. The ſenate expreſſed their wiſhes he might recover a city ſo unjuſtly ſnatched from him, but declined offering the fleet, under pretence that matters might better be accommodated by negociations. Accordingly a treaty was ſet on foot; but difficulties ariſing, it was ſpun out to ſo great length, that *Strozzi* declared unleſs things were brought to a ſpeedy iſſue, he would ſurrender the city to the *Turks*. Nor was this the only buſineſs of the congreſs which ſat at *Trente*, for they endeavoured to adjuſt certain differences between *Ferdinand* and the republic of an old ſtanding, relative to the cities *Belgrade* and *Caſtlenuovo*, mortgaged by the houſe of *Auſtria* to the elector of *Saxony*, and by him made over to the *Venetians*. Although the emperor acted the part of mediator in this diſpute, the congreſs broke up with-
c out coming to an agreement, which determined both the emperor and *France* to decide the affair of *Maran* by the ſword. About five thouſand *French* horſe and foot were ſent to the relief of *Strozzi*; and, on the other hand, an imperial army was forming to reinforce the beſiegers. The *Venetians* granted a free paſſage to the troops of both ſides, by that means the ſtronger to evince their neutrality: they were, however, diſpleaſed that a ſmall ſquadron, equipped at *Trieſte*, ſhould enter the harbour of *Digrana*, which belonged to the republic, and thence block up *Maran*.

*STROZZI*, who was now reduced to great difficulties, ſent a meſſage to the ſenate, deſiring their acceptance of the city *Maran*, and ſpeedy compliance with his requeſt; to *Siege of Maran.*
d prevent the neceſſity he ſhould be under of entering upon terms with ſome other ſtate. *Francis*, in recompence of his ſervices, had aſſigned him his right to the place, with liberty to diſpoſe of it to the beſt advantage: but he excepted reſtoring it to *Ferdinand*; nor would that anſwer the purpoſes of *Strozzi*, who wanted a large ſum of money, which *Ferdinand* would neither be willing nor able to advance. Perplexed with this propoſal, the ſenate at length determined to embrace it, fearing above all things the city ſhould fall into the hands of *Solyman*. Two commiſſioners were accordingly appointed to ſettle the conditions with *Strozzi*'s deputy [e]. Theſe were ſoon concluded, upon the republic conſenting to give him *The Venetians purchaſe Maran.* thirty thouſand ducats as an equivalent. *Aleſſandro Bendimiero* was choſen proveditor of the city, and ſent with a body of troops to take poſſeſſion.

His moſt Chriſtian majeſty ſent the cardinal of *Ferrara* to *Venice*, to ſolicit his cauſe with
e the ſenate; he relied much on the addreſs of this venerable prelate, ſilvered over with experience and wiſdom. The cardinal was received with thoſe marks of reſpect, which were due both to his own character, and the quality of his employer: he artfully put the moſt favourable conſtructions on the conduct and policy of *Francis*, while he threw a veil over every inſtance of the emperor's affection for the republic: he had now an opportunity, and was at no loſs for arguments, to prejudice the ſenate againſt the alliance between *Eng-*
*land* and the emperor: he recollected every inſtance through the depths of hiſtory, to depreciate the characters of the emperors, and to leſſen their inclinations towards *Venice*, beginning with *Otho*, and tracing down their politics to *Charles*: he enlarged on the cunning, injuſtice, and even impiety of engaging a chriſtian ſtate in war with ſo powerful a monarch
f as *Solyman*: he even reminded them of the deteſtable treaty in which *Maximilian* had engaged *France* and other powers, for ſharing the ſpoils of the republic; neither did he forget the late inſtance of *Doria*'s double conduct, which had nearly been attended with fatal conſequences [f].

Such repreſentations as theſe could not fail of favouring the views of *Francis*; eſpecially in a ſenate already diſpoſed to live upon the moſt friendly terms with *Solyman*. However, all his arguments were countermined by others no leſs artful on the ſide of the emperor; yet the cardinal *Ferrara* found means to engage the pope and conſiſtory to throw in all their influence. In conſequence, upon his return to *Rome*, he procured *Cavalcanti*, who was baniſhed *Florence*, to be ſent to acquaint the ſenate of the pontiff's partiality in favour of the
g *French* monarch. *Cavalcanti* was a man of letters, an orator, polite, affable, and converſant in buſineſs. His eloquence was of the perſuaſive kind, irreſiſtibly engaging, as he

[d] Paruta, ibid. [e] Maurocen. l. 4. [f] Parut. l. 11.

had the art of concealing his real deſigns: yet all he could obtain of the inflexibly prudent ſenate, amounted to no more than a ſincere deſire, that a reconciliation between his imperial majeſty and *Francis* might be effected. Even in this particular they reſolved upon moderation, leſt their zeal might be miſinterpreted at *Conſtantinople*. a

*BARBAROSSA* was at this time ravaging the coaſts of *Italy* with a fleet of near two hundred ſail, well provided with proviſions and ammunition. On his arrival at *Reggio*, the capital of *Calabria*, he found the city abandoned, but the citadel defended by a *Spaniſh* garriſon. This he attacked and took, giving their liberty to the priſoners, at the inſtance of *Polin*, the *French* envoy, who accompanied the infidel. The terror of the *Turkiſh* arms had ſpread itſelf all over *Italy*, nor was *Rome* itſelf free from apprehenſions. But *Polin* ſent aſſurances, and diſperſed proclamations round the country, that his incurſions ſhould be confined wholly to the imperial dominions [g]. b

*BARBAROSSA*, having watered at *Oſtia*, coaſted along *Tuſcany* and *Genoa* without touching, until he arrived at *Marſeilles*, where he was magnificently entertained. Thence he
Nice *beſieged.* proceeded, with the count *d'Enguine*, who commanded the *French* fleet, to lay ſiege to *Nice*. He began with attacking the town, which *Andrea Montford*, a *Savoyard*, defended with abundance of courage. The batteries had effected a breach, and *Montford* ſuſtained an aſſault, before he made any propoſals to capitulate: at laſt he took occaſion, while the articles of ſurrender were preparing, to retire with the garriſon and moſt valuable effects into the citadel. Without loſs of time, the enemy made their approaches; but this fortreſs, ſtrong by art and nature, foiled all the attempts of *Barbaroſſa* and the *French* commander. c
*Siege raiſed.* In want of powder, and other neceſſaries, they were at length forced to raiſe the ſiege, and reimbark the troops. *Barbaroſſa* paſſed the winter with his fleet in the ports of *Toulon* and *Marſeilles*; and the next year, after ravaging a ſecond time the coaſts of *Italy*, he returned to *Conſtantinople*, where he died towards the cloſe of the year one thouſand five hundred and forty-four [h].

THIS event, and the ſeparation of the *Turkiſh* and *French* fleets, would facilitate, it was imagined, a peace between their Imperial and Chriſtian majeſties. At length it was concluded, under the auſpices of the *French* queen, by means of Don *Gabriel de Guzman* and her confeſſor. The *Venetians* were included in this treaty, as the ſenate conducted itſelf with ſo ſtrict a neutrality, that neither party had cauſe of complaint. A treaty was likewiſe d ſet on foot between the emperor, *Ferdinand*, and *Solyman*; and for this purpoſe ambaſſadors were ſent by thoſe princes to *Conſtantinople*. An end was likewiſe put to the diſputes between *Ferdinand* and the republic; both parties agreeing to ſettle differences reſpecting the decree of *Trent* by commiſſioners, and to refer the late diſputes about *Maran* to the emperor, which he decided by ordering the ſenate to pay *Ferdinand* ſeventy-five thouſand ducats as an equivalent.

BUT while the peace between the *Porte* and the emperor was in agitation, ſome enemies to the *Venetians* inſinuated to *Solyman* that the republic had given *Ferdinand* the above ſum, as a ſubſidy ſtipulated by treaty for levying forces againſt the infidels: but the *Venetian* envoy had no ſooner notice of thoſe calumnies than he went to *Solyman*, and candidly laid open e the whole tranſaction, with which the *Turk* was perfectly ſatisfied: however, he received inſtructions from the ſenate, that he ſhould, to avoid ſuſpicions, decline viſiting the miniſters of the emperor and *Ferdinand*; yet, through their mediation, a truce for one year was concluded between the *Porte* and the Chriſtian powers.

AN event of greater importance fell out towards the end of the year 1545. It was a controverſy with the *Porte* concerning ſome diſtricts in *Dalmatia*, which both ſides claimed. The ſangiachs of *Boſnia* and *Cliſſa* inſiſted that a part of the territory of *Zara*, containing forty-nine villages, was really a dependency on the fortreſſes of *Nadin* and *Laurena*, belonging to *Solyman*. On this account they prohibited the inhabitants of this diſtrict, under the ſevereſt penalties, to acknowledge the ſovereignty of the republic, or of any other power f but the *Othoman*. The ſenate was greatly vexed at this proceeding: the diſtrict was in itſelf valuable in reſpect to the ſafety and convenience of *Zara*; beſides, giving up their right would be a precedent for farther encroachments. They knew that *Nadin* and *Laurena* had no appendages, and that nothing could be more inſolent than the claim of the *Turkiſh* governors; but determining, if poſſible, to avoid compulſive means, they had recourſe to the juſtice of *Solyman*. Nor had they reaſon to repent of this meaſure: with a moderation and integrity becoming a Chriſtian prince, this great man ordered commiſſioners on both ſides to be appointed, inſiſting upon their determining the diſpute according to equity, without regard to power. The commiſſioners met, and ſoon adjudged the lands in diſpute to the *Venetians*, with which *Solyman* was perfectly ſatisfied [i], g

[g] PARUTA, ubi ſupra. MAUROCEN. l. 4. [h] MAUROCEN. l. 4. [i] PARUT. l. 11.

## *FRANCISCO DONATO*, Doge LXXIX.

Francisco Donato, *doge* LXXIX.

a Soon after this transaction *Lando* died, by which *Venice* was deprived of a prudent, moderate, and pacific prince, whose views centered in promoting the happiness, tranquility, and commerce of the republic. He was succeeded in his dignity by *Francisco Donato*, whose administration commenced with apprehensions that the tranquility of *Italy* would again be soon disturbed. The peace between the emperor and *France* was too ill founded to be lasting, and now an additional reason for pursuing their inveterate animosity occurred. As the premature death of the duke of *Orleans* raised disputes concerning the dutchy of *Milan*, so *Francis* kept possession of the dominions he had seized from the duke of *Savoy*: by this he hoped to oblige the emperor to reasonable terms relative to the *Milanese*. Besides this, other clouds obscured the serenity of *Italy*, and threatened a storm no less violent than what b this unhappy country had lately sustained. His holiness, finding all his endeavours for the aggrandizement of his family terminated in nothing, resolved at one stroke to raise his son *Pietro Lodovico* to a principality; for this purpose he dismembered from the holy see the dutchies of *Parma* and *Placentia*, annexed by *Julius* the second to the church patrimony, and erected them into a principality for *Lodovico*. The emperor refused to invest him in the right of those dutchies, as they had formerly belonged to the *Milanese*. This controversy running high, his holiness applied to the *Venetians* for assistance, soliciting them to enter into a league with him for the security of *Italy*. The senate offered their mediation; and thus, with the domestic commotions in which both the emperor and *French* king were engaged at that time, broke those clouds in which was suspended the fate of *Italy* [k].

His holiness, perceiving the emperor deeply involved in disputes with the protestant c states of the empire, resolved to proceed in another manner: he foresaw that those controversies would terminate in an open rupture, and, therefore, thought the best method of procuring the investiture of *Parma* and *Placentia* for his son, would be liberally to aid his imperial majesty in suppressing heresy. Political, not spiritual, reasons moved him against the protestants: and while he seemed to act as the head of the church, he was in fact playing the part of father to his own family. No sooner were the *Venetians* acquainted with his intentions, than they laboured to divert them. The discerning senate foresaw the ruin of *Italy* in making the emperor too powerful, by the oppression of the protestant interest in *Germany*; but their endeavours were ineffectual; the pope was blinded with ambition, and they were forced not only to consent, but in some measure to assist his intentions d of succouring the emperor, by allowing a free passage to his troops. The protestant princes sent an ambassy to *Venice*, to request that a passage might be denied the pope's forces: they represented the consequences to *Europe* in general of permitting the house of *Austria* to attain such a pitch of grandeur, by overthrowing the liberties of the empire. Their ambassadors were well received, but they could obtain nothing, the senate dreading the resentment of his holiness and the emperor [l]. Soon after another ambassy arrived from the duke of *Saxony* and landgrave of *Hesse*, to procure the loan of a sum of money; but they also were dismissed with smooth answers and obliging denials.

Although the senate could not deny the pope's troops a passage through their dominions, nor prevail on his holiness to lay aside his intentions, they expressed their uneasiness e at seeing *Italy* filled with military preparations in the midst of profound peace. To dispel their apprehensions, the pontiff laid open to the *Venetian* envoy the whole scheme of his politics and designs, with which the senate was quieted and their fears calmed. In this manner did the *Venetians* conduct themselves, enjoying peace amidst the tumults of war in *Germany*, *Italy*, and *France*, to the close of the year 1552, when the doge died, in the seventh year of his administration. He was pious, munificent, and just, and of a disposition exactly suited to the particular circumstances of the state during his government.

## *MARCO ANTONIO TREVISIANO*, Doge LXXX.

Marco Antonio Trevisiano, *doge* LXXX.

In his room was substituted *Marco Antonio Trevisiano*, who preserved the republic in the f same pacific measures, during his short administration. He balanced between the contending powers with no less caution and delicacy than the two preceding doges had done, until the end of the year 1553, when he expired, with the reputation of a sound politician [m].

## *FRANCISCO VENIERI*, Doge LXXXI.

Francisco Venieri, *doge* LXXXI.

In his place was substituted, by the unanimous voice of the public, *Francisco Venieri*, at that time sixty-four years of age, the greater part of which he had spent in the service of his country. *Venieri*, amidst the wars carried on in *Tuscany*, *Parma*, *Mirandola*, *Corsica*,

[k] Parut. l. 11. [l] Maurocen. ibid. [m] Sansov. delle vit. p. 249.

and other parts of *Italy*, found means to prolong that tranquility handed down to him by his predeceſſors. In the beginning of the year 1554, died pope *Julius*, who was ſucceeded by *Paul* the fourth; for we reckon not upon the cardinal of *St. Croix*, who died a few days after his election; and ſoon after the republican city of *Sienna* ſurrendered to the Imperialiſts, after a long and bloody ſiege. The terms they obtained were honourable, and ſuch as their brave defence merited; but they were kept as almoſt all royal promiſes are, when they claſh with intereſt and ambition. *Contareni*, in his hiſtory of *Etruria*, places this event in the following year: certain it is, that the capitulation was ſigned ſome time before *Charles* the fifth reſigned the imperial diadem, which happened in *November* 1555. The act of renunciation bears date the twenty-fifth of *October*; but it was a month before the ſtates aſſembled at *Bruſſels*. *Philip*, his ſucceſſor in the *Spaniſh* monarchy and the *Indies*, agreeable to his father's exhortation, ſeemed deſirous of cultivating peace; but numberleſs obſtructions occurring in the courſe of negotiation, a truce only for five years was eſtabliſhed, and that upon a baſis ſo unſteady, that it was broke almoſt as ſoon as concluded. The truce was propounded by the *Spaniſh* miniſtry, under the pretext of gaining time to ſettle the preliminaries for a ſolid peace; but the *French* adminiſtration ſoon diſcovered this to be only a veil thrown over the moſt treacherous meaſures; to give the duke *d'Alva* time to raiſe a force ſufficient to drive the *French* out of *Piedmont*, and even to attack them in *Provence* [n].

*VENIERI* and the ſenate had taken the wiſeſt and moſt circumſpect meaſures which the ſituation of *Europe* would permit. Both the preſent doge and his predeceſſors had ever preferred peace to war, and never entered upon the latter but with a view to repel injuries, protect liberty and trade, and preſerve the political poiſe of *Chriſtendom*. In the midſt of this prudent adminiſtration, the ſage *Venieri* was taken off by death, after governing the republic with the applauſe of all men for the ſhort ſpace of two years.

## *LORENZO PRIULI*, Doge LXXXII.

Lorenzo Priuli, *doge* LXXXII. *Plague and famine in* Venice.

UPON his death the great council met for the election of a ſucceſſor, when, by the unanimous voice, *Lorenzo Priuli* was appointed doge [o]. To which his wiſdom and experience, his accompliſhments as a ſtateſman and a gentleman, gave him a juſt title. In the beginning of his adminiſtration, the plague reigned with violence for ſome time at *Venice*; but was at length ſtopped by the change of ſeaſons, and the vigilance of *Pietro Moſto*, at that time magiſtrate *La Sanita*. The plague was ſucceeded by a dearth of all kinds of proviſions, the inhabitants of the continent avoiding the markets of *Venice* on account of the peſtilence. The city was brought exceeding low before means could be found to remedy the evil: but the prudence of the doge and ſenate at length ſurmounted all difficulties, and once more introduced health, peace, and quiet among the citizens of *Venice*.

IN the mean time the war was going on between the crowns of *France* and *Spain*, the truce being of but of ſhort duration. Upon the duke *d'Alva*'s march into the pope's territories, both his holineſs and the *French* king ſent plenipotentiaries to *Venice*, who repreſented to the ſenate, that his moſt Chriſtian majeſty and the pope, cloſely united by intereſt and inclination as they were to the ſenate, ſought, in that delicate and dangerous conjuncture, reciprocal marks of good will from the republic, for the defence of liberty, and the ſecurity of *Italy*. They had, for this reaſon, been ſent with full powers to concert with the ſenate the moſt adviſeable meaſures for maintaining the independence of their ſeveral ſtates, and checking the haughty and ambitious views of the houſe of *Auſtria*, which they flattered themſelves would meet with no obſtruction from ſo wiſe an aſſembly, as the neceſſity was ſelf-evident. The whole world knew the glorious and generous efforts made by their anceſtors for the defence of liberty and expulſion of tyranny: thoſe noble actions would not ſuffer them to entertain a doubt concerning the wiſdom, the magnanimity of a ſtate founded on the principles of freedom: they would not certainly now ſubmit to the ſervitude they had ſo long and bravely reſiſted: they would not ſurely ſurrender the liberties purchaſed with the wealth and blood of their citizens. They ſaw with pleaſure the augmentation of the republic's naval and military power, as the motives, they doubted not, were generous, ſince the meaſures of the ſenate could not fail of being prudent: they repreſented the advantages that muſt reſult from an union with his holineſs and moſt Chriſtian majeſty, as they would be in a condition to cover that part of their frontier moſt expoſed to the *Spaniſh* troops and the duke *d'Alva*. The *French* king had given orders to the duke *de Guiſe* to advance with a body of near twenty thouſand men towards *Italy*, at the requiſition of his holineſs, and for the defence of *Italy*. This was a neceſſary meaſure, which the wiſdom of the ſenate muſt approve, as recent tranſactions muſt have convinced

[n] BARRE, Hiſt. v. 9. ſub hoc Anno. [o] PARUTA, l. 11. SANSOV. ubi ſupra.

men,

a men, that the moſt ſolemn treaties were too weak a barrier againſt the ambition of the declared enemy of public liberty: an union between the republic, the pope, and his moſt Chriſtian majeſty would ſecure their mutual defence, check the ambition of *Philip*, and produce tranquillity in *Europe*, as well as *Italy* in particular. The ambaſſadors therefore beſought the ſenate to conſider, that if either the pope or king ſhould once be oppreſſed, how difficult then would be the preſervation of the dominions of the republic. His majeſty's long affection for the republic, and the general tenor of his conduct, were ſufficient proofs, they affirmed, of his fidelity to *Venice*, his engagements, and character.

To this the doge anſwered, with a prudence becoming the father of the ſtate, and the head of that wiſe aſſembly: he ſaid, that the friendſhip which had ſo long ſubſiſted between
b his moſt Chriſtian majeſty and the republic, had given himſelf, the ſenate, and every *Venetian*, the higheſt ſatisfaction. It was a point of too much conſequence for the republic to neglect; nor ſhould her utmoſt endeavours towards cultivating and rendering perpetual the amity of ſo reſpectable a prince and nation, as well as of ſo mild and good a father of the church, be wanting [p].

Notwithstanding theſe profeſſions, he declined entering into any engagements which could poſſibly offend *Spain*, or engage the republic in a war: on the contrary, the doge and ſenate left no means untried to mediate an agreement between the pope and *Philip*, which, they apprehended, would be laying the foundation of a more general pacification. Their moderation was attended with ſucceſs, the prudence of *Marco Antonio de*
c *Franchеſcis*, ſecretary to the council of ten, ſent to *Rome* upon this buſineſs, having actually reconciled them to their mutual ſatisfaction [q].

This year an ambaſſy was ſent to *Solyman*, to confirm the peace between the *Porte* and the republic, which was granted without any difficulty, the Grand Seignior being at that time perplexed with the civil war among his children. The ſenate alſo ſent an ambaſſador to the court of *France*, at whoſe interceſſion, joined to the mediation of the pope and ſome other powers, peace with *Spain* was concluded. During the reſidence of this ambaſſador it was that the *French* monarch died of a hurt in the eye, which he received at a tournament. With regard to the republic, all was peace and tranquillity, until the following year, when her trade was infeſted by a ſwarm of pirates, who blocked up all the ports of *Pirates infeſt the coaſts of* Dalmatia.
d the *Adriatic*. They made incurſions into *Iſtria* and *Dalmatia*, cutting away the ſhipping out of the harbours, deſolating the country, and deſpoiling the cities. Upon this notice, *Matteo Bembo*, a brave and experienced officer, at that time admiral of the gulph, ſailed againſt them with a ſquadron of twelve gallies: he purſued, and every where ſo vigorouſly attacked thoſe pirates, that, unable to keep the ſeas, they fled to the port of *Durazzo*, where the inhabitants had taken arms for their aſſiſtance. Thither *Bembo* purſued them, and, incenſed at the conduct of the town, he battered the walls, without regard to the peace ſubſiſting with *Solyman*; an action for which he was baniſhed his country, inſtead of being rewarded: ſo far had pacific views and meaſures prevailed, that peace with *Solyman* was preferred to the honour of the republic. Had not the brave *Bembo* found means to
e eſcape, it is probable his life would have been the ſacrifice of his country's timidity [r].

Soon after this *Lorenzo Priuli* died, much lamented by the people for the moderation of his public, and affability of his private conduct: but above all his death was regretted by the literati of his times. His munificence, taſte, and generoſity, conſtituted this prince the *Mecænas* of the age, and the real patron of merit. He was ſucceeded by his brother *Jeronimo Priuli*, a man of an engaging converſation, long experience in public buſineſs, and a dignity of carriage and conduct becoming the elevated ſtation to which he was raiſed by conſent of his country [s].

## *JERONIMO PRIULI*, Doge LXXXIII.

f Soon after *Jeronimo*'s promotion, an event happened, which, it was feared, would diſturb the public tranquility: it was the death of *Paul* the fourth, who was ſucceeded by the cardinal *de Medicis*, by the name of *Pius* the fifth. This haughty, cruel, and vindictive prelate ſo far proſecuted his reſentments againſt the cardinals *John* and *Charles Caraffa*, and the count *Montorio*, as to ſuffer them to periſh in dungeons, under pretence of their having perſuaded their uncle, the late pontiff, to the ruin of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, by the perpetual wars in which he was engaged. This prelate, in altering his condition, changed his very nature; yet, contrary to the public opinion, the new ſucceſſion of popes wrought no immediate alteration in the general ſtate of affairs in *Italy*. To the *Venetians* he was well diſpoſed, having received their ambaſſy of congratulation with the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of
g friendſhip and reſpect for the republic. Soon after his acceſſion to the holy ſee, he ſum- Jeronimo Priuli, *doge* LXXXIII.

[p] Parut. l. 11. [q] Paruta, ibid. Maurocen. l. 4. [r] Paruta. l. 11. [s] Parut. ibid. Sansov. delle vit. princ. p. 253.

moned the council of *Trente*, at which attended the *Venetian* commiſſioners. To this office a
the republic appointed *Nicolo di Ponti* and *Matteo Dandolo*, men of extraordinary abilities,
and great reputation for knowledge: they were attended by *Antonio Malledona*, who acquired
great reputation on this occaſion, for the ſmoothneſs of his eloquence, the force of his
arguments, and quickneſs of his penetration. A numerous body of the ſuperior clergy
from the *Venetian* dominions likewiſe aſſembled at *Trente*; but the only remarkable tranſ-
action of this year was the expedition of *Canalis* againſt the pirates. He was ſent by the
ſenate with four gallies to ſcour the *Adriatic*; and he conducted his affairs with ſuch courage
and ability, that in the ſpace of a month he drove thoſe enemies to peace and commerce
A. D. 1565. out of the ocean into their places of ſecurity, after having taken a great number of their
veſſels, the crews of which he hanged up without form of trial [t]. b

FROM this time until the year 1565, nothing memorable occurred. Upon *Selim*'s acceſ-
ſion to the *Turkiſh* throne, the *Venetians* ſent *Marini Caballo* to compliment him in the name of
the ſenate: his inſtructions were to procure a confirmation of the peace made with *Solyman*.
*Caballo* delivered his credentials; but found it a matter of the utmoſt difficulty to procure
an audience of the emperor. At laſt, by the force of gold, he ſurmounted every obſtruc-
tion, and obtained a moſt ſolemn renewal of the treaty: however, this appearance of tran-
quility was of no long duration, the ambition, or evil counſellors about *Selim*, not permit-
ting him to follow meaſures ſo ſalutary to the empire.

*War with the pirates.* PREVIOUS to the war with *Selim*, the ſenate had a third time fitted out a fleet againſt the
pirates, whoſe inſolence was now encreaſed by the thirſt of revenge. To cruſh them at c
one blow, forty gallies were equipped, the command of which was given to *Hermolao Tepulo*.
During the preparation of this fleet, the pirates committed the moſt barbarous cruelties on
the *Venetian* ſhipping, and coaſts of *Dalmatia*, deſtroying men, women, and children, with-
out remorſe, and deſolating the country with fire and ſword. The ſquadron was no ſooner
in readineſs than *Tepulo* ſailed; and ſo vigilantly did he execute his truſt, that in the ſpace
of a few weeks not a pirate was to be ſeen; the ſmalleſt veſſel laden with gold might ſecurely
rove through the *Adriatic* [u]. Before the return of this fleet to *Venice* the doge died, after
having held the reins of government, with great ſteadineſs, for the ſpace of eight years
and eleven months. Having been honourably and publickly interred in the vault of his
anceſtors, the council *Maggiori* proceeded to the choice of a ſucceſſor [w]. d

## *PIETRO LORETANO*, Doge LXXXIV.

Pietro Loretano, *doge* LXXXIV. THE unanimous voice fell upon *Pietro Loretano*, whoſe capacity, courage, and experience
greatly raiſed the public hopes that his adminiſtration would be equally wiſe and fortunate:
however, the beginning of his government was attended with ſome unfortunate circum-
ſtances, owing, indeed, to unavoidable accidents. The arſenal was burnt to aſhes by the
careleſſneſs of one of the ſoldiers upon guard, by which the republic ſuſtained a prodigious
loſs of ſtores and ammunition. Another unfortunate circumſtance was a great ſcarcity
which prevailed in the city, in deſpite of all the endeavours of the doge and ſenate. Num-
bers of the poor dropt down daily in the ſtreets, inſomuch that at laſt a decree of the ſenate e
paſſed for opening the public granaries, kept ſolely for the maintenance of the ſea and land
forces. By this means the republic was deprived of the ability of equipping a fleet; from
which, it is imagined, *Selim* formed the firſt reſolution to attempt the conqueſt of *Cyprus*:
Selim's *deſigns upon* Cyprus. he had, indeed, in his father's life-time, expreſſed a great deſire of annexing this iſland to
the *Othoman* empire. Its contiguity to *Caramania*, a province of the *Turkiſh* dominions; its
fertility; its fine ſituation; its wealth and abundance in every neceſſary of life; the richneſs
of its wines, of which *Selim*, though a *Turk*, was a great admirer; together with number-
leſs other advantages, ſtrengthened his hopes that he might one day obtain ſo conſiderable
an acquiſition. To theſe reaſons were ſuperadded others: the Chriſtian pirates, who in-
feſted the ſhores of *Syria*, and all the *Turkiſh* coaſts, with perpetual incurſions, found in f
*Cyprus* a ſure aſylum. The inhabitants of this iſland diſturbed the *Turkiſh* commerce, and
above all the pilgrimages of their devotees to *Mecca* and the tomb of *Mahomet*. It was,
beſides, a maxim of the *Turkiſh* policy, that a prince ſhould, upon his acceſſion, endeavour
to extend the limits of his empire, and propagate the religion of his anceſtors. The mufti
artfully inſinuated this laſt argument: when *Selim* had carried him with him to *Adrianople*
to ſee a magnificent moſque he was building, he told the emperor, that it was neither
lawful or cuſtomary to erect ſuch foundations out of the revenues of the empire; but that
it was always done by aſſigning for that purpoſe ſuch lands as had been conquered by arms:
that to this end no province could ſtand more commodiouſly than *Cyprus*, as the poſſeſſion
of this iſland would equally conduce to the happineſs of his reign, the utility and ſtrength g
of the empire, and the purpoſes of religion. *Selim* regarded this admonition as ſent from

[t] MAUROCEN. l. 4. [u] Ibid. PARUTA, l. 11. [w] SANSOV. ubi ſup.

heaven;

a heaven; it perfectly coincided with his own views, and to proſecute it he reſolved to break through the moſt ſolemn engagements entered into by his father, and formally ratified by himſelf. *Mahomet*, the grand vizier, a ſecret friend to the republic, laboured to divert his intentions: he repreſented the advantages ariſing from a good correſpondence with the *Venetians*, who were the chief traders to his ports: they, he ſaid, ought to be the laſt people with whom a politic *Othoman* prince would quarrel, whether his views were glory, empire, or the propagation of religion. To aſſiſt the *Moors* of *Granada*, and check the pride and ambition of the houſe of *Auſtria*, better became his greatneſs, and ſuited the politics and religion of the empire. He entreated him, therefore, to embrace the happy occaſion offered by Providence, of protecting the religion of *Mahomet*, of moleſting the enemies of
b Muſſulmans, and opening a path to glory and dominion.

THE arguments of the vizier were ſound and unanſwerable; but they neither correſponded with the opinion of *Selim*, or of his three great favourites the mufti, *Muſtapha* baſhaw of *Damaſcus*, and *Pioli* his ſon-in-law. The two laſt were the declared enemies of the vizier; they envied his grandeur, and croſſed all his meaſures. In the preſent caſe, their counſel fell in with the humour of *Selim*; they therefore purſued it eagerly, hoping thereby to diſgrace the honeſt and wiſe *Mahomet*, and procure to themſelves the chief conduct of the war. They oppoſed to the advice of the loyal ſtateſman, that the *Venetians* were weak, their arſenal being deſtroyed; that the councils of Chriſtian princes were divided, and their aſſiſtance precarious; that *Cyprus*, on account of its diſtance from the republic, would be
c eaſily conquered, and when acquired, would be a valuable jewel in the imperial diadem [x].

THEIR endeavours were effectual; *Mahomet* became ſuſpected, he ſunk in *Selim*'s eſteem, while the others roſe proportionably to the higheſt favours. To their influence was added that of *John Michis*, a *Jewiſh* renegado, in high eſteem with *Selim*. This man had ſo artfully inſinuated himſelf into the emperor's favour, that nothing was denied him: he urged the attack upon *Cyprus* ſo warmly, that it abſolutely determined *Selim*; but ſo far did the renegado attend to his own intereſt, as to obtain a promiſe from the emperor of the inveſtiture of the iſland; and ſo full was he of the idea of majeſty, that he had ſtandards and other regalia prepared, with this inſcription, "*Joſeph*, king of *Cyprus*," for he had altered his name with his religion.

d *MAHOMET* the grand vizier, perceiving the current of the imperial councils, as well as *Selim*'s own inclination, running impetuouſly againſt him, thought, that longer to perſiſt in his opinion would endanger his life, without either ſerving his maſter or the republic: he therefore adviſed *Antonio Barbaro*, the *Venetian* conſul and reſident, to lay the ſtate of affairs before the ſenate, and endeavour to prevail with them to tamper with a power too ſtrong for oppoſition, and to avert the impending ſtorm by ſuch conceſſions as they could A. D. 1570.
make conſiſtently with the honour and ſecurity of the ſtate: he procured ſecretly one of the conſul's houſhold to be diſpatched with proper intelligence to the ſenate.

WHEN this news was laid before the ſenate, they were fired with reſentment, and in the heat of paſſion determined to endure every extremity, rather than make ſubmiſſions to ſo
e perfidious an enemy; but the opinion of the moſt prudent was, that, as nothing was to be attempted raſhly, they ſhould in the mean time ſtrive to avert the blow. They ſaid, an affair of ſuch moment was not to be weighed by the nature of the injury, and the groſſneſs of the inſult, but by their own power; they, therefore, adviſed to try the effects of gold upon an adminiſtration ever corrupt and avaricious. This was an expedient they had always found more effectual than the beſt concerted and vigorouſly executed plan of warlike operations. At the ſame time a fleet was equipped, and thirty-one gallies, with all the young nobility of *Venice* on board, ſtationed in the gulph, of which *Marco Quirino* was at that time admiral, and *Jiacomo Celſi* proveditor.

f DURING theſe preparations, advice came that their ſhipping was ſtopped in the *Turkiſh* ports, and the utmoſt diligence uſed for proſecuting the war. Immediately orders were iſſued for *Quirino* to ſail to *Candia*, and with all expedition to ſet the fleet of that iſland in a proper condition. A body of troops was embarked for *Cyprus*, and orders ſent to the governors of the ſeveral ports to put them in a ſtate of defence, and carefully to watch the ſecurity of the iſland. Nor were the other dominions of the republic neglected; their garriſons were augmented, fortifications repaired, and magazines of proviſion and ammunition formed. An addition of eighty gallies was likewiſe made to the navy; *Franciſco Duodo* was appointed admiral, and a captain to each ſhip choſen among the perſons of higheſt quality, and greateſt experience, in the city. *Paruta* ſays, that *Jaconimo Zeno* was made high admiral and commander in chief of all the *Venetian* fleet; but that each diviſion had a ſubordinate
g commander [y].

[x] BARON. ſub A. 1570. THUAN. t. 3. l. 49. MAUROCEN. l. 5. [y] PARUT. l. 1.

BEFORE *Selim* attempted any thing by force, he reſolved to try the effects of ſtratagem. a
This ſeemed the leaſt dangerous method of effecting his purpoſe, on account of the private diviſions and perpetual diſſenſions among the iſlanders. For the execution of this deſign, one *Diaſoriacus*, a native of *Cyprus*, now at the court of *Selim*, appeared a fit inſtrument: he was ſubtle, inſinuating, and a knave, who proſtituted honour, virtue, and religion to his intereſt. His credit was conſiderable among the inhabitants; and ſo artfully did he conceal the baſeſt purpoſes, that his character might never have come to light, but from this circumſtance. In conſequence, *Diaſoriacus* accepted the buſineſs for a certain reward; and to accompliſh it, returned to the iſland, where he was well received. After he had made conſiderable progreſs, the whole plot was diſcovered by means of an intercepted letter, upon which he was ſeized, confronted with his own hand-writing, put to the torture b
until he confeſſed his accomplices, who were apprehended, and put to immediate death, with the original contriver of the villany [z].

*A conſpiracy diſcovered in* Cyprus.

*SELIM*, thus diſappointed, determined to effect his purpoſe by force; and the *Venetians* were no leſs diligent to fruſtrate his deſigns. *Eugemio Singlitico*, a nobleman of *Cyprus*, and lieutenant general in the *Venetian* ſervice, offered himſelf to command the troops in *Cyprus*. His propoſals were accepted, and he was ſent thither with a thouſand additional forces. *Jeronimo Martinenga*, captain of the men at arms, made an overture to raiſe, at his own expence, a body of two thouſand foot, of which the ſenate greatly approving, he ſet immediately to work, and, in the ſpace of a few days, completed his levy, and conducted them to *Venice* to embark for *Cyprus*. The next ſtep was to implore the aſſiſtance c
of all the Chriſtian potentates by the ambaſſadors reſiding at the different courts. The expectations of the *Venetians* from this meaſure were but ſmall; however, they imagined that neglecting it might be attributed to pride, conceit, and ſelf ſufficiency. As the conſequences of war are uncertain, the ſenate was willing to anticipate all the blame which might be laid upon their preſumption, ſhould the event prove unfortunate. They firſt ſolicited the pope for his own particular aſſiſtance, as well as his influence with the Chriſtian powers. *Michele Serviana*, the *Venetian* reſident at *Rome*, intreated his holineſs to take a fatherly care of the republic in ſo imminent a danger: he ſet before him the examples of his predeceſſors upon ſuch occaſions; he reminded him of the republic's ſervices to the holy ſee, for the preſervation of which ſhe had often expoſed her own ſafety; and he con- d
cluded with the manifeſt danger which threatened other Chriſtian princes, ſhould the *Venetian* commonwealth, the bulwark of *Europe*, be deſtroyed. The pope ſeemed greatly moved by the ambaſſador's oration; but he lamented his inability, and made uſe of the ſame pretexts to avoid entering into the quarrel of the *Venetians*, which they, for a ſeries of years, had urged to other princes who ſolicited their alliance. The affair, however, was propoſed and approved in the conſiſtory, although no other conſequence reſulted than leave to levy upon the clergy the ſum of one hundred thouſand ducats towards ſupporting the expence of the war [a]. But though his holineſs was unwilling to engage ſingly in an alliance with the *Venetians*, he took upon him to mediate a confederacy between himſelf, the ſenate, and *Philip* the ſecond of *Spain*.

*An ambaſſador comes from* Selim *to* Venice.

MEAN time *Cubath*, ambaſſador from *Selim*, arrived in *Venice*. This miniſter had been e
diſpatched in conſequence of *Mahomet*'s vizier's remonſtrances to the Grand Seignior, that it would ſully the glory of his reign ſuddenly to attack a nation with whom he had lately entered into ſolemn engagements, without firſt acquainting them with his grievances, and demanding redreſs. One happy conſequence reſulted from *Mahomet*'s propoſition; for by it the *Venetians* had more time for preparing againſt the efforts of ſo potent an enemy, a ſuſpenſion of arms having been granted until the return of the ambaſſador. Upon his arrival orders were iſſued by the ſenate, that before the day of andience no *Venetian* ſhould viſit or converſe with *Cubath*: his inſtructions were well known, and an anſwer reſolved upon; to prevent, therefore, all clamours from the apprehenſions of the people, this decree f
was paſſed. When the day of audience arrived, he was introduced into the ſenate, when, after paying his compliments to the doge, he began with ſetting forth *Selim*'s affection for the republic, as appeared by his ſo readily granting a confirmation of the treaty with his father; but, ſays he, his kindneſs has been requited with ingratitude; his friendly offices have been returned with injuries and inſults; his commerce and ports have been infeſted by pirates, who are protected by the ſubjects of the republic; he has complained to the *Venetian* ambaſſador at his court, but no redreſs could he procure. Unable longer to endure affronts, intolerable to ſo great a monarch, he demands, as the only equivalent or compenſation of the injuſtice done to his ſubjects, and likewiſe to prevent future evils, that *Cyprus*, formerly belonging to the empire of the *Mamalucks*, to which he has ſucceeded, g
ſhall be ceded to him. The ambaſſador then proceeded to adviſe the ſenate, with a friendly

[z] MAUROCEN. l. 1. [a] BARON. An. 1570.

a warmth, to avert the indignation of ſo potent a prince, by conceſſions trifling in proportion to the danger to which a denial would expoſe the republic, telling them at the ſame time, that if they obſtinately refuſed him this juſtice, he would not only take from them the iſland of *Cyprus*, by force of arms, but perſecute the republic with all the animoſity of an injured and powerful monarch [b].

To this the ſenate anſwered in the terms they had concerted, by taking God and their conſciences to witneſs, that they religiouſly adhered to the treaty with *Selim*: as to the reſt, that they were determined to ſuffer all the hardſhips of a cruel war, rather than ſubmit to terms ſo injurious to the majeſty of the republic. *Cyprus*, they aſſerted, did not belong to the *Mamalucks*, nor was it ever ſubject to the Grand Seignior: the promiſed tribute had
b been always paid; as to the other allegations they were falſe, and contrived by thoſe who ſought unjuſt occaſions of a war. It was not, they ſaid, in the power of princes to prevent miſrepreſentations of facts; but it was their duty to puniſh the authors of them when the falſhood was diſcovered. As they would not deny but ſome pirates, after committing depredations upon the coaſts of the *Othoman* empire, had lurked in ſecret places in the iſland of *Cyprus*, ſo the *Turks* could not but acknowledge the ſenate's having rigorouſly puniſhed them whenever they fell into their hands. Upon the whole, they truſted to the juſtice of their cauſe, that if they were attacked they would be able to defend themſelves, and that God would not fail to avenge himſelf on the authors of ſuch calamities as muſt reſult.

With this anſwer the ambaſſador was diſmiſſed, who took care to have the beſt informa-
c tion relative to the deſtruction of the arſenal, the ſcarcity of proviſions, and every other particular of which it concerned *Selim* to be appriſed, before his departure.

All this while the pope's legate in *Spain* was labouring to draw *Philip* into a league againſt the *Turks*, to which he appeared by no means averſe. *Lodovico de Torres*, clerk of the conſiſtory, was ſent thither to haſten affairs, as *Philip* had put it off until his return to *Seville*, where he propoſed to aſſemble the ſtates of the different kingdoms. *De Torres*, on his arrival, repreſented the urgency of affairs; that they would admit of no delay; and that the only method to ſave *Venice*, and ſecure *Chriſtendom*, would be to ſend immediate ſuccours. So diligently did he apply himſelf, that the king iſſued an order for his own gal-
d lies, with the auxiliaries in his pay, amounting to ſixty-five ſail, to repair directly to *Sicily*, under the conduct of *Giovanni Andrea Doria*, and there to wait the pope's commands concerning the time and manner of joining the *Venetians*. *Torres* likewiſe obtained leave for the *Venetians* to victual their ſquadrons in the ports of *Sicily* and *Naples*; but as to the league *Philip* anſwered, that it required deliberation. The application of *Torres* was ſupported by the utmoſt diligence on the ſide of the republic, who diſpatched *Caballo* to the court of *Spain*, to forward and ſecond the propoſals of his holineſs. *Caballo* acquitted himſelf with great addreſs, having been chiefly inſtrumental in procuring the terms we have mentioned, and after the departure of *Torres* keeping *Philip* ſteady in his firſt reſolution [c].

*The pope's legate in* Spain *endeavours to eſtabliſh a confederacy between* Philip, *the pope, and the* Venetians.

When all was concluded that could poſſibly be obtained for the preſent, *Torres* ſet out for *Portugal*, where *Sebaſtian* at that time reigned: here he made the ſame applications as
e at the former court, but with leſs ſucceſs. At the ſame time the emperor was ſolicited to join in the league by *Giovanni Michaeli*, the *Venetian* miniſter at *Vienna*: he uſed every argument to induce his imperial majeſty to break with *Selim*, but he found him fixed in his reſolution to wait the event of the councils of *Spain*, *Poland*, and *Muſcovy*. Nor were the ambaſſadors of the republic more ſucceſsful in *France*, the miniſtry profeſſing the utmoſt regard for the *Venetians*, but declining all overtures of a league: however, that no means of ſafety might be neglected, *Vicenzo Aleſſandro* was ſent to *Perſia*, to endeavour to ſtir up the ſophi againſt *Selim*: upon his arrival he entered upon negociations with ſultan *Caydar*, the king's third ſon, who readily aſſented to the propoſals made by *Aleſſandro*; but his zeal was fruſtrated by the phlegmatic diſpoſition and wary ſlowneſs of the prime miniſter, who
f diſſuaded the ſophi to take arms before the *Turk* was weakened by the Chriſtian forces [d].

Such were the preparations, reſolutions, and negociations of the republic at this important juncture. Nor was *Selim* idle; new ſhips were launched in his docks, a prodigious number of cannon caſt, magazines of powder, ſtores, and proviſions erected, and in ſhort, every thing bore the appearance of proſecuting the war with the utmoſt vigour on both ſides. The *Venetians* even put lands to ſale, to raiſe money for the exigencies of the ſtate: loans were accepted at high intereſt; the procurators of St. *Mark*'s church augmented, and a fine taken; young gentlemen were permitted to enter into the great council before the time appointed by law, on their depoſiting a certain ſum for the public uſe; and ſeveral other expedients were uſed to repleniſh the exhauſted treaſury [e].

g During theſe preparations, *Philip* reſolved to embrace the propoſed league, and accordingly ſent his ambaſſador to *Rome* to conclude it upon the ſame terms as the laſt confederacy

[b] Thuan. l. 49. [c] Thuan. l. 49. Maurocen l. 5. [d] Paruta, ubi ſupra. [e] Maurocen. l. 5.

againſt

againſt the *Turks* between *Charles* the fifth, *Paul* the third, and the republic. But the *Venetians*, remembering the inconveniencies which enſued from beſtowing the ſupreme command on *Doria*, inſiſted that each diviſion ſhould be commanded by its own admiral, to prevent the whole fleet's being rendered uſeleſs by the caprice or treachery of an individual. They propoſed that all affairs ſhould be deliberated in a council of war, compoſed of the three admirals, and all reſolutions taken in conſequence of a majority: that the conduct of the whole ſhould devolve by turns upon the admirals. This affair being warmly debated, the point was carried by the *Venetians*. a

THE next topic was the quotas to be allotted to each party: upon this the *Venetians* were equally obſtinate, reſolving to withſtand alone all the power of the enemy, rather than engage in a league where they were to ſupport the whole expence, for his holineſs had hitherto declined ſending a fleet: at length, he agreed to arm twelve gallies, under the conduct of *Antonio Colonna*. Thus a league was concluded between thoſe three powers, in which *Spain* and the republic were to exert all their naval force: it was ſigned by his holineſs in perſon, by the *Venetian* ambaſſador, and by the cardinals *Pacheco* and *Granvelle*, to whom *Philip* had remitted full powers. After this, repairing to St. *Peter*'s church, on the eleventh day of *June*, the pope gave *Colonna* the ſacred ſtandard, with which he immediately proceeded to *Ancona* to get the gallies in readineſs [f]. b

*Treaty between* Spain, *the pope, and the* Venetians.

MEAN time *Pinalis*, having refitted and victualled his fleet in *Negropont*, repaired directly to *Rhodes*, joining *Muſtapha* and *Hali* in his courſe thither; while *Uluzzali*, with a ſeparate diviſion of the fleet, was ſent to make continual deſcents on the coaſts of *Sicily* and *Italy*. *Uluzzali* was by birth a *Calabrian*: in his youth he had been taken and enſlaved; but, renouncing Chriſtianity, his abilities ſoon recommended him to favour, and raiſed him to the higheſt offices. c

THE *Venetian* fleet lay at *Zara*, expecting to be joined by the confederates, where they loſt many occaſions of annoying the enemy: whereas the *Turks*, ſpending only three days at *Rhodes* in preparations, ſailed to *Finica*, a city in *Caramania*, oppoſite to *Cyprus*: here they met with the troops intended for the expedition, and immediately began the embarkation.

WHILE the enemy were thus employed, the *Venetians* in vain expecting the arrival of the *Spaniſh* fleet, ſuffered extremely by a contagious diſtemper, which ſwept them off in heaps. The admiral, finding that a change of air was neceſſary to ſtop the progreſs of the diſeaſe, ſteered his courſe for *Candia*, by order of the ſenate, taking in a reinforcement of rowers at *Zanti*, *Cephalonia*, and *Cerigo*, and making a fruitleſs attempt upon the caſtle *di Margariti*. d

*SEBASTIANI VENIERI* was more happy in his expedition againſt the citadel of *Soppoto* in *Albania*, which, after a ſtout reſiſtance, he took and garriſoned. *Marco Quirino* likewiſe gained ſome inconſiderable advantages in the *Morea*, which ſerved no other purpoſe than to animate the troops. At length *Colonna* ſet ſail, and joined Don *John* of *Auſtria*, with the *Spaniſh* fleet, at *Otranto*; about which time the doge died.

## *LODOVICO MOCENIGO*, Doge LXXXV.

HE was ſucceeded by *Lodovico Mocenigo*, whoſe abilities in the field and cabinet occaſioned his being raiſed on this emergency to the ſupreme dignity [g]. e

Lodovico Mocenigo, *d.* LXXXV.

*PINALIS*, the *Turkiſh* general, having taken all the troops, horſe and foot, on board, ſteered his courſe from *Finica* to *Cyprus*, with a fleet of two hundred and twenty ſail, where he arrived in the beginning of *Auguſt*. He put in, without any reſiſtance, at the port of *Salini*, where the troops were immediately landed. It was a great overſight in *Dandolo*, the governor of the iſland, and *Singlitico*, general of the forces, not to diſpute the debarkation, as was propoſed by *Baglioni*.

*The* Turkiſh *fleet arrives at* Cyprus.

THE firſt inconvenience which reſulted from *Dandolo*'s omitting to attack the *Turks* on their landing, was the ſubmiſſion of *Luſara* to *Muſtapha*. This fort, deſpairing of ſuccours, capitulated, and promiſed an intire obedience, provided the lives and properties of the garriſon were ſecured, which *Muſtapha* granting, a *Turkiſh* garriſon was received into the caſtle. This example was followed by the neighbouring places, to prevent which, *Dandolo* detached *Cæſar di Tieni*, with a body of five hundred men, to lay waſte the country; and, by the ſeverity of the puniſhment, to terrify the inhabitants into their duty. f

IN the mean time, *Pinalis* reduced *Cerines*, a ſea-port of *Caramania*, extremely convenient for tranſporting proviſions to the army in *Cyprus* [h]. Then the *Turkiſh* generals held a conſultation on the neceſſary operations, when *Hali*'s opinion was, that the firſt attempt ſhould be made on *Famagoſta*, which ſurrendering, all ſupplies would be cut off from the *Venetians*, and *Nicoſia* conſtrained to yield through deſpair. To this *Muſtapha* objected, g

[f] THUAN. Hiſt. ſui temporis, l. 49. [g] SANSOV. delle vit. di princip. p. 286. [h] PARUT. l. i.

a proposing to begin with the siege of *Nicosia*, which was defended only by a slender garrison, and slight unfinished fortifications; whereas, if they began with *Famagosta*, the other city might be fortified in such a manner as to surmount all their endeavours, and baffle the power of *Selim*. This last opinion was embraced: *Pinalis*, with a fleet of one hundred and thirty gallies, was appointed to cruize off the harbour, and to watch the Christian fleet; while *Mustapha* took upon him to direct the siege of *Nicosia*.

The number of men at this time in the city consisted of fifteen hundred *Italian* foot, most of them sickly; three thousand islanders in the *Venetian* pay; one thousand of the townsmen bearing arms at their own expence; five hundred *Albanian* horse, and two hundred foot; two hundred bombardiers, gunners, and matrosses of the natives, and forty *Venetians*;
b five hundred noblemen and gentlemen of rank, volunteers in the service, and five hundred peasants at work on the fortifications; besides tradesmen, women, old men, and children, the whole amounting to upwards of fifty thousand souls.

The city had three gates, viz. *Porta di Lalini*, *Porta di Troja*, and *Porta di Castello*, each of which the *Turks* proposed battering at the same time. Lines of circumvallation were drawn, batteries erected, and their different posts assigned by *Mustapha* to the several officers. A muster of the army was likewise made, which, it was found, amounted to 51,000 foot, and 3,500 horse, together with an infinite number of attendants on the camp [i]. Before the batteries began to play, *Mustapha* set miners to work, in order to sap the walls; by this means a breach was soon effected, which the *Turks* storming with abundance of resolu-
c tion, the besieged were at first put into confusion; but soon rallied again upon the arrival of *Andrea Spelio*, who, leading them back to the breach, renewed the fight, and defeated the infidels with great slaughter. Then he set about repairing the breach with diligence; in which he was greatly disturbed by the showers of shot which came pouring in upon the workmen from the *Turkish* trenches. The besieged, in a short time, began to relax in in their duty, owing to the indolence of *Dandolo* the governor, who, instead of being the soul and spirit of the soldiery, did, by his own example, encourage them in riot and idleness. At last a dearth insinuated itself into the garrison; the soldiers were confined to a scanty allowance of bread, and, what they esteemed a greater hardship, they were limited to a very small portion of wine. Upon this it was resolved to send to *Baglioni*, who presided
d at *Famagosta*, for succours; which were denied, the garrison of *Famagosta* preferring their own security to that of *Nicosia*.

Now the besieged began to murmur and complain, altho' the famine was owing to their own imprudence and want of frugality: they had hardly as yet seen the face of an enemy, except in one assault; yet did they vehemently exclaim against the ingratitude of the senate. At last the officers, perceiving that nothing, besides keeping them in action, could prevent the soldiers from mutinying, resolved upon a sally. Two thousand foot, and four hundred horse, under the conduct of *Cæsar Tieni*, were appointed for this purpose. *Tieni* rushed out at the head of the cavalry with irresistible fury, breaking through the files of the enemy, until he penetrated into the heart of the *Turkish* camp, where he made a halt for
e the infantry, and defended himself with incredible valour; but *Dandolo* had changed his purpose, and countermanded the foot, which was attended with the loss of *Tieni*, and his whole corps of horse, who were all cut in pieces, after a resistance hardly to be paralleled in history, having slain near two thousand of the enemy. From this time the garrison, by order of *Dandolo*, contained themselves within the walls, although *Bocasio*, general of the *Albanian* horse, constantly affirmed, that the only probable means of saving the city, was by briskly repeating the sallies [k].

*PINALIS*, with the fleet, steered his course to *Rhodes*, whence he dispatched five gallies in quest of the Christians: they returned with intelligence, that the *Venetian* admiral lay with his division at *Candia*, waiting to be joined by the *Spanish* and ecclesiastical squadrons,
f whose arrival was very uncertain; that he was greatly weakened by a storm and contagious disease, which had cut off great numbers of the soldiers and mariners. This advice he received by means of some prisoners the gallies had brought back with them; upon which he immediately returned to *Cyprus*.

*ANDREA DORIA*, the *Spanish* admiral, was all this while collecting his fleet, after which, several delays obstructed his departure from *Otranto*. The pope used the most pressing instances that he would set sail and join the *Venetians*; but they availed nothing, until he received positive orders to that purpose from *Philip*. *Thuanus* attributes this dilatory proceedings to the envy of the *Spaniards*, who with pleasure beheld the inactivity of the *Venetian* admiral, and the decrease of his strength by sickness. Certain it is, that, before
g the junction of the fleets was effected, the *Venetians* were rendered almost unfit for service, so much were they diminished in number by the long and violent contagion which prevailed

*The dilatory conduct of the* Spaniards.

[i] Thuan. l. 49. t. 3. Maurocen. l. 5. [k] Parut. l. p. 1. Thuan ubi supra.

in the fleet. At length *Doria* weighed anchor, and joined *Colonna* with the pope's gallies: a they ſailed in company to *Candia*, where, after a proſperous voyage, they joined the *Venetians*. Then a council being held, the *Venetian* admiral propoſed, that the enemy ſhould be attacked, and by that means the ſiege of *Nicoſia* raiſed. *Colonna* acceded to this opinion; but *Doria* finding he could not, agreeable to the articles of the league, refuſe his aſſent, threw ſo many obſtructions in the way, as rendered ſo ſalutary a meaſure ineffectual. In ſhort, ſo artfully did he manage matters, that neither the pope or republic had cauſe of complaint, at the ſame time that *Doria* adhered to his own opinions. Sickneſs ſtill prevailing in the *Venetian* fleet, the admiral was forced to leſſen the number of his ſhips, in order to man thoſe that remained; after which, the whole combined fleet amounted to one hundred and ſeventy gallies, eleven galeaſſes, four galleons, and ſeven men of war. A ſmall ſqua- b dron was ſent out to gain intelligence of the enemy's ſtrength, and their account was, that it conſiſted of one hundred and fifty gallies; upon which *Doria* diſſuaded his colleagues from any attack, for the following reaſons, which, at the deſire of the other admirals, he couched in writing; becauſe the Chriſtians were inferior in ſtrength to the enemy, on account of the mortality that had ſwept off ſuch numbers of their troops; and becauſe the rowers were in particular greatly diminiſhed, there was no probability of ſucceeding in their deſign, ſince the principal buſineſs of a ſea-fight depended upon rightly working the veſſels.

*Doria's excuſes for declining to fight the enemy.*

To thoſe excuſes and pretences *Colonna* anſwered with great ſpirit and truth, that the Chriſtians were not inferior in ſtrength, and, admitting they were, that this difference was c more than compenſated by their ſuperior ſkill: he then proteſted againſt *Doria*'s conduct, and called the *Venetian* admiral to witneſs, that the misfortunes which might enſue were to be attributed to *Doria* only, for whom he had waited the whole ſummer; by whoſe malconduct the fleet had been weakened, many opportunities loſt, and the Chriſtian arms diſgraced. He ſcrupled not to declare to *Doria*, that he muſt anſwer with his head the loſs of *Cyprus*, which would be the infallible conſequence of his meaſures. To this the *Venetian* admiral added, that to the loſſes already ſuſtained from delay, ſtill greater might be added by the unſteadineſs of *Doria*'s conduct; that former misfortunes, before the junction of the fleets, might be attributed to the wrong meaſures of individuals; but that falſe ſteps now would neceſſarily redound to the diſcredit of the whole confederate powers. Victory, he d ſaid, depended not upon the number of ſhips and troops, but upon the diligence, the ſkill, and the reſolution of the commanders: it was, therefore, his firm opinion, that they ſhould follow the only meaſure conſiſtent with honour, reputation, religion, duty, and their engagements: this was fighting the enemy, and not ſtanding idle ſpectators of the loſs of *Cyprus*, and infamy of the Chriſtian arms.

*DORIA*, perceiving that he could no longer oppoſe without endangering both his honour and life, conſented they ſhould proceed to attack the *Turkiſh* fleet; but this reſolution was too late, for *Muſtapha* had actually reduced *Nicoſia* [l].

Muſtapha *ſummons* Nicoſia *to ſurrender.*

AFTER the walls had been a long time battered, and a number of little ſkirmiſhes paſſed between the garriſon and beſiegers, *Muſtapha* ſhot, by an arrow, a letter into the city, e acquainting the beſieged, that, from his regard to the lives of ſuch a number of people, he had abſtained from ſtorming the city, although he had it wholly in his power for ſix days paſt; but now the ardour of the ſoldiery could not be any longer reſtrained: he therefore adviſed them, if they regarded their own ſafety, to come to a ſpeedy reſolution of ſubmitting to the power they could not withſtand. Immediately after this notice, he ordered the walls to be ſcaled in four different places, which accordingly was executed with the utmoſt fury; but he met with a very unexpected reſiſtance, the beſieged, as if in a fit of deſpair, behaving with an intrepidity which aſtoniſhed the *Turks*. The fight continued for two hours with great vigour, both ſides continuing to relieve thoſe who were fatigued or wounded, with freſh ſupplies. At laſt night put an end to the battle, in which above fifteen f hundred *Turks* were ſlain upon the ſpot, five hundred priſoners made, and about one thouſand carried off wounded [m].

*Is defeated in an aſſault.*

THUS diſappointed, *Muſtapha* began to play again upon the walls with redoubled vigour: he took every meaſure to diſtreſs and diſpirit the beſieged, and to inſpire his own army with hopes, while *Dandolo* committed the care of the city to ſubordinate officers. At laſt the beſieged were quite ſpent with the tediouſneſs of the ſiege, the ſcarcity of proviſions, and the inactivity and indolence that prevailed among them: to this was added, the want of unanimity and harmony in their councils. To remedy thoſe evils, a third meſſage was ſent to *Baglioni* at *Famagoſta*, to come with a reinforcement, and take the command. He was inclined to accept the invitation; but the inhabitants of *Famagoſta* prevented him, g threatening, if he retired, to make their own terms with the enemy. *Muſtapha* had now

[l] THUAN. l. 49. MAUROCEN. l. 5. [m] PARUTA, l. 1.

battered

a battered the walls with all his heavy cannon for ſeveral days; breaches began to appear; and the townſmen had no further hopes of relief, either from *Famagoſta*, or from the inhabitants of the mountains, all their letters to whom had been intercepted. *Muſtapha* denounced the utmoſt ſeverity of war, if they did not ſurrender before he ordered the town to be ſtormed. No anſwer being returned, every thing was prepared for a general aſſault. After the ſoldiers had refreſhed themſelves with ſufficient reſt, he ordered the four towers and baſtions to be ſtormed with ſo much fury, and in ſuch a diſpoſition, that the front ranks could not poſſibly give way by the numbers pouring in on the rear. The diſpute was ſharp for ſeveral hours, both ſides ſeeming determined to conquer or die; but night a ſecond time interpoſed, and ſeparated the combatants. The enemy left the greater number of b dead in the breach; but the loſs of the beſieged was likewiſe conſiderable, ſome of the beſt officers being either killed on the ſpot, or mortally wounded. Among the former was *Phœbus Zapha*, killed after greatly diſtinguiſhing himſelf, and the count *de Tripoli*, who was the ſoul of the action.

Muſtapha *ſtorms the city, and is again repulſed.*

*MUSTAPHA*, perceiving that the city was not to be ſtormed with his preſent force, ſent to *Pinalis* for a reinforcement, by means of which, he aſſured him, the ſiege would not continue above one day longer. The admiral, certain of the deſigns of the Chriſtian fleet, was unwilling to weaken himſelf by a ſtrong detachment; however, yielding to *Muſtapha*'s arguments, he draughted from the ſeveral gallies a body of 20,000 men, which he ſent to *Nicoſia*, under the command of *Hali*. *Muſtapha*, upon receiving this augmentation to his c ſtrength, reſolved upon another aſſault: at day-light, the army was drawn up in the trenches; he bent his main ſtrength againſt the fortreſs of *Podocatora*, where, he imagined, it would leaſt be expected. In this he was not deceived; for the ſoldiers, who ſcaled the walls, found the guard ſecurely aſleep, the motions of the *Turks* the preceding night having poſſeſſed them with a full aſſurance that they intended raiſing the ſiege. Here the greater number were killed without reſiſtance; others, alarmed with the noiſe, deſerted their poſts in the utmoſt conſternation. The count *de Roccas*, whoſe quarters were at a little diſtance, upon the firſt notice of the attack, armed himſelf, and, with a few attendants, flew to the place of action, where plunging into the midſt of danger, he was killed upon the ſpot, after having conſiderably retarded the enemy, and given the garriſon leiſure d to recollect their ſpirits. His death damped the ardour of the ſoldiers; they immediately gave way, and at laſt fled with precipitation into the midſt of the city. Upon their retreat, the *Turks* entered in great numbers, reſolving, before they advanced farther, to ſecond the other aſſaults, by attacking the garriſon in the rear. The *Italian* foot, who defended the three remaining baſtions, behaved with incredible intrepidity: their number was ſmall; but that defect was amply compenſated by ſkill and courage: they every where defeated the enemy; but no ſooner had they cut off one line, than it was replaced by freſh troops; when at laſt they were forced to retire, exhauſted and fatigued. They had defeated and repulſed the enemy repeatedly, though abandoned by the *Cypriots*, who fled in the utmoſt trepidation to their own houſes. *Dandolo* had, upon this occaſion, ſhewn extraordinary activity, e courage, and conduct: had the reſt of his carriage been of a piece, the *Turks* would probably have been foiled in their attempt; but now his endeavours were too late: they were maſters of all the outworks, the chief ſtrength of the city: nothing remained but an ineffectual effort to defend themſelves in the market-place, where *Dandolo* had drawn up the garriſon. There an obſtinate fight continued, until, oppreſſed with numbers, *Dandolo* retired to the town-hall, where he made a ſtand, and ſeemed determined to defend himſelf to the laſt extremity. Upon this, the chief officer of the *Turks* ſummoned the garriſon to ſurrender, promiſing thoſe their lives who would ſubmit before the artillery was brought; but, during this parley, the *Turks* had broke open the gates, pouring in crowds, putting all to the ſword, and among the reſt *Dandolo*, who now found that his abilities were exerted f too late to be of uſe to himſelf or his country. The biſhop alſo was among the ſlain, together with a number of gentlemen of the firſt rank in the iſland. Many, however, breaking ſword in hand through the *Turks*, eſcaped to the adjacent mountains.

Nicoſia *ſtormed.*

*The whole garriſon ſlain; and* Nicoſia *taken.*

Thus, after a ſiege of forty-eight days, the city of *Nicoſia* was taken and plundered, owing chiefly to the indolence, inactivity, and want of vigour in the governor and garriſon. There was no ſpecies of cruelty, barbarous luſt, inſatiable avarice, or brutality, which the *Turks* did not commit here: matrons, young women, and children, were violated in the moſt ſcandalous and open manner; old men were murthered in their beds, ſome in churches, and others in the arms of their wives or children, where they ſought for protection, and meant to excite compaſſion. Thoſe who eſcaped the ſword, were reſerved for a more g miſerable death, being dragged in chains over heaps of their relations, kindred, and countrymen, to periſh in deplorable dungeons. Thus did *Nicoſia*, in one day, feel the moſt extreme calamity, after having for a ſeries of years rouſed, by its affluence, pomp, and magnificence,

nificence, the jealouſy and envy of the *Othoman* emperor, as well as of many Chriſtian potentates. a

*MUSTAPHA* putting a ſtrong garriſon in *Nicoſia*, ſent back the reinforcement lent him by *Pinalis*, and begun his march to *Famagoſta*, carrying with him ſeveral engines and inſtruments for a ſiege, which he had erected at *Nicoſia*. News of the taking of *Nicoſia* being received at *Famagoſta*, the governor got every thing in readineſs for a ſiege, ordering all thoſe who were unfit to bear arms to depart the city. *Muſtapha*, in order to ſtrike terror into the garriſon, ordered *Dandolo*'s head to be placed on a ſpear, and ſhewn to them; but this had no other effect than to inſpire the garriſon with an eager deſire of revenge. As no intelligence of the Chriſtian fleet had been lately received, the *Turks* began to apprehend that ſome fatal ſtroke was meditated: they determined to ſend *Coccialobin*, a noted pirate and expert ſeaman, in queſt of them to procure the beſt information poſſible. He ſoon returned, after having taken a ſmall Chriſtian bark, which informed him of the fixed reſolution of the admirals to fight. Upon this advice *Muſtapha* called a council, where *Pinalis* was of opinion that a general engagement ought by all means to be avoided: *Muſtapha* and *Hali* were of a contrary opinion, regarding this prudent advice as one of thoſe minute maxims which meaſures every thing by its immediate utility. All their views centered in the glory of their prince, to whom they thought it a diſhonour that his fleet ſhould decline battle: their motion was carried, and the fleet accordingly cleared of every thing which could poſſibly impede the mariners in action [n]. b

Famagoſta *inveſted.*

THE Chriſtian fleet was at *Candia*, where new contentions aroſe among the commanders: theſe terminated in a ſeparation of the fleet, *Doria* remaining at *Candia*, while the *Venetian* and eccleſiaſtical fleets ſailed to *Caſtel-Roſſo*, where they received the firſt advice of the reduction of *Nicoſia*: upon this the fleets joined again, and a council of war was called to deliberate on the neceſſary meaſures *Sebaſtiano Venieri*, *Franciſco Duodo*, and *Marco Quirino*, three officers of diſtinction in the *Venetian* diviſion, were for attacking the *Turks*, which they aſſerted would have the ſame conſequences now, as to the ſafety of *Cyprus*, as before the loſs of *Nicoſia*. Theſe officers had the liberty of ſitting and giving their opinions in council, but not of voting, which was confined to the three admirals. *Hieronimo Zani* and *Sforza Palavicini*, were of a contrary opinion: they ſaid, that their ſailing now to *Cyprus* would only be loſing time, which might be uſefully employed againſt *Negropont*. This difference among the *Venetian* officers was referred to *Colonna*; but the artful conduct of *Doria* perplexed the council ſo much, that it broke up without coming to any determination So high had their diviſions run, that *Doria* again parted from the other confederates, and retired with the *Spaniſh* fleet to *Sicily*, leaving the *Venetians*, with a ſlender ſquadron under *Colonna*, to oppoſe the powerful armament commanded by *Pinalis*. c d

THE *Venetians* determined upon ſending ſuccours to *Famagoſta*, the manner of doing which was entruſted to the conduct of *M. Quirino* and *Lodovico Martinenga*; and *Zani*, leaving a body of two thouſand men in *Candia*, repaired with the fleet to *Corfu*: here *Colonna*, after having loſt half his fleet by ſickneſs, parted with the *Venetians*. e

*PINALIS*, being eaſed from all apprehenſions of an attack, ſet ſail to *Conſtantinople*, leaving twelve gallies for the defence of the iſland, and to prevent *Famagoſta* receiving ſupplies. In his courſe, falling in with two *Venetian* gallies, commanded by *Angelo Suriano* and *Vincenti Priuli*, he attacked them, and their brave defence produced an obſtinate and bloody engagement. At laſt *Priuli*, after having for ſeveral hours withſtood the utmoſt efforts of five *Turkiſh* gallies, was killed; but the lieutenant, emulating the ſpirit of his ſuperior, broke through the enemy's fleet, and joining *Suriano*, they both arrived ſafe in *Candia*.

*A brave ſally from* Famagoſta.

MEAN time *Muſtapha*, who ſtaid behind with the *Turkiſh* army in *Cyprus*, reſolving not to attempt the ſiege in form before the ſpring, contented himſelf with blocking up the city by little forts he had erected at proper diſtances. The beſieged, taking advantage of this circumſtance, ſallied out with great vigour, forced the enemy's works, putting the garriſons in the forts to the ſword, and totally razing them before ſuccours from the camp could arrive. This noble enterprize they effected with the loſs of ten men only, that of the enemy amounting to three hundred killed, an equal number of priſoners, and many wounded: but the *Turks* ſuſtained a ſtill more grievous loſs in the burning of a yacht, laden with rich cloaths, jewels, and other things of great value, beſides many noble priſoners, whom *Muſtapha* was ſending as a preſent to *Selim*. The misfortune was occaſioned by the courage, as it is ſuppoſed, of a captive *Cyprian* lady on board, who preferring death to ſervitude, fell upon this expedient [o]. f

THE next endeavour of the beſieged was to requeſt ſupplies from *Venice*. This was a matter of the utmoſt difficulty, as the *Turks* were in poſſeſſion of all the ports and paſſes: g

[n] PARUT. l. 2. [o] PARUT. l. 2. MAUROCEN. l. 6.

a but *Raguzoni*, biſhop of the city, willing to riſque his own life for the preſervation of his country, bravely undertook, and happily effected the enterprize.

THE following year *Quirino* and *Martinenga*, to whom the care of ſupplying *Famagoſta* had been committed, draughted out of all the troops in *Candia* a body of eight hundred men, which, with proviſions and ſtores, they ſhipped on board thirteen tranſports under *Quirino*. After a ſhort and happy voyage, he arrived in *Cyprus*, and had the good fortune to throw the ſupplies into the city. The *Turkiſh* fleet did all in their power to prevent it; but *Quirino* attacked them ſo vigorouſly, and they were plied ſo hotly with the cannon of *Famagoſta*, that, after the loſs of four gallies, they were forced to retire. Soon after this exploit, *Quirino* took two veſſels laden with proviſions for the *Turkiſh* camp, deſtroyed b ſome works which *Muſtapha* had erected, and then returned to *Candia*. The ſenate having diſgraced *Zani* for the opinion he had given in the council of war, promoted *Venieri* in his room; *Quirino* and *Zacharia Salamone* being appointed proveditors. *Zani* was ſent in chains to *Venice* to take his trial; but he anticipated by a natural death an ignominious ſentence. A. D. 1571.

MEAN time *Venieri*, as ſoon as he found himſelf inveſted with the command, reſolved to omit no opportunity of diſtinguiſhing himſelf, and ſerving his country: nor was *Selim* idle. To divide her forces, and diſtreſs the republic, he ſent *Achmet*, baſhaw, with an army of ſeventy thouſand men into *Albania* and *Dalmatia*: *Hali*, at the ſame time, was detached with a ſquadron of forty ſail to harraſs the iſlands of the *Archipelago*, and ſcour the *Ægean* ſea; after which, joining the reſt of the fleet, he was to proceed directly to give c battle to *Venieri*, *Muſtapha*, all this while, being employed in the ſiege of *Famagoſta*[p].

As to the confederacy entered upon the preceding year by the king of *Spain*, the pope, and the republic, ſo many difficulties had occurred, that it was hitherto of little prejudice to the common enemy, and now was like to be entirely diſſolved, in deſpite of all the endeavours of his holineſs to cement and reconcile the parties. So far did the pontiff carry his zeal, that he declared, if it ſhould be found neceſſary, he himſelf would embark in the fleet, and expoſe his perſon to all dangers. At length his mediation had the wiſhed for effect; the treaty was renewed between *Spain*, the holy ſee, and the republic, each agreeing to furniſh a certain force, until the whole fleet ſhould amount to two hundred gallies and one hundred tranſports: the army to fifty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, Don d *John* of *Auſtria* being appointed commander in chief. The only contention was who ſhould have the command in the abſence of Don *John*: *Philip*'s party aſſerted, that the choice ſhould be left to the diſcretion of the prince; but the *Venetians*, ſuſpecting this to be an artifice to bring *Doria*, whom they juſtly hated, again into office, determined to refer the diſpute to his holineſs, with whoſe diſlike to *Doria* they were acquainted. The pope's deciſion was, that the three ſuperior officers ſhould ſhare the command; but that the chief direction of affairs ſhould reſide in *Colonna*; a determination that was perfectly agreeable to the *Venetians*, who had an entire confidence in the abilities and integrity of that officer[q].

THIS point being ſettled, other difficulties ſoon occurred; among theſe was one of the utmoſt conſequence, viz. in what part their operations ſhould commence, whether in the e *Venetian* or *Spaniſh* dominions. *Philip* inſiſted, that as he ſupported the greater part of the expence, he had a right to expect the firſt fruits of the league. This the *Venetians* warmly oppoſed, affirming, that by this means the league would be a prejudice to their affairs, if, by giving up *Cyprus*, they ſhould go in queſt of conqueſts which could never produce any benefit to the republic. Here the pope interpoſed, ſending his legate into *Spain* to prevail on *Philip* to recede from ſo unreaſonable a demand, and to ſend Don *John* of *Auſtria* to take upon him the command. *Pompey Colonna* was pitched upon for this ambaſſy, who having laid his inſtructions before *Philip*, was anſwered with proteſtations of his great zeal for religion, and affection for the head of *Chriſt*'s church: his late conduct, he ſaid, was ſufficient to evince his inclinations, as he had, at a prodigious expence, fitted out a great f fleet, with ten thouſand *Germans*, eight thouſand *Spaniards*, and an equal number of *Italians* on board, to oppoſe the enemy of Chriſtianity: but he feared that thoſe mighty armaments were to little purpoſe, as he could not help ſuſpecting the ſincerity and good faith of the *Venetians*. In the firſt place, he was aſſured that they had never given up thoughts of peace, and that perpetual couriers paſſed between *Venice* and *Conſtantinople*: he had therefore reaſon to believe that their only deſign in propoſing this treaty, was to obtain more eaſy terms from *Selim*, by forming a ſtrong combination againſt him. And as to the emperor, his inclinations might be good; but his ability was too ſlender to ſuffer him to declare againſt ſo potent an enemy as the Grand Signior. *Colonna*, returning with this anſwer, found that new obſtructions on the ſide of his holineſs had ariſen. In the former g league with *Charles* the fifth, it was ſtipulated, that the emperor ſhould bear half the ex-

[p] PARUT. l. 2. [q] THUAN. l. 50. PARUT. ubi ſupra.

pence, the *Venetians* two-thirds of the remaining half, and his holineſs one-third. Now the exchequer of the holy ſee was ſo exhauſted, he ſaid, as to be able to bear only a ſixth of the expence, the reſt muſt be ſupplied by *Philip* and the republic. Againſt this *Suriano* and *Soranzo*, the *Venetian* ambaſſadors, exclaimed, ſaying, that at firſt no more than a fourth was demanded of the *Venetians*, though, by the force of entreaty, and for the honour of the Chriſtian arms, they were induced to advance a third. In fine, it was ridiculous, they affirmed, for his holineſs to pretend the want of money, which he had ſo many eaſy methods of procuring; as it was a proverbial ſaying, that the pope's quill was a rich mint, by one ſtroke of which he could coin what ſums he thought proper. But this point the ambaſſadors were conſtrained to yield, the league being eſtabliſhed upon the ſame footing as the preceding [r].

*The doge, and a party in the republic, are for making peace with* Selim.

However, this was no more than an agreement which *Philip* had it in his power to perform or not, as he pleaſed; and indeed it was apparent, by the little preparation he made, that his quota would fall greatly ſhort of his engagements. From hence, *Mocenigo* the doge, who had always been averſe to breaking with the *Turks*, found an opportunity of more ſtrongly recommending pacific meaſures: he affirmed, that the republic was only the tool of *Spain*, to make a diverſion which ſhould withdraw the *Turkiſh* forces from aſſiſting the *Moors* in *Granada*. It ſeaſonably fell out alſo, that *Mahomet* the grand vizier, who had always given proofs of his regard for the *Venetians*, had upon this occaſion ſignified, that *Selim* was diſpoſed to liſten to reaſonable propoſitions. This notice was joyfully embraced by the greater part of the ſenate; and it was reſolved, that *Jacobo Raggozini*, a man well ſkilled in the *Turkiſh* conſtitution, ſhould be ſent to *Conſtantinople*, under pretence of ſettling a cartel for the exchange of priſoners. Now the face of affairs took a different turn; thoſe who thought they could make ſome advantage of the neceſſity of the republic, ſaw plainly, from the ſpirit of her ambaſſadors, that her whole views centered not in the league. Accordingly the pope diſpatched an envoy to *Venice*, who, from his integrity, ability, and public character, he doubted not would be able to mend the late breach, and reconcile the differences between the confederates. *Colonna* was introduced into the ſenate; he began his diſcourſe with exhorting that punctilio, pride, and an undue warmth, might not break off a league ſo neceſſary, ſo advantageous to the republic and to *Europe*; he proceeded to palliate the conduct of his holineſs and *Philip*; he ſaid, that the declaration made by *Granvelle*, of the number of ſhips which *Spain* propoſed furniſhing, was of little conſequence, ſince the republic could eaſily ſupply the deficiency by their own ſhipping, to be paid by *Philip*: many other arguments he urged. To all which a ſenator anſwered, that they could not longer adhere to a treaty ſo ill performed, without evident danger to the ſtate; and that it was more adviſeable to ſtrike up a peace with *Selim*, before their mutual reſentments were aggravated, than rely upon an alliance productive of nothing but feuds and diſſentions. *Colonna* replied, that no ſafe peace with the *Turks*, whoſe perfidy they had lately experienced, could be concluded: this he proved by a variety of arguments; and added, that things were now come to that paſs, as to render it impoſſible for the *Venetians* to defend themſelves by their own fleets, which were greatly inferior to the enemy's. It, therefore, was expedient to renounce timid meaſures, which were ſeldom ſecure, and heartily embrace the more generous and liberal views of revenging the injuries they had ſuſtained; of oppoſing that haughty enemy, who was ready to trample upon the neck of liberty; and of driving back to *Aſia* a power, that had inſinuated itſelf into the very bowels of *Europe*. In ſhort, with this addreſs *Colonna* removed all the ſcruples of the ſenate; only they repreſented, that as the war would render it neceſſary to augment their garriſons, it was but reaſonable the allies ſhould ſhare the expence. *Colonna* was of the ſame opinion; but ſaid his inſtructions contained nothing upon that head. It was afterwards referred to the pope; but he put it off to ſome other occaſion, being unwilling to enter upon any terms which ſhould draw money from the church: however, as this obſtacle remained, nothing was determined, a reference being made to the doge and council. After warm debates, peace with the *Turks* was again reſolved upon; but thoſe who oppoſed this meaſure inſiſted it ſhould be ratified in full ſenate. Accordingly the affair was remitted to this aſſembly, when *Paulo Tiepolo*, by a long, ſenſible, and laboured diſcourſe, refuted the arguments alleged in favour of peace, and confirmed thoſe *Colonna* advanced in favour of the league. *Tiepolo* was anſwered by *Nicolao di Ponti*, eſteemed the firſt orator of his age: *Ponti*, with great ſpirit, aſſerted, that all the arguments of thoſe who promoted the war, were founded on profound ignorance of the conſtitution and circumſtances of *Venice*, as well as of her allies. This he demonſtrated with the utmoſt perſpicuity, oratory, and elegance: he then laid open the views of *Spain*, the intereſt of the republic, what prudence, juſtice, and even neceſſity required of

[r] Thuan. ubi ſupra. Parut. ibid.

her:

a her: he gave a sketch of the languiſhing ſtate of commerce, by which alone the republic could preſerve her weight in the ſcale of *Europe:* he ſet forth the decay of manufactures, the diſtreſs of the poor, and total inanition of the treaſury; drawing the whole picture with ſuch height of colouring, juſtneſs, and energy of expreſſion, as well as propriety of diſpoſition, that the ſenate was greatly moved with the pathetic deſcription. For ſome time their minds fluctuated between doubts; but at length the oppoſite party prevailed: in conſequence the league was agreed to, and ſoon after concluded [s].

THIS treaty ſet forth, that a perpetual league and alliance, offenſive and defenſive, ſhould take place between his holineſs *Pius* the fifth, his catholic majeſty *Philip* of *Spain*, and his ſerene highneſs *Mocenigo* doge of *Venice*, againſt *Selim* emperor of the *Turks*. Here it was *The conditions of the treaty between* Philip, *the pope, and the* Venetians.
b ſtipulated, that the allies ſhould not only attack the common enemy in the dominions immediately in his poſſeſſion, but likewiſe *Tripoli*, *Tunis*, *Algiers*, and other cities tributary to the *Turks* on the coaſt of *Barbary*; that when no expedition for the common benefit was intended, the *Venetians* ſhould aſſiſt *Philip* in *Barbary* with fifty gallies, well provided; that, in the ſame circumſtances, he ſhould ſupply the republic with an equal number, upon any attack within the gulph of *Venice*, from *La Valora* extending along the coaſt to the city of *Venice*; that the ſeveral proportions and quotas for general expeditions, ſhould be ſuch as we have ſpecified above. And it was further agreed, that the operations of every campaign ſhould be ſettled the autumn preceding, the pope being appointed arbiter in all differences which might ariſe. Laſtly, it was ſtipulated, that none of the allies ſhould even hint at a
c ſeparate peace, without the joint conſent of all the parties. A place was left for the emperor, the kings of *France* and *Portugal*, to embrace the league, if they choſe it [t].

THIS treaty of alliance was made public on the eleventh of *June*, with the uſual formalities: then the ſenate entered upon conſultations with the allies, concerning the operations of the war, and what inſtructions ſhould be given to their admirals; it being a maxim with the republic to limit them with particular orders, the tranſgreſſion of which is capital. This practice, at the ſame time that it has its advantages, is alſo ſubject to many inconveniencies, as by it many happy opportunities are loſt of annoying the enemy, and ſerving the ſtate. In this conſultation, it was determined immediately to hazard a battle, the iſſue of which would probably alter the ſentiments of thoſe, who attributed the long continuance of the
d war to the delays of the *Spaniards*, and likewiſe eaſe the allies of the heavy burthen of new levies, and augmentation of ſtores and ſhipping. It was likewiſe decreed, that the war ſhould be conducted with ſpirit, with bold puſhes and activity; and that the hurry of intrepidity, which in other caſes might probably precipitate into deſtruction, would in this war be the ſureſt means of ſafety, and the only road to victory. It was further determined, to give *Venieri* orders to omit no opportunity of fighting the enemy, and even before the junction of the allies, provided they were not unreaſonably ſuperior in ſtrength: the ſame orders were ſent to *Colonna* by the pope. Ambaſſies were diſpatched to the emperor, to the kings of *Poland* and *Portugal*, to invite them into the league; which negotiations the pope took upon himſelf.

e AMIDST theſe preparations, *Muſtapha* was not idle in *Cyprus:* having ſent to *Nicoſia* for his cannon, he broke up winter-quarters, and removed his camp to *Famagoſta*. Forty thouſand ſoldiers, labourers, and pioneers, were employed in repairing the works deſtroyed by the beſieged: he alſo drew trenches round the city, raiſed batteries of bombs and cannon, with which he played vigorouſly on the garriſon. The number of the beſieged amounted to four thouſand foot, and eight hundred horſe, beſides three thouſand of the townſmen and peaſants in arms, and two hundred *Albanians*, who performed notable ſervices. *Antonio Bragadino* had the ſupreme direction: *Baglioni* was the next in command. The former was governor of the citadel: *Neſtor Martinenga* was general of the artillery; and *Laurentio Tiepoli* had an honourable rank, and great authority. Under the conduct of theſe officers were
f the efforts of the *Turks* to be oppoſed, and the city defended againſt a powerful army, without any immediate hope of relief from the allies. The *Turkiſh* works went on with ſpirit, and daily approaches were made towards the ramparts. As ſoon as they had compleated ten little forts round the city, in which were placed their heavieſt cannon, they played with fury on the walls, battering the whole ſouth ſide of the city for ſeveral days without intermiſſion. Over this attack *Muſtapha* preſided in perſon: nor did the garriſon oppoſe him with leſs vigour; their ſucceſs was greater, four thouſand *Turks* having already been killed by the artillery. For four days both ſides continued to fire with irreſiſtible fury, when the beſieged made a partition of the command, aſſigning certain diſtricts to each of the ſuperior officers. The *Turks* ſent a trumpet with letters to the garriſon; but *Baglioni* returned him
g with an anſwer full of reſolution and courage. On the following day, after a warm action ſupported with vigour, thoſe letters were found in the foſſe, ſummoning the inhabitants to

[s] PARUT. l. 2. MAUROCEN. l. 6. [t] THUAN. ubi ſup.

ſur-

ſurrender, and promiſing them full ſecurity of their freedom and property: but, inſtead of complying, the garriſon exerted themſelves with redoubled efforts, and ſo hotly charged the enemy with great and ſmall arms, that it was ſaid their loſs amounted to thirty thouſand men, beſides ſeveral batteries diſmounted. However, apprehending a ſcarcity of ammunition, they limited the number of charges to every gun, hoping by this means to make their powder laſt, until they could receive ſupplies from *Candia*. a

At length, after great ſlaughter, the *Turks* carried their approaches to the bottom of the walls; upon which, they ſet about filling the ditch with the utmoſt diligence, which the beſieged left no means untried to oppoſe. A kind of ſconces were contrived by *Joannes Mormeri* to defend them from the ſhot of the enemy; but he being unfortunately killed, the *Turks* became maſters of the ditch: here they erected works to ſkreen them from the fire of the garriſon, placing before them large ſacks of wool and earth. Thus covered, they began to ſap the walls, and to open mines, which the beſieged often rendered uſeleſs by countermines, at the ſame time retarding the operations of the beſiegers by perpetual ſkirmiſhes, ſallies, and a continued fire of muſquetry and cannon. *Baglioni* exerted himſelf in a manner altogether incredible; his reſolution and courage ſurmounted every hazard and fatigue; in body and mind he ſeemed invincible, being every where preſent, and directing the vigour and intrepidity of the ſoldier with the conduct, magnanimity, and preſence of mind of a general. He animated, exhorted, and ſpirited his men to action by his voice and example: the languid he excited, comforted the oppreſſed with wounds or wearineſs, and praiſed and rewarded the brave and perſevering. b

*An aſſault given, in which the* Turks *are repulſed.*

At length the mine under the parapet was fired, which blew up with ſo terrible an exploſion, as equally terrified the beſiegers and beſieged. A breach was made in the walls, which the *Turks* ſtorming, met with a reſiſtance they little expected. *Baglioni*, aſſembling his men, attacked the *Turks* with ſuch fury, that they were driven headlong from the breach. They renewed the aſſault, and were a ſecond time repulſed. Not diſcouraged, they mounted the breach in greater numbers, imagining their perſeverance would tire out the beſieged: but in this they were deceived; for *Baglioni* had ſo well concerted his meaſures with the other officers, that the fatigued and wounded were carried off, and their places ſupplied with freſh troops from the other quarters. By this means, after five ſucceſſive attacks, all the endeavours of the *Turks* were fruſtrated, and they were compelled to abandon the breach with prodigious ſlaughter. The loſs on the ſide of the beſieged was inconſiderable, had it not been for the death of two brave officers, the count *Giovanno Franciſco Goro* and *Bernardino Eugebino*: their greateſt diſtreſs aroſe from the fatigue endured from the time the *Turks* became maſters of the ditch. In the day, they were continually employed in diſturbing the operations of the enemy, and at night in repairing the breaches made by the miners, and furious diſcharge of heavy cannon. In doing this, the moſt precious carpets, tapeſtry, and other houſhold furniture, were uſed without repining; and the proprietors beheld them blown up into the air, crumbled by cannon balls, or deſtroyed by loads of earth and ſand, happy in the conſideration that they prolonged the date of their liberty. To this was added, the fatigue of being conſtantly under arms from the frequent alarms. On the eighth day after the laſt aſſault, a new mine was ſprung, which blew up with ſo much ſucceſs, that ſeveral yards of the wall were intirely carried away, and a breach made ſufficient to admit twenty men a-breaſt. To this both the aſſailants and defendants flocked with a fury almoſt incredible; hope ſpurring on the former, while deſpair, and the laſt efforts of expiring liberty, animated the latter. The combat was incredibly obſtinate and bloody, both ſides exerting a power more than natural; when at length the *Turks* gave way, and were ſoon after totally routed, and driven before the garriſon: here the women, children, and clergy fought like ſoldiers, annoying the enemy with ſcalding water, burning ſulphur and pitch, with a fury not to be paralled in hiſtory. The biſhop of *Lemiſſo*, with a croſier in his hand, ſtood in the breach, exhorting, entreating, and animating the troops with temporal and ſpiritual arguments. In ſhort, their enthuſiaſtic courage ſurmounted every difficulty; and the *Turks*, aſtoniſhed at ſo much bravery, found the garriſon impregnable againſt human ſtrength, and to be conquered only by delay. For this reaſon, they determined to be leſs frequent in aſſaults, which had coſt them the lives of ſo many thouſand ſoldiers, with a loſs altogether inconſiderable on the ſide of the beſieged. However, after their artillery had played for ſeveral days with ſome ſucceſs upon the walls, another mine was ſprung, by which the counterſcarp was totally demoliſhed. A body of four thouſand janiſſaries was choſen to enter the breach, which they did with great intrepidity, being ſupported by another corps of ſix thouſand ſelect ſoldiers. The reſiſtance of the beſieged was equal to what might be expected from their former valour; but the event did not correſpond. After a violent conflict for three hours, the *Turks* remained in poſſeſſion of the counterſcarp, the beſieged being forced to abandon it through wearineſs and want of numbers: their retreat, however, was made with ſuch order, after ſo obſtinate a reſiſtance, that the victors had little c d e f g

*The* Turks *gain the counterſcarp.*

a to boaſt of an advantage gained with terrible ſlaughter. To the number of two thouſand had been blown up by the ingenious but horrible contrivance of *Baglioni*, who ſprung a countermine, as ſoon as the enemy had in ſufficient numbers mounted the breach.

By loſing the counterſcarp, the garriſon was forced to perpetual watchings, with which they were already harraſſed, to raiſe new defences againſt the beſiegers, and to maintain conſtant ſallies to impede their progreſs. The *Turks* were indefatigable; they had now brought their whole camp to the very walls; they were induſtriouſly raiſing works to cover their farther approaches; and conſtructing batteries for driving the beſieged from the poſts they poſſeſſed. Nor were the defendants leſs aſſiduous in filling up all the breaches with hides, wet earth, wool, and other materials. In this employment, the induſtry, vigilance,
b and ſpirit of the women were amazing: they divided themſelves into troops, and, without regarding quality or age, ſtood up in the defence of liberty, by labouring in the moſt ſervile occupations. Females of the firſt faſhion might be ſeen ſweating under loads of earth, heavy ſtones to repair the walls, or water to extinguiſh the flames kindled by the bombs thrown into the city. After ſeveral fruitleſs attempts upon the gates, the enemy took a ſhorter method, by throwing, with great force, burning torches into the town, which ſeizing hold of the houſes, took off the attention of the beſieged from the out-works. So dreadful a ſmoke was raiſed, that the *Turks*, unſeen, began to open another mine; but ſtill the vigilance of *Baglioni* prevailed; ſpringing another ſucceſsful countermine, he fruſtrated the attempts of the *Turks*. At length famine was like to effect what foiled all the endeavours
c of the beſiegers. Corn, wine, and proviſions having long been conſumed, the garriſon had, for ſeveral days, drank vinegar mixed with water, inſtead of wine, and eat the moſt nauſeous animals in the place of their uſual proviſions. Theſe inconveniences were chearfully ſupported: the ſoldiers murmured not, becauſe their officers ſet the example by ſharing every hardſhip; but now every kind of proviſions were exhauſted, and they muſt either ſubmit or ſtarve. The *Italians* in garriſon were reduced from four thouſand to one-fourth of that number, moſt of them having died, not by the ſword, but of loathſome diſeaſes, the conſequence of bad living. The *Greeks* were proportionably diminiſhed; which at laſt began to ſtagger the reſolution of the inhabitants, who had hitherto remained firm. In this extremity, they preſented a petition to *Bragadino* and *Baglioni*, requeſting of them not
d to carry their obſtinacy to the total deſtruction of the city, maſſacre of their wives, children, and all that was dear to them. They remonſtrated, that their fidelity or conſtancy could never be accuſed, as they had ſupported every evil, braved every danger, as long as the leaſt hope of relief or liberty remained: but that now theſe were extinguiſhed, and it was unreaſonable to purſue a conduct that muſt, in a few days, terminate their lives by famine or the ſword. At preſent, it was probable that *Muſtapha* would grant honourable terms, which was more than they could poſſibly expect after the garriſon was weakened with ſickneſs, famine, and fatigue.

*Famine in the city.*

To this petition *Bragadino* anſwered in a courteous and obliging manner. He commended their courage, ſoothed their deſpair, and aſſured them, that if the ſuccours he ex-
e pected did not ſoon arrive, he would take every precaution to ſave the lives and freedom of men deſerving of the higheſt honours. Thus all again determined to wait the event of the general's promiſe.

The *Turks* having now finiſhed their works, ſprung a mine under the citadel, by which a conſiderable opening was made, which they attempted to ſtorm; but were ſoon repulſed by the ſuperior courage of the beſieged. Next day another aſſault was given, in which, after a ſharp conflict of ſix hours, the *Turks* were again defeated with great loſs. At laſt powder failed the beſieged, and they were reduced to a few charges only: proviſions had long been wanting; and they now had intelligence, that *Barzotti Barbaro*, coming with ſupplies from *Candia*, was ſhipwrecked. In ſhort, every thing contributing to conquer the
f ſpirit of this brave garriſon, they were finally compelled to enter upon terms of capitulation. Accordingly a treaty was ſet on foot, and hoſtages exchanged. Commiſſioners for ſettling the articles having met, the following terms were agreed to by both parties: *viz.* That the officers and ſoldiers ſhould march out with all the honours of war, drums beating, colours flying, five pieces of cannon, all their baggage, and be conveyed in ſafety to *Candia*, under an eſcort of three *Turkiſh* gallies; and that the inhabitants ſhould remain in the free uſe of their religion, untouched in their property, and in full poſſeſſion of their freedom. Theſe conditions having been mutually ſigned, the garriſon marched out, and the ſoldiers embarked on board the ſhips provided for them by *Muſtapha*. Next day *Bragadino* went to pay his compliments to *Muſtapha*, attended by *Baglioni*, *Martinenga*, and ſome of the chief
g officers. At firſt they met with a civil reception, *Muſtapha* ordering a ſeat to be placed for *Bragadino* on his own right hand. They ſoon entered into diſcourſe about the priſoners; and *Muſtapha* taxing *Bragadino* with ſome violences committed by the garriſon during the ſuſpenſion granted for ſettling a capitulation, *Bragadino*, with a generous diſdain, denied

*Capitulates on honourable terms.*

*The barbarity of* Muſtapha.

the charge, calling it falſe and deſigning. Upon which *Muſtapha*, riſing up in a fury, ordered him to be bound hand and foot, and the others maſſacred before his face, without regard to hoſpitality, their bravery, the treaty ſubſiſting, or their being unarmed. *Bragadino* was reſerved for a more cruel treatment; after being inſulted with the moſt vilifying and opprobrious language; after undergoing the moſt excruciating tortures; after having his ears, noſe, and lips ſlit, his neck was ſtretched upon a block, and trampled upon by the daſtardly *Muſtapha*, who aſked him where was now that *Chriſt* whom he worſhipped, and why he did not deliver him out of his hands? At the ſame time the ſoldiers on board the fleet were deſpoiled of every thing, and laſhed to the oars, This day's work being finiſhed, *Muſtapha* entered the city, where he gave immediate orders that *Tiepolo* ſhould be hanged upon a gibbet. A few days after, before *Bragadino* had recovered from the wounds he had received, he was carried in deriſion to all the breaches made in the walls, loaded with buckets filled with earth and mortar, and ordered to kiſs the ground as often as he paſſed by *Muſtapha*; a ſpectacle that raiſed pangs of pity in the callous hearts of the meaneſt *Turkiſh* ſoldiers, but could not move compaſſion in the obdurate breaſt of *Muſtapha*. Afterwards the brave *Bragadino* was cooped up in a cage, and ignominiouſly hung to a ſail-yard in one of the gallies, where his intrepid ſoldiers were chained to the oars. This ſight rendered them almoſt furious: they exclaimed againſt the baſeneſs, the treachery of *Muſtapha*: they called aloud for revenge, and deſired to be ſet at liberty that they might, even without arms, reſcue their brave general, and inflict the deſerved puniſhment upon their mean, daſtardly, and cowardly foes. Their requeſt was anſwered with cruel laſhes; *Bragadino* was taken down, conducted to the market-place, amidſt the din of trumpets, drums, and other warlike inſtruments, where he was flayed alive, and a period put to his glorious life. His ſkin was hung, by way of trophy, to the ſail-yard of a galley ſent round all the coaſts to inſult the *Venetians*. In which manner periſhed the intrepid *Bragadino*, who ſuffered equally by the dilatorineſs of the republic, and the barbarity of an haughty enemy (A). His head, with thoſe of *Andrea Bragadino* his brother, *Lodovico Martinenga*, and the brave *Quirino*, were ſent as preſents to *Selim*. As for *Hercules Martinenga*, he unhappily, ſay our hiſtorians, eſcaped the firſt fury of *Muſtapha*, renounced his religion, and entered into the ſervice of *Selim*, where he in a ſhort time arrived at high honours (B).

a

b

c

THE taking of *Famagoſta* was an advantage of high conſequence to the *Turks*; and had they not ſullied their victory with the treacherous and barbarous maſſacre of ſo many heroes, poſterity would have done juſtice to their perſeverance, and deemed them deſerving of the conqueſt. By poſſeſſing *Famagoſta*, they became abſolute maſters of the rich, fertile, and famous iſland of *Cyprus*, for which they had ſo eager and long a deſire. It coſt them from their firſt landing about an hundred thouſand lives, and many officers of the firſt rank and merit in the *Turkiſh* ſervice.

d

DURING theſe tranſactions in *Cyprus*, that the Chriſtians might not be leſs employed in other parts, the baſhaw of *Negropont* put to ſea in *June* with a formidable fleet, and arrived in the night at *Malacca*, a port of *Candia*, unperceived by the inhabitants. Another *Turkiſh* fleet ſailed to the gulph of *Suda*, where they waſted, burnt, and deſtroyed all the neighbouring villages, carrying off a great number of the inhabitants into ſlavery. Upon this the *Venetians* collected about thirty gallies to oppoſe the enemy, from which deſign they were diverted by a ſtorm. In the mean time, *Hali Uluzzali*, ſeizing the opportunity, ſent forty gallies towards *Rattimo*, where landing the troops, the moſt beautiful of cities was taken and burnt, after the conquerors had loaded themſelves with rich booty. Leaving this place, they made an attempt, with very different ſucceſs, upon *Canu*, a port in *Candia*, where they

e

(A) He bore his ſufferings with ſuch an admirable conſtancy, that with great calmneſs he reaſoned with *Muſtapha* upon the duties of honour, virtue, and a ſoldier. He then taxed him with perfidy, cruelty, and cowardice, qualities the leaſt becoming a general of all men. After his skin was pulled down to his navel, the force applied by the executioner made the blood ſtream out; upon which, with amazing firmneſs, he cried out upon *Chriſt*'s ſufferings. But theſe are ſcenes we cannot deſcribe without horror. The reader may ſee them at large in *Paruta*, *Mauroceni*, and other *Venetian* hiſtorians.

(B) We cannot avoid taking notice of the fate of the famous *Maggi*. This gentleman was of a good family, had been early tinctured with ſcience, which he improved with great application and force of genius, having made an amazing progreſs in philoſophy, mathematics, and the liberal arts, of which he left many monuments uſeful to poſterity. His profeſſion was the civil law, in which he was deeply skilled. This he practiſed in *Cyprus*, till he had raiſed himſelf from a ſlender fortune to opulence and the ſummit of his profeſſion. Among other *Venetians* he fell on the taking of *Famagoſta* into the hands of the *Turks*, by whom he was enſlaved, and employed in the moſt laborious and ſervile occupations. He often comforted himſelf by reflecting on the circumſtances of *Eſop*, *Menippus*, *Epictetus*, and other ancient philoſophers. At length, oppreſſed by toil and ſickneſs, he became unfit for labour, and was knocked by his cruel maſter on the head, without regard to his ſervices or merit (1).

(1) *Thuan. Hiſt. ſui Temp. l.* 49.

were

a were ſo warmly attacked by *Franciſco Juſtiniano*, that they retired with the loſs of four thouſand men. Hence the ſquadron ſteered to the iſland of *Cerigo*, which was deſolated with a barbarous fury; as if to revenge their late diſgrace, they would commit the moſt enormous barbarities on the weak and defenceleſs. *Motions of the* Turkiſh *fleet.*

ALL this while *Venieri* lay with the bulk of the *Venetian* fleet at *Corfu*, waiting to be reinforced, and impatient of delay. From hence he detached ſome gallies to bring him advice of the motions and ſtrength of the enemy. They returned with intelligence that the *Turks* were ſailed to *Zacyntho*. Afterwards *Troni* was ſent out to bring farther advice; but being driven out of his courſe by a ſtorm, he fell into the hands of the enemy. As ſoon as the *Turks* had learnt of *Troni* that the *Venetian* fleet lay at *Corfu*, they determined to ſail in
b queſt of it: but *Venieri*, knowing his inferior ſtrength, retired to *Meſſina*, in order to be joined by the confederates. After this, the *Turks* making a deſcent on the iſlands of *Zacyntho* and *Cephalonia*, carried off priſoners to the amount of ſix thouſand ſouls; ſteering from thence to *Batrinto*, where they expected to overtake *Venieri*[a]. Diſappointed in this expectation, the fleet ſteered to *Albania*, whither *Achmet*, the beglerbeg of *Greece*, had come with numerous forces, to ſuppreſs ſome inſurrections which appeared among the *Stradiots* in favour of the republic. *Achmet* marched to *Scutari* at the head of a choice body of infantry: finding himſelf too weak to enter upon action, he ſent for a reinforcement to the fleet. Accordingly forty gallies filled with ſoldiers were detached to his aſſiſtance. In their way, this ſquadron met with two *Venetian* gallies, whom they took after a warm
c conteſt. Soon after ſome *Venetian* tranſports fell in their way, and became an eaſy prey. *They lay waſte* Cephalonia, *&c.* *A* Turkiſh *army enters* Albania.

HAVING received this reinforcement, *Achmet* marched to *Delvino*, to which he laid ſiege with a numerous army and train of artillery; the fleet alſo was detained to block up the harbour, and a galley diſpatched to *Uluzzali* to aſſiſt his ſquadron. This officer, after having ſeized upon ſome of the republic's merchantmen, ſailed in company with *Hali* to the coaſt of *Dalmatia*, where the latter landing with a ſtrong corps, attacked *Soppoto* and took it, after a very gallant reſiſtance, in which he loſt a great number of men: here the whole garriſon was put to the ſword, the town plundered, and then deſerted. *Emanuel Mormori*, by whoſe bravery the city had been taken from the *Turks* the preceding year, became now their priſoner and ſlave. From hence *Hali* went to *Durazzo*, where he was joined by *Uluzzali*.

d *SARRA MARTINENGA* commanded in *Delvino*: he had long ſerved in a conſiderable capacity in the *French* army, where he acquired great reputation; but peace with *Spain* enſuing, and the civil wars being compoſed, he returned to *Venice*, and was appointed to the government of this city. He now ſhewed himſelf deſerving of the truſt repoſed in him: with a ſlender garriſon, ill provided with water, ſtores, and proviſions, he ſtood a ſiege of thirty days againſt a potent enemy. The intrepid conduct of *Hermalao Tiepolo* had twice, with great hazard, relieved him with ſcanty ſupplies of water. After having fulfilled every duty which his country, his honour, and courage required, he was at length forced to yield to numbers, and the extremity to which he was reduced: but he capitulated upon honourable terms, having ſtipulated for all the honours of war, the effects of the ſoldiers,
e and hoſtages for the ſecurity of the liberty and property of the citizens. Theſe articles were kept no better than thoſe at *Famagoſta*, although the breach of them aroſe from no treachery of *Achmet*. The naval officers had claimed a ſhare in the reduction of *Delvino*, which ſo highly incenſed *Achmet*, who alone had undergone all the fatigue of the ſiege, that he admitted his troops within the walls, where they immediately fell to plundering, with an eagerneſs peculiar to the *Turks*. The naval officers, equally deſirous of ſharing the booty as the glory with *Achmet*, landed a large body of ſeamen, who joined in ſacking the town and maſſacring the garriſon, until not a ſoul eſcaped alive beſides *Martinenga* and *Hieronymo Venieri*, who were ſaved by the humanity of the baſhaw[b]. *Martinenga* has been blamed by ſome hiſtorians for ſurrendering the town ſooner than his ſituation required, but
f unjuſtly, as at the time of capitulation he was confined to his bed, and when aſked concerning the capitulation, ſaid that a man deprived of the ability of fighting had no opinion.

IN the mean time the *Turkiſh* officers conſulted whether ſo late in the ſeaſon they might venture upon the ſiege of *Catharra*; but as they could come to no reſolution, they ſent to *Conſtantinople*, for the Grand Seignior's orders. That the intermediate time might not be waſted, *Caracoſa*, a captain of pirates, and *Uluzzali*, baſhaw of *Algiers*, were ſent with a ſquadron of forty gallies to make an attempt on *Caſtlenuovo*, and then on *Carzola*. The former of theſe towns was commanded by *Antonio Balbi*, who, upon ſight of the enemy, offered to ſubmit, for which he was deſervedly ſtigmatized with perpetual baniſhment. What rendered his diſgrace the more remarkable was, that the women of the place, per-
g ceiving his and the garriſon's intention to ſurrender, ſeized upon their arms, ſhields, and coats of mail, and mounting the ramparts, headed by *Roſſello Dalmatin*, a prieſt, by their

[a] PARUTA, l. 2. [b] Ibid. ubi ſupra. THUAN. l. 49. Hitherto l. 50. has been quoted by miſtake.

hoſtile appearance, ſaved the city from an attack, the *Turks* turning their courſe to *Leſſina*, a
which was deſerted by the governor, who retired into the citadel on the enemy's approach.
The *Turks* ſet fire to the town, and ran about pillaging the iſland; but they were attacked
by the inhabitants, who formed themſelves into a body, and driven with ſlaughter to the
fleet, many of them being drowned in the tumult [c].

A. D. 1571. In this manner ended the operations of the campaign. By the enſuing ſpring, *Colonna*
had got in readineſs his complement of twelve gallies, with which he ſet ſail to *Meſſina*:
here waited *Venieri*, with intention of joining him; but that officer was detained at *Corfu* by
various accidents. *Colonna*, underſtanding that the *Venetian* fleet was in great danger from
the vicinity of the *Turkiſh* admiral, and their inferiority, ſent repeated meſſages to *Venieri* to
ſet ſail for *Sicily*, which he did as ſoon as the ſituation of affairs would admit. In the mean b
while, Don *John* of *Auſtria*, having finiſhed the war in *Granada*, arrived at *Barcelona*, and
there embarking two regiments, he ſet ſail for *Genoa*. After aſſembling ſome troops here,
and getting ready a number of gallies and tranſports, he ſteered for *Meſſina*, to join *Venieri*
and *Colonna*, leaving *Doria* and the marquis of *Santa Cruz* to bring up the remainder of the
army and fleet. He arrived at *Meſſina* after a ſhort and proſperous voyage, and was wel-
comed by the two confederate admirals, and the loud acclamations of the ſoldiers and ma-
riners [d]. Next day he called a council of war, at which were preſent himſelf, *Venieri*, *Colonna*,
*Lodovico Requeſnes*, lieutenant in the abſence of *Doria*, *Pompey Colonna*, and *Agoſtino Barba-*
*rigo*. He opened the council with a ſhort apology for the delays on the part of his Catholic
majeſty; laid before them the number and condition of his forces, which conſiſted of twenty-
two thouſand foot, of which eight thouſand eight hundred were *Spaniſh*, eleven thouſand c
*Italians*, and the remainder *Germans*, with a numerous artillery, ninety gallies, and twenty-
two tranſports. He then lamented the ſtate of affairs; complained of the ſurmiſes which
had been ſpread, equally injurious to *Philip* and his own honour. He ſaid, that the deſire
of avoiding battle was not the cauſe of the delays, but real and inſurmountable difficulties;
that the moment theſe had ceaſed, the fleet and army were got with the utmoſt expedition
in readineſs, and now it was their buſineſs, he ſaid, to recover the loſt time by a double por-
tion of induſtry, activity, and zeal. *Venieri* and *Colonna* returned him thanks for his oblig-
ing apology; and the former imagining there was no other impediment, propoſed that they
ſhould immediately ſeek the enemy. To this Don *John* objected, under the ſame pretexts offered d
the year before by *Doria*, although he was ſenſible that the harbours, towns, and territories of
the republic were groaning under all the ſeverities of a cruel and rigorous war. He ſaid,
that it would be folly to leave *Meſſina* before the whole fleet was united, as the enemy were
greatly ſuperior in ſtrength and number of ſhips; nor would he permit the Chriſtian fleet,
in which conſiſted the public ſecurity, to be precipitated into manifeſt danger.

*Don* John *of* Auſtria *joins the combined fleet.*

As ſoon as the *Turks* underſtood that the combined fleet was at *Meſſina*, they weighed
anchor from *Catharra*, and ſailed to *Corfu*, where they continued fifteen days, plundering the
villages and ſuburbs of the towns, without attempting to lay ſiege to any fortified places.
Towards the beginning of *September*, they ſteered for *Conſtantinople*, ravaging *Cephalonia* a
ſecond time with all the horrors of war. Stopping in the gulph of *Lepanto*, they ſent to e
*Selim* for further inſtructions; and in the mean while ſent out the famous pirate *Caragiali* in
queſt of the Chriſtian fleet, to procure the beſt intelligence poſſible; but, after his return,
the ſeaſon was ſo far advanced, that, imagining no ſteps would for this year be taken by
the confederates, the corſairs of *Barbary* were diſmiſſed, to the number of forty gallies, well
armed and provided. After which the baſhaw, leaving *Hali* in the gulph of *Lepanto* with
one hundred and fifty gallies, went to *Conſtantinople* to ſpend the winter [e].

Mean while the ſixty gallies, left in *Candia* for the relief of *Famagoſta*, hearing of the fate
of that unhappy city, ſet ſail for *Meſſina*, agreeable to *Venieri*'s orders. Upon their arrival,
the whole *Venetian* fleet amounted to one hundred and nine gallies, and ſix men of war.
Then the admirals met to conſult on their operations: *Venieri* preſſed Don *John* of *Auſtria*, f
that, laying aſide all heſitation and delay, the *Turkiſh* fleet might be attacked, ſaying, that
if they avoided battle, they ſhould by all endeavours be reduced to the neceſſity of fighting.
Here Don *John* again raiſed doubts and ſcruples; and though he did not openly oppoſe the
propoſition, yet he waſted the time that might have been better employed in action. He
made ſuch objections, ſowed ſuch diſſentions among the officers, and ſo confounded their
meaſures, that no plan could be propoſed, that did not meet with its cavillers and opponents.
Some, magnifying the ſtrength of the *Turkiſh* fleet, recommended caution, circumſpection,
and deliberate councils; others, on the contrary, were for giving battle at all events; and
this opinion they ſupported with arguments drawn from the neceſſity of affairs, the circum-
ſtances of both ſides, the honour of the Chriſtian fleet, the intention of the confederacy, and g
the articles of the treaty. To what purpoſe, ſaid they, have fleets and forces been collected

[c] Paruta, l. 2. Thuan. l. 49. [d] Thuan. l. 49. [e] Maurocen. l. 6.

together

a together from ſo many different countries? Is it that the *Venetians*, who were always ſuperior to danger while they confided in their own courage and virtue, ſhould be ruined by repoſing truſt in the moſt ſolemn engagements with their allies? Is it that they may become the jeſt of *Philip*, of Don *John*, and of mankind? They were therefore for fighting at all hazards:

THESE ſentiments were frequently repeated in council before a full aſſembly of general officers; and they were ſupported by the earneſt exhortations of the pope's legate on board, who gave them the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of victory, through the mediation of the prayers of his holineſs. At laſt, overcome with ſhame, Don *John* of *Auſtria* publicly gave orders that every thing ſhould be got ready for engaging. This order was received with the joyful *Don* John *reſolves to fight.*
b acclamations of the whole fleet, eſpecially of the *Venetians*, who wanted nothing ſo much as to revenge the many barbarities committed by the infidels. The prince examined the condition of every ſhip, the number of her crew, and the ſtate of her ſtores, arms, and proviſions, with a minute exactneſs. The *Venetian* fleet was found well provided in every thing, beſides men, of whom a great number had periſhed by ſickneſs. To remedy this deficiency, four thouſand of his troops, of whom fifteen hundred were *Italians*, were diſtributed among the *Venetian* gallies. The fleet was then drawn up in order of battle, in which manner it proceeded againſt the enemy, with all poſſible caution, in four diviſions, each diſtinguiſhed by a flag. Three diviſions compoſed the van: the fourth continued in the rear, ready to aſſiſt and ſuccour the parts hardeſt preſſed. The diviſion on the right, com-
c poſed of fifty gallies, was commanded by *Doria*: that on the left, conſiſting of an equal number, by *Agoſtino Barbarigo*: Don *John* himſelf kept the center; and the rear, conſiſting of thirty gallies, was committed to the conduct of *Alvaro Baſſiano*. Six large *Venetian* men of war were towed in front, two being placed before each diviſion to break the firſt effort of the enemy, and annoy them by their heavy artillery: ten gallies beſides were kept without the line, to provide for all ſudden emergencies, and againſt all accidents; and eight gallies were diſpatched, under *Colonna*, to reconnoitre the enemy, and bring advice of their diſpoſition [f].

IN this order the Chriſtian fleet arrived, on the eighteenth of *September*, at *Capo delle Colonne*, where they were detained for three days by contrary winds. *Venieri* propoſed they
d ſhould ſteer for *Cephalonia*, in order to intercept the *Turkiſh* fleet, which, from the lateſt accounts, was at *Corfu*, and by that means force them to engage. Don *John* was of a contrary opinion: he preferred ſailing directly to *Corfu* with the whole fleet; and his opinion prevailed. Accordingly *Baſſano* was diſpatched to *Tarento*, and *Canalis* to *Gallipoli*, with orders to take ſome troops on board at thoſe places, and proceed directly to *Corfu*. Then weighing from *Capo delle Colonne*, the fleet arrived in four days at *Corfu*. Thence proceeding to the continent, they put into the port of *Gominezze*, where they were joined by *Andrada*, who returned with advice, that the *Turks* were in the gulph of *Lepanto*, and had detached ſixty ſail either to *Conſtantinople* or the coaſt of *Barbary*, for corn and other proviſions.

e ALL this time the infidels exerted the utmoſt diligence in procuring intelligence, and *Preparations of the* Turks. ſtrengthening their fleet for action. Having ſome advice of the motions of the Chriſtians, the baſhaw returned to the fleet, recalled the piratical auxiliaries which he had diſmiſſed, and all the other ſquadrons detached on different purpoſes. *Caragiali* was intrepid enough to ſail in the night, with a ſmall ſquadron, through the combined fleet, to examine their number, ſituation, and deſigns. He even had the preſumption to land within ſhot of the allies, and take priſoners a body of ſoldiers, who ſtrolled about the ſhore, little ſuſpecting an enemy. From them the neceſſary intelligence was procured; upon which it was debated whether or no battle ſhould be offered. *Hali*, who was young, full of courage, ambitious of glory, and eager for an opportunity of diſtinguiſhing himſelf, adviſed, that the Chriſti-
f ans ſhould be attacked at all events. This opinion was ſupported by a great majority; but oppoſed by *Parthi*, whoſe age and experience rendered him more circumſpect. *Uluzzali* ſeemed neuter, fearful of diſobliging either of the commanders: his cunning, plauſibility, and ambiguous diſcourſe, ſtill more confounded the *Turkiſh* counſels, and fomented the diviſions among the admirals. Sometimes he would ſeem to incline to *Hali*'s opinion, as moſt becoming the dignity of ſo potent an emperor as *Selim*: again he would appear doubtful whether their force was equal to the importance and danger of the enterprize. This, he would ſay, was not his own opinion, but that of ſome experienced officers in the fleet, whom he did not chuſe to name: that the ſhips under his own conduct were well provided with men, arms, ammunition, and every thing fit to engage; but he was told it was not ſo in ſome
g other diviſions. He then added, that if his conduct hitherto was not a ſufficient ſecurity

[f] THUAN. l. 49.

for his fidelity, he was willing now to give more ample teſtimony in battle. After he had a
thus twiſted his ſentiments into all the circumvolutions and ambages of a ſly courtier, *Barbaroſſa*, the young dey of *Algier*, was called upon for his opinion. When this prince ſpoke, he magnified the vaſtneſs, power, and fortune of the *Othoman* empire; the diſcipline of the troops; the excellency of the officers, exalting them greatly above the effeminate, luxurious, emaſculated, and contentious Chriſtians, who were ſplit into various monarchies of ſeparate and contrary intereſts; and concluded with adviſing battle, with the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of victory. This, he ſaid, the emperor deſired; this at leaſt became his potency and grandeur; nor was it lawful to heſitate a moment where the honour of their great monarch was concerned: his moſt diſtant hints were to be regarded with that reverence and reſpect due to the Deity. b

*BARBAROSSA*'s ſentiments were ſeconded by thoſe of the greater number of the officers; but oppoſed by *Parthi*, ſangiack of *Negropont*, an officer who had gained great experience in naval affairs, and was poſſeſſed of an exquiſite judgment, devoid of all oſtentation, deceit, and vanity. He was an honeſt, virtuous, and brave mariner, who freely ſpoke his ſentiments, without regarding how they might be received by his ſuperiors. After refuting every thing advanced by *Barbaroſſa*, he aſked, Whether the Chriſtians had given any proofs of their effeminacy, debility, and cowardice, at *Famagoſta*, *Malta*, and other places? He aſked him, Whether the taking of the former was to be attributed to the *Turkiſh* bravery, or to the famine, ſickneſs, and every other evil that prevailed within the walls? He ſaid, that the Chriſtians had there exhibited proofs of intrepidity and conduct altogether amazing, c
and which ought to immortalize the memory of thoſe unfortunate heroes, who met with a fate which they ill merited. An overweening pride, a contempt of the enemy, he ſaid, and a ſelf-ſufficiency, were not the paths to victory and glory; but a true eſtimation of each, a judicious, impartial, and diſpaſſionate compariſon, which was the duty of a true general. The Chriſtians, he ſaid, were not ſo contemptible as to be overawed by the formidable name of the *Othoman* arms; they muſt be conquered by dint of ſuperior courage and ſtrength: nor was *Parthi* ſo to interpret his inſtructions, as raſhly to engage on unequal terms; a defeat was leſs for the honour of the great monarch than a prudent reſerve, and cautious refuſal of battle, the event of which might probably be diſgraceful and ruinous. A prince, he ſaid, could not be diſhonoured but by the raſhneſs or timidity of his generals; but theſe d
differed widely from true courage and prudence. A defeat would now ſully the glory of *Selim*, and rob him of the fruits of ſo many victories: he, therefore, adviſed that battle might be declined, as leſs hazardous and injurious to their affairs than inactivity, which was no more than a neceſſary relaxation after the toils of war. However, as this prudent advice was ſupported but by a few voices, *Parthi* ſaw himſelf under the neceſſity of taking meaſures, from which he perceived deſtruction would enſue: he remembered the diſgrace of *Pinalis* for a more trivial offence; and, with many ſobs and wailings, gave up his own judgment to the raſh impetuous torrent of juvenile councils, ſaying, he had rather periſh in the field than fall a ſacrifice to obloquy, the arts of envy, and the detraction of malevolence. To this he was the more induced by *Selim*'s laſt inſtructions, read by *Uluzzali* in council, e
for ſeizing the firſt opportunity of fighting the enemy [ε].

This reſolution being formed, *Mahomet*, who had ſtrenuouſly diſſuaded them from battle, was diſpatched into the inner parts of the gulph of *Lepanto*, to collect as many troops and ſhips as could poſſibly be got together. He drew from the neighbouring garriſons about four thouſand horſe, whom he diſmounted, and put on board the fleet. *Mahomet*, ſangiack of *Morea*, ſent fifteen hundred more horſe, after having diſmounted them, and altered their arms to that of infantry. After this *Caracoſa*, a renowned pirate, was ſent for intelligence.

*The confederacy among the Chriſtians almoſt broke off by a trivial occurrence.*

In the mean time, a trivial occurrence had like to have diſſolved the league, and given the *Turks* all the advantage they could deſire. One of the commiſſioners, a *Spaniard*, ap- f
pointed by Don *John* of *Auſtria*, for victualling the fleet, had conducted himſelf with great arrogance and ill manners towards many of the *Venetian* officers: upon which *Venieri* reprehended him gently; but the fellow retorting abuſe and ſcurrility, *Venieri* gave orders he ſhould be ſeized. The commiſſioner, aſſiſted by ſome other *Spaniards*, not only reſiſted, but ſlew the officer in the diſcharge of his duty, which ſo highly incenſed *Venieri*, that he ordered the commiſſioner and his accomplices immediately to be hanged at the yard-arm, without conſulting Don *John*. The *Spaniſh* general regarded this conduct as an inſult upon his authority; and his indignation received additional fuel from the remonſtrances of the *Spaniſh* officers, eſpecially *Doria*, who hoped from thence to breed ſuch diſſentions as might fruſtrate the reſolution of the council, and even diſſolve the confederacy. They inſiſted g
upon ſatisfaction; but the moderation and prudence of *Colonna* and *Barbarigo* healed the

ε Vide Aut. ſupra citat.

a wounds made by the impetuous and warm temper of *Venieri*, and baffled all the endeavours of *Doria* to bring this affair to an open rupture. They ſo ſtrongly recommended the neceſſity of unanimity to Don *John*, that he was reconciled to *Venieri*, and determined to proſecute the plan laid down in council [h].

But the *Spaniſh* officers, who were ever averſe to coming to a battle with the *Turks*, raiſed new cavils, by propoſing that the fleet ſhould inveſt ſome of the cities lately taken by the *Turks* on the coaſt of *Dalmatia*. This, they ſaid, would draw *Parthi* out of the gulph of *Lepanto* to the ſuccour of the place, when they could engage him to more advantage than in a narrow channel. Although this advice was plauſible, the *Venetians* eaſily perceived that the ultimate intention of it was to avoid battle: they therefore inſiſted on purſuing the former re-
b ſolution, and ſailing immediately to the mouth of the gulph, when, beyond doubt, the impatient and haughty diſpoſition of the *Turks* would induce them to come out and engage. A third propoſition was, that they ſhould lay aſide all contention about things of little importance, and unanimouſly attack *Navarra* and *Modon*, by the taking of which they would reap real utility and glory. It was probable that the *Turks* would attempt the relief of thoſe towns: if they did, there would be an opportunity of fighting; if not, the ſurrender of places ſo important would pave the way for an inſurrection in the *Morea*, where the inhabitants were quite oppreſſed with the galling yoke of ſervitude [i].

Agreeable to this propoſal, a reſolution was formed of ſailing directly to the *Morea*, and there determining operations by circumſtances. All things being got in readineſs, the
c fleet weighed from the coaſt of *Albania*, and ſailing in the order we have before deſcribed, purſued her courſe to *Cephalonia*, where the allies arrived about the time that *Hali*, carrying all before him in council, had gained a majority againſt *Parthi*, and carried the reſolution of fighting the Chriſtians. The ſame miſtake prevailed in both fleets, each imagining that the other would decline coming to action. When the *Turks* were at *Santa Maura*, the confederates lay at *Curſolari*; ſo that the enemy could be deſcried from the tops. Upon this Don *John* of *Auſtria*, by the advice of *Doria*, gave ſtrict orders to *Baſſano*, who commanded the reſerve ſquadron in the rear, by all means to avoid joining battle, until it was certain that the enemy had no ſeparate diviſion in reſerve. Then *Doria* extended his line on the right, *Barbarigo* doing the ſame on the left, and going as cloſe to the ſhore as the
d ſounding would permit it. The center was ranged by Don *John*, and the whole fleet diſpoſed in order of battle, without the leaſt confuſion or tumult. Immediately on the right of the royal galley which carried *John* of *Auſtria*, were ſtationed *Colonna* and the pope's ſquadron: on the left ſtood the *Venetians*, with two large *Venetian* men of war placed before each diviſion [k].

On the other hand, the *Turks*, ſeeing the Chriſtian fleet making ſail towards them, inſtantly cleared the ſhips, and made every thing ready to engage, with the greateſt alacrity, expedition, and good order. In the center *Parthi*, the high admiral, took his ſtation, having on both ſides one hundred and thirty gallies ranged in line of battle. At the diſtance of ſixty ſhips from his right, *Hali* took poſt with eighty gallies, which he drew up
e cloſe to the ſhore, to oppoſe *Barbarigo*. The ſangiack of *Alexandria* commanded in the right wing, and *Uluzzali* on the left, the whole fleet being ranged in a ſtraight line, contrary to the uſual cuſtom of the *Turks*, who generally form a creſcent. Both ſides appointed a certain number of light veſſels to ſail conſtantly round the fleets, to bring intelligence to the admirals of the ſtate of affairs. When the fleets approached within a ſmall diſtance, Don *John*, taking the confederate ſtandard in his hand, accompanied by *Venieri* and *Colonna*, went into a barge, and rowed round the fleet, exhorting and animating them to an exertion of their abilities and courage, which was anſwered by cheers over the whole line. Returning to his own ſhip, he made a ſhort ſpeech to the crew, of which they teſtified their applauſe by chearful ſhouts, which were ecchoed back by the fleet.

f On a ſudden the wind, which was hitherto adverſe to the Chriſtian fleet, ceaſed, and a perfect calm enſued: now it was that *Doria* was diſcovered to have changed the order of battle preſcribed. Inſtead of keeping the line, agreeable to orders, he turned the ſtems of his diviſion towards the ſhore on his right, to prevent being ſurrounded. This diſpoſition of *Doria*'s had almoſt been attended with ruinous conſequences, as it gave the *Turks* an opportunity of breaking the line, although his hiſtorian attributes it to the ſuperior abilities of his hero. The centers joined battle, the firſt onſet being ſuſtained by the large ſhips in front, who played furiouſly with their heavy artillery on the *Turkiſh* gallies. *Venieri* ſent ſome large gallies to ſupport them, and his example was happily followed by *Colonna*; for the enemy, unable to bear this vigorous charge, divided to the right and left, the greater
g part going to the right, which was oppoſed to *Barbarigo*, on whom they diſcharged ſhowers of arrows, which darkened the ſky, attended, after their barbarous manner, with ſhrieks

*The battle of* Lepanto.

[h] Thuan. l. 49. Parut. l. 2. [i] Maurocen. l. 5. [k] Thuan. ubi ſupra. Parut. ibid.

and

and ſhouts. Getting between *Barbarigo* and the ſhore, with ſome light gallies, they furiouſly attacked him in rear, front, and flank. This brave officer oppoſed them with equal courage, and ſuperior abilities, having often repulſed, broke, and put them in confuſion. Victory had like to have declared for him, when, after an obſtinate conflict, during which he diſtinguiſhed every quality of a great commander, he was ſhot in the eye, of which wound he died the following day [l]. a

In his place ſucceeded *Marino Contareni*, his nephew, and the rival of his virtues, who, after puſhing the advantages gained by *Barbarigo*, and putting the enemy to flight; after having driven ſome on ſhore, ſunk and diſabled others, was ſlain by an arrow; and with him fell *Viſconti Quirino*, and *Andrea Barbarigo*. Purſuing the victory, the next in command kept ſo conſtant a fire upon the enemy, that, deſerting their ſhips, they fled on ſhore, many being drowned endeavouring to eſcape, and the veſſels daſhed in pieces againſt the rocks. The ſame good fortune attended the center of the combined fleet, where hardly a *Turk* eſcaped, no friendly ſhore being near to afford them refuge. On the right, the battle was ſupported by *Doria* on the one ſide, and *Hali* on the other. The *Turks*, by his wrong diſpoſition, got between him and the center of the fleet, where a violent conflict enſued, *Doria* reſolving to cloſe the line, and prevent his being ſurrounded, which he effected after a hard ſtruggle, and great loſs on the ſide of the enemy. Two gallies, in which the ſons of the *Turkiſh* general fought, were taken. Notwithſtanding this deſign was fruſtrated, the battle was renewed with freſh vigour by *Venieri*, ſeconded by *Colonna*, *Matharin de l'Eſcut* (A), a *Frenchman*, and ſeveral other commanders, flying to his ſupport. Don *John* at the ſame time, chuſing four hundred of the flower of the regiment of *Sardinia*, and accompanied by *Lupo Fagoeroa*, and a body of the young grandees of *Spain*, made an attack on *Hali*, ſurrounded by four hundred janiſſaries, and one hundred archers. The charge was given and received with great vigour; the diſpute was long, obſtinate, and bloody; victory for a long while appeared doubtful, and both fleets ſeemed to refer the iſſue of their differences to the event of the engagement between the two admirals. All beſides *Venieri* were idle ſpectators; and both parties laboured under the moſt terrible anxiety and fear for their commanders, while none thought of ſupporting them, ſeeming to look upon it as a trial of valour. At length *Hali* was killed, and his galley taken by Don *John*; but not without very conſiderable loſs of officers and ſoldiers [m]. b c

Now the ſea, diſcoloured with blood, was covered with floating mangled bodies. The ſhips on both ſides were filled with the dreadful ſpectacle of heads, arms, and legs ſevered from their bodies. The ſky was darkened with clouds of ſmoke; and the ears ſtunned with the dreadful roar of cannon, the ſhrieks of miſerable wretches periſhing by fire, by water, and the ſword. d

*The* Turks *are defeated with prodigious ſlaughter.*

*PARTHI*, who had all this while been engaged in the hotteſt of the fight, was at laſt ſeparated from his diviſion, and ſingly encountered by four *Venetian* gallies. After he had maintained a ſharp conteſt till almoſt his whole crew was killed, he retired into a ſmall yacht he had prepared againſt extremities, and went off from the battle, leaving all his valuable effects a prey to the conquerors, and throwing out terrible execrations againſt *Hali*, and thoſe raſh counſellors who had reduced him to the neceſſity of flight. Of all the *Turkiſh* diviſion now only that under *Uluzzali* remained. This cunning officer, paſſing by *Doria* into the middle of the Chriſtian fleet, ſo contrived matters, that he could either engage or retreat at pleaſure. But when he perceived, by the imperial ſtandards being taken down, that *Hali* and *Parthi* were defeated, when the clouds of ſmoke were diſpelled, that he could plainly ſee the *Turkiſh* fleet deſtroyed, and the Chriſtians every where victorious, he then retired with precipitation. Some *Venetian* gallies that lay next him, obſerving his deſign, attacked him with great courage, imagining they ſhould be ſupported by *Doria*. They were greatly inferior in number and ſtrength to *Uluzzali*, having loſt more than half their complement of men in the former part of the action. However, determined to make up with courage what was wanting in power, the fight was maintained with fury, *Uluzzali* determining, at all hazards, to eſcape, and the *Venetians* fighting with expectation, that the arrival of *Doria* would ſoon relieve them: in which they were deceived, that treacherous admiral taking deſignedly a long ſweep, did not return, until he thought the *Venetians* muſt have been defeated, or the enemy ſo weakened as to become an eaſy prey. Obſerving this conduct, the *Venetians* placed their whole confidence in their own bravery, and determined rather to die than either yield, or leave an open paſſage to *Uluzzali*. The efforts they made were incredible, and ſuch as the *Turks* could not have withſtood, had they not been greatly ſuperior in number to their fatigued enemies. At length *Uluzzali* broke through, juſt as e f

[l] Maurocen. l. 6. et Aut. citat. [m] Paruta, l. 2. p. 2.

(A) *Matharin* was a knight of *Jeruſalem*, at this time in the ſervice of the pope. He had formerly ſpread terror over the Eaſt; inſomuch that for many years mothers uſed to frighten children with the terror of his name. *Thuan. l.* 49. *p.* 48.

*Doria*

a *Doria* came up with a ſerious intention of attacking the enemy; but it was too late: a high ſea riſing prevented his purſuing them; however, after recovering two *Venetian* gallies, which *Uluzzali*'s ſquadron was towing a-ſtern, he ſtood for the reſt of the fleet, having ſhamefully ended a battle, otherwiſe the moſt glorious upon record [n].

Such was the battle of *Lepanto*, in which it is difficult to ſay whether Don *John* of *Auſtria*, *Colonna*, or *Venieri*, proved themſelves the greateſt ſoldiers and commanders. Certain it is, that nothing could exceed the vigilance, conduct, and intrepidity of each. The *Venetian* diviſion had, indeed, ſupported the greater burthen of the engagement; but that was owing not to the fault of Don *John* or *Colonna*, but to the treachery of *Doria*, who almoſt the whole time kept aloof.

b The *Turks* likewiſe fought with incredible bravery, many gallies continuing the fight after almoſt the whole crews had been killed: others ſunk and periſhed by fire rather than ſtrike to the conquerors, and their fierceneſs remained after their power was extinguiſhed. About one hundred and thirty of their gallies were taken; the reſt of their fleet was either daſhed upon rocks, ſwallowed by the waves, or deſtroyed by fire, excepting about thirty ſhips, which *Uluzzali* carried back to *Conſtantinople*. Twenty-five thouſand of their men were killed, among whom were their two chief admirals, with many other officers of the firſt diſtinction; many were drowned, and about three thouſand five hundred were taken priſoners. On the ſide of the confederates, fifteen gallies were loſt, of which ten were *Venetian*; ten thouſand were ſlain in the action, or died of their wounds, which were unſkilfully
c treated. Among the latter was *Agoſtino Barbarigo*, whoſe prudence, experience, moderation, and courage, could not exempt him from that fate which his country and allies greatly lamented. His death, ſays *Thuanus*, was more than an equivalent for the liberty reſtored by his bravery to one thouſand two hundred Chriſtian captives in the *Turkiſh* fleet. Other officers of note likewiſe fell; but the grief on their account was abſorbed in the general joy for the victory, and mourning for the loſs of *Barbarigo* [o].

Next day, while the confederates were buſied in taking care of the wounded, a terrible ſtorm aroſe, which muſt have been attended with diſmal conſequences, had not Providence further diſplayed her goodneſs in ſecuring a ſafe harbour for the Chriſtian fleet, owing to a groſs miſtake the enemy committed in the beginning of the action. A perfect reconcilia-
d tion between Don *John* and *Venieri* was effected: theſe warriors had diſplayed to each other ſo many virtues and noble actions in the courſe of their late operations, that they were fired with a mutual eſteem, which buried their former animoſities in oblivion. Upon this occaſion a council of war was ſummoned, in which it was reſolved, that, conſidering the number of the wounded, the ſcarcity of proviſions, and the ſeaſon of the year was now far advanced, the moſt adviſeable meaſure was to lay up the fleet to the enſuing ſeaſon, when they could return with redoubled vigour upon action, after the ſeamen and ſoldiers were refreſhed, and their ſhips refitted. This reſolution was by many people condemned as imprudent and unſeaſonable. All was in confuſion at *Conſtantinople*; the *Turkiſh* navy was intirely ruined; their coaſts and iſlands naked, deſerted, and in the utmoſt conſternation, while the confede-
e rates rode triumphant in the *Archipelago* [p]. By purſuing their advantages, the haughty *Selim*, it was confidently aſſerted, muſt have ſued for peace before the ſpring: nothing could have withſtood an armament fluſhed with ſo glorious a victory, much leſs an enemy drooping under their defeat, and deſponding in adverſity as much as they tyrannized in proſperity. The chief blame fell upon *Venieri*, as the republic was the moſt intereſted in terminating the war: he ought, with all his might, to have oppoſed a meaſure ſo pernicious to his country, inſtead of ſupporting Don *John*, who was the great promoter. His unwillingneſs to keep the ſea was, by the ill-natured, attributed to his great tenderneſs and care of a ſlight wound received in the leg, which, ſaid they, made him tremble with horror at the ſight of a weapon: but ſuch reproaches were equally invidious and unjuſt. *Venieri* too well knew
f the grudge the *Spaniards* bore the *Venetians*; the unwillingneſs with which they were brought to engage; and that nothing beſides a prevailing notion that the *Turks* would refuſe battle, could have induced them to advance as far as the gulph of *Lepanto*. He now ſaw with what emulation they beheld the glory the republic acquired, and with what joy they would embrace any opportunity of obſcuring the luſtre of her reputation. Such allies were not greatly to be relied on; and to this rather than to his wound was the conduct of *Venieri* to be aſcribed: indeed it muſt be acknowledged, that his conduct in another reſpect is leſs excuſeable. *Filippo Bragadino* had been ſent by the ſenate, before they were informed of the victory, with thirteen large gallies, to reinforce the *Venetian* ſquadron; upon his arrival, he found that the *Turks* were utterly defeated. Lamenting his misfortune in loſing his ſhare
g in ſo glorious a victory, he requeſted of *Venieri* that he would permit him to purſue the flying enemy with fifty ſail, promiſing to give a good account of them, and likewiſe of ſeveral

Venieri *taxed with cowardice.*

[n] Thuan. l. 50. t. 3. [o] Maurocen. l. 6. Parut. l. 2. Baron. ſub A. 1571. [p] Parut. l. 2. Thuan. loc. cit.

*Turkiſh* provinces, which would probably be in the utmoſt conſternation after ſuch a defeat. a
He ſtrongly repreſented the advantages of ſuch an enterprize, and the probability of its ſucceſs; but *Venieri* was deaf to his remonſtrances, either from an apprehenſion of the dangers of the ſeaſon, or an unwillingneſs to commit that to the conduct of another, which he knew to be a duty incumbent on himſelf. Thus, between caution and envy, the faireſt opportunity for ending the war that ever could offer itſelf was loſt [q].

Don *John* having reſolved, agreeable to the reſolution of the council of war, to ſeparate from the *Venetians*, was intreated by *Venieri*, that an attempt ſhould firſt be made on *Santa Maura*. In compliance with this remonſtrance, he diſpatched certain gallies to examine the ſtrength and ſituation of the place, and in what ſpace of time it might probably be reduced. The captains of the gallies reported on their return, that probably fifteen or twenty b
days would finiſh the enterprize; upon which he dropt the deſign, ſaying that it was a paultry iſland, of too little conſequence to the confederates to merit the expence and trouble. His influence prevailed; and the whole fleet, without any further undertaking, ſet ſail in company for the iſland of *Corfu*, where they divided their plunder and conqueſts (B). From thence the eccleſiaſtical and *Spaniſh* fleets retired to *Meſſina*, which port they entered in triumph. After their departure, *Venieri* took *Margarit* near *Corfu*, granting their lives and liberty to the inhabitants, but burning and deſtroying the citadel. *Soppoto* was likewiſe ſeized by the *Albanians*, and put under the government of *Venice*; but it was ſoon recovered by *Selim* [r].

These places were of little conſequence; the opportunity of ſtriking a deciſive blow was c
now loſt. Had the combined fleet but appeared off the *Morea*, the *Greeks* would have been delivered from ſlavery: a general diſaffection to the *Turkiſh* government appeared among them, and they expected nothing leſs than the recovery of their liberty, as an immediate conſequence of the victory of *Lepanto*. They requeſted Don *John* that he would but approach ſo near the ſhore as to let his ſhadow be ſeen in the *Morea*, which, they ſaid, was ſufficient to terrify the *Turks* into ſubmiſſion, and reſtore them to their priſtine happineſs. Certain it is, that great advantages might have been gained by a vigorous proſecution of the terror they had ſtruck all over the *Othoman* empire. Inſtead of this, the time was conſumed in vain-glorious triumphs, ovations, and ambaſſies [s] (C).

But the winter was employed on both ſides with freſh preparations for the enſuing cam- d
paign: *Selim* was at *Adrianople* when the news of the defeat arrived; upon which he ſet out with the utmoſt expedition to *Conſtantinople*, to prevent all tumults and diſturbances, the ſure conſequence of diſappointments in the *Othoman* empire. Here he conducted, with the aſſiſtance of the wiſe *Mahomet* his grand vizier, every thing with ſuch prudence, ſpirit, and reſolution, that all was quiet; no revolts appeared among the janiſſaries, and nothing but a ſpirit of revenge, and the utmoſt diligence in equipping a new fleet, in augmenting the garriſons on the coaſts, caſting of ordnance, and other military preparations, was beheld. *Uluzzali*'s reception was, contrary to expectation, extremely gracious: *Selim* thanked him for his bravery in the action, and prudence in bringing ſafe back the diviſion of the fleet under his care. In this he acted like a ſound politician; for *Uluzzali*'s influence and character e
were at leaſt equal to his abilities; nor could any thing more encourage the troops than to have the commander applauded, whoſe conduct had ſaved the only remnant of the *Turkiſh* power [t].

*Great preparations made on both ſides.*

His holineſs and the republic, on the other hand, omitted nothing which could unite more ſtrongly the preſent confederacy, as well as increaſe its power, by the addition of new allies. The cardinal *Alexandrino* had conſtantly reſided at the court of *Philip*, to keep him ſteady to his engagements, and to his weight was joined that of the *Venetian* reſident. As ſoon as advice of the victory arrived, they both waited on his catholic majeſty, to congra-

[q] Maurocen. l. 6. [r] Paruta, l. 2. p. 2. [s] Baron. Eccleſ. ſub hoc. Ann. [t] Thuan. ibid.

(B) The ſpoils were divided in the following manner: *Philip*, for his ſhare, had fifty-eight gallies, ſix galliots, ſixty-eight large cannon, eight bombs, and one hundred and twenty-eight light artillery, with one thouſand ſeven hundred and thirteen priſoners. To the *Venetians* was given a portion agreeable to the number and ſtrength of their ſhipping. They had for their ſhare forty-four gallies, a number of galliots and galeaſſes, one hundred and thirty-one pieces of cannon of various ſizes, with one thouſand one hundred and ſixty-two priſoners. That of his holineſs was the ſmalleſt, but the moſt honourable, as among his priſoners he reckoned *Achmet* and *Mahomet*, the ſons of *Hali*. The eccleſiaſtical ſhare amounted to twenty-one gallies, with a proportion of ſmaller veſſels, fifty-four pieces of artillery of different ſizes, and eight hundred and eighty-one priſoners. *Vide Paruta, loc. cit. Thuan.*

(C) The ſophi of *Perſia* ſeemed to entertain no unjuſt notion of the mutual loſſes of the *Turks* and Chriſtians. When the pope's ambaſſador acquainted him of the total deſtruction of the *Turkiſh* fleet, he asked if there were no more trees in the *Othoman* dominions? The ambaſſador anſwered there were; but ſtill enlarged on the irreparable damage *Selim* had ſuſtained, thinking thereby to induce the ſophi to invade his dominions. To all which this ſagacious prince anſwered, that by deſtroying *Selim*'s fleet the Chriſtians had cut off his beard; but they had loſt an arm in loſing *Cyprus*. *Baron. ſub hoc Ann.*

tulate

a tulate him on ſo glorious an event, owing chiefly to the irreſiſtible power of his majeſty's arms. Thence they proceeded to lay before him how ſoon the *Othoman* empire might be cruſhed by a ſeaſonable and vigorous exertion of the confederate power; but *Philip* was ſtill ſlow in his meaſures, and ready of his promiſes. The war in the *Low Countries*, a threatening rupture with *France*, as well as a general diſlike and jealouſy of the *Venetians* that prevailed in his army, raiſed numberleſs difficulties, which all the addreſs of the pope and ſenate found no eaſy matter to remove. *Venieri*, that no diſpute on his account might ariſe, was deprived of his command, and *Foſcareni* appointed by the ſenate in his room. Immediately after his promotion, he was diſpatched into *Spain*, with full powers to ſettle what plan of operations was thought neceſſary by *Philip* and Don *John* of *Auſtria*. But the
b firſt ſtep was to engage the *Spaniards* heartily in the alliance; in which *Suranza* laboured with the diligence and addreſs of an able and honeſt miniſter [u]. An ambaſſador was likewiſe ſent to the emperor, to try, if poſſible, to move him to break the truce with *Selim*. The *Venetian* was ſoon followed thither by the pope's legate, who was no leſs aſſiduous than the ſenate in ſtirring up a formidable confederacy againſt the *Turks*; but their zeal was not attended with the expected ſucceſs: the emperor had too often experienced the power of the *Turks*, to imagine it would ſink under one defeat, and the deſtruction of a ſingle fleet. Their great ſtrength, and vaſt reſources of men and money, conſiſted in the prodigious extent of their dominions on the continent, and not in their commerce, fleets, or iſlands. He therefore anſwered the ambaſſadors with aſſurances of a ſincere regard for the pope and
c republic; but that his circumſtances would not admit of exhibiting proofs detrimental to his own intereſt, and the good of the empire. His treaſury, he ſaid, was low; breaking with the *Turks* would give the Proteſtants an opportunity of raiſing new diſturbances: in ſhort, engaging in the confederacy would equally, he alleged, expoſe his own dominions to *Turks* and Chriſtians, and at a time when he was leaſt able to reſiſt either. He therefore adviſed the ambaſſadors to apply to other princes, and particularly to the king of *Poland*, whoſe vicinity to the *Othoman* empire and power would render his alliance more valuable. Their endeavours he promiſed to ſecond with all his influence; for which purpoſe he ſent an ambaſſador to *Warſaw*: but neither in *Poland* nor *Ruſſia* were their negotiations ſucceſsful [w].

d At this time pope *Pius* the fifth died, and was ſucceeded by *Gregory* the thirteenth, whoſe inclinations to the confederacy were not yet known. This was a real affliction to the *Venetians*: it diſconcerted their meaſures, as his holineſs had warmly eſpouſed their cauſe againſt the *Turks*, and left nothing uneſſayed to humble the pride, and reduce the power, of that empire. *Colonna* had quitted *Rome*, to get the fleet in readineſs, when an expreſs was ſent after him to acquaint him with the pope's death, and the expiration of his commiſſion. Upon this, he returned to congratulate *Gregory* upon his acceſſion, and had the addreſs to procure himſelf continued in the command, and the former meaſures embraced, of which he immediately ſent notice to *Venice*: however, it was the month of *June* before theſe armaments were ready to put to ſea from *Meſſina*. Here too *John* of *Auſtria*, having aſſembled
e certain *Italian*, *Spaniſh*, and *German* regiments, embarked them in a ſquadron of twenty-two gallies, which he diſpatched to *Corfu*. They were ſoon joined by twenty-five gallies under *Suranza*, whom *Foſcareni* the admiral had ſent for the execution of ſome enterprize. *Suranza*, agreeable to his orders, laid his inſtructions before *Colonna*, and *Andrada* the *Spaniſh* admiral. He found *Colonna* eager to enter upon action; but *Andrada* full of grave excuſes, and wiſe maxims on the neceſſity of deliberation. At length, being hard preſſed by *Colonna* and *Suranza*, he replied, that his inſtructions forbad him to leave *Corfu* without further orders: he expected to be reinforced by the fleet collecting by *Alvaro Baſſano* at *Meſſina*, after which he muſt wait the iſſue of the troubles in *Navarre* [x].

*Quarrels between the* Venetian *and* Spaniſh *officers.*

Upon this, the *Venetians* exclaimed loudly againſt the *Spaniards*: they complained of
f being ſacrificed to the pride, the politics, and the jealouſy, if not the hatred, of *Philip* and his miniſtry. Upon their great promiſes, they ſaid, they had engaged the republic in this war; yet, as ſoon as the ſeaſon for action arrived, their dilatorineſs and treachery left her to ſhift for herſelf. Under *Doria*, the firſt year of the war, this was apparently the caſe; nor were affairs altered much for the better the following: *Famagoſta* was loſt, and in conſequence the kingdom of *Cyprus*, before they were ready to put to ſea; and afterwards they were, in a manner, compelled and deluded into the moſt glorious victory that had ever been obtained over the *Turkiſh* power. The *Venetians* even aſſerted, that Don *John*'s conduct had been blamed by the miniſtry, and greater part of the *Spaniſh* nation: they ſaid, that no arguments,
g no proſpects, no ambition, or thirſt of glory, ought to have induced him to hazard a fleet, upon the ſafety of which ſo much depended. So far did ſome perſons carry this notion, as to aſſert, that he ought to have been puniſhed for his temerity: but now, cried the *Venetians*, the *Spaniſh* conduct is too barefaced to leave any doubts of their inclinations to ſee the republic impoveriſhed and reduced by a war, of which ſhe is the chief ſupport, and in which ſhe is

[u] Paruta, ibid. [w] Thuan. ubi ſup. [x] Paruta, l. 3. Thuan. l. 54. t. 3.

the chief ſufferer. Their pretended apprehenſions of diſturbances in *Lombardy* were too groſs to impoſe on the ſenate; nor were thoſe other excuſes better founded, which ſet forth the neceſſity of preparing againſt a change of meaſures in the conſiſtory, by the acceſſion of a new pontiff: his holineſs's views were obvious from his conduct. Upon the whole, the *Venetians* concluded, that jealouſy was the only ſpring of action in the *Spaniſh* cabinet: it was therefore high time to regard their own ſecurity, and break off an alliance productive of nothing but infamy, treachery, and poverty. For theſe reaſons it was propoſed, and ſoon carried in the ſenate, that *M. Antonio Barbaro* ſhould again renew his negotiations of peace with *Mahomet* the grand vizier, and bring things as near a criſis as he poſſibly could, without actually concluding the treaty, until he had acquainted the republic with the terms granted. At the ſame time it was decreed to ſend *John Michaeli* into *France*, and *Antonio Tiepoli* into *Spain*, both men of experience and great eloquence. The buſineſs of the firſt was to diſſuade his Chriſtian majeſty from breaking with *Spain*, as it was currently believed he intended, both by aſſiſting the Proteſtants in the *Netherlands*, and by entering with an army into *Lombardy*. As for *Tiepoli*, his inſtructions were to excite *Philip* to perform his engagements, and not to ſuffer a war, begun with great expectations, and conducted with ſome ſucceſs, to languiſh through indolence and inactivity [x].

*Negotiations for a peace between the ſenate and* Selim.

*BARBARO* entered immediately upon the ſubject of his inſtructions with *Mahomet:* he found that ſage miniſter equally inclined to peace, as he had always been averſe to a war with the republic. Theſe, notwithſtanding the great preparations, were the general ſentiments of the divan and the whole *Turkiſh* empire: however, *Mahomet* deferred giving a concluſive anſwer, until the arrival of the *French* ambaſſador, the biſhop of *Aix*. The truth was, the *Turkiſh* miniſtry carefully watched the progreſs of the confederacy, determining to take their meaſures either hoſtile or pacific accordingly. Before it was known that the emperor had refuſed to break the alliance; that the *Spaniſh* councils were as dilatory and ſluggiſh as formerly; that the *Poles*, the *Portugueſe*, and the *Ruſſians*, had declined entering upon any engagements; they ſeemed to liſten with pleaſure to the reſident's propoſals. Afterwards, when the ſentiments of thoſe different courts came to be known, and that the *Venetians* alone muſt ſupport the whole war, they roſe in their demands, talked with the imperious air of conquerors, and in a ſtrain ſo big, that they ſeemed to have forgot their late diſgrace. The conſequence was, that every proſpect of peace vaniſhed, and the ſenate again determined to proſecute the war with all poſſible vigour [y].

In the beginning of *July*, *Colonna* was joined at *Corfu* by the reſt of the eccleſiaſtical fleet, on board of which were ſeveral of the young nobility of *France*, who deſired leave to ſerve againſt the *Turks* under ſo diſtinguiſhed an officer as *Colonna*. Among others was *Charles Lorraine*, marquis *de Mayenne*, brother to the duke of *Guiſe*. This volunteer the *Venetians* complimented with the honour of nobility, the higheſt mark of diſtinction the republic ever confers on a foreigner. The whole fleet being joined, they ſet ſail for *Gomminize*, where a ſurvey was taken of their ſtrength, which was found to amount to one hundred and forty gallies. Don *John* had in the mean while left *Meſſina*, and arrived at *Palermo*; whence he diſpatched letters to the confederates, acquainting them, that his inſtructions were to join them as ſoon as the ſtorm apprehended from *France* was blown over. He ſtrongly recommended to *Colonna* to enter upon no enterprize before the whole allied fleet was united. Again the *Venetians* uttered loud complaints againſt this extraordinary method of proceeding: new obſtructions were eternally raiſing, and by that means the ſacred faith of treaties, if not openly broken, were at leaſt rendered unfruitful. It was now full time that the fleets ſhould be joined, if Don *John* did not deſire that *Candia* ſhould ſhare the ſame fate as *Cyprus*. *Andrada* himſelf was ſo confounded with their reproaches, and the barefaced conduct of the *Spaniſh* miniſtry, that he propoſed the fleet ſhould ſail to join Don *John*.

Mean time *Tiepoli*, finding that the intention of his inſtructions was effected before he arrived in *France*, ſet out without delay to the court of *Philip*. As all apprehenſions of an attack from *France* were removed, he imagined *Philip* would now be aſhamed longer to defer the junction of the fleets. When he waited on the monarch, he laboured with all the arguments of reaſon and oratory to quicken the meaſures of the court, and procure orders for Don *John*'s entering upon action, and eſtabliſh a footing for the winter in the *Turkiſh* dominions. To all this the king anſwered with ſmooth ſpeeches and ſoothing promiſes. As to the wintering, it required deliberation, he ſaid; but he would return an anſwer in a few days, which accordingly he did in the negative, calling it a raſh, precipitate, and imprudent meaſure.

No ſooner were the *Venetians* apprized of *Philip*'s anſwer, than their inclinations to peace grew ſtronger, and were increaſed by the ambiguous reply with which their ambaſſador *Michaeli* was diſmiſſed by the king and queen of *France*, *viz.* that the king beſt knew his own affairs; however, that he would act no ways prejudicial to the common intereſts of *Chriſtendom*, or the particular intereſt of the republic, whom he greatly valued and eſteemed.

[x] Paruta, l. 3. [y] Thuan. l. 54. Maurocen. l. 8.

This

a This was in anſwer to the public inſtructions of *Michieli*; but the real motive of his ambaſſy was to procure the king's mediation with *Selim*, by means of his miniſter at the *Porte*; in which he ſucceeded, his majeſty promiſing to engage heartily in the buſineſs, but with the neceſſary delicacy and ſecrecy, to avoid giving umbrage to *Philip*.

DURING theſe negotiations, the fleet, as had been propoſed by *Andrada*, ſet ſail from *Corfu* for *Candia*. When they arrived at *Cephalonia*, ſome ſcouts were ſent to bring intelligence of the enemy: theſe ſoon returned, with advice of their being in the gulph of *Napoli*, in the *Morea*, to the number of two hundred and twenty ſail. Upon this, the confederates ſteered to *Cerigo*, where the enemy were deſcried from the tops, and the fleet in conſequence drawn up in order of battle. When they had approached ſo near as to diſcover each other
b diſtinctly, the *Turks* ſuddenly changed their courſe, and, tho' greatly ſuperior in ſtrength, declined battle, after ſome ſhot had been exchanged: nor did the confederates care to purſue, contenting themſelves with the glory of having offered battle to *Uluzzali*. The *Turks* ſteering weſterly, the confederates ſent an expreſs to Don *John*, who, it was ſuppoſed, muſt be arrived at *Corfu*, to requeſt that he would immediately join them with his fifty-three gallies, which would give the Chriſtians a ſuperiority over the enemy. To haſten this deſign, they turned their courſe towards *Corfu*, in order to meet him on his way. Next day, off *Capo Motapan*, they were again ſeen by the *Turks*, who leaving off watering, immediately prepared for battle. The combined fleet did not decline action; for crowding ſail, they bore down on the enemy with a favourable breeze, which ceaſed before they came within
c ſhot: upon this the gallies were ordered to uſe their oars, and take the heavy ſhips in tow. *Uluzzali*, in order to ſeparate the combined gallies from the heavy ſhips, made a feint as if he declined battle: this had its effect; for *Suranza* ordered the gallies to part with the ſhips in tow, and purſue the enemy. As ſoon as *Uluzzali* perceived them to be at a ſufficient diſtance for his purpoſe, he ordered his rowers to puſh with all their might, which they did ſo effectually as actually to divide the fleet. *Suranza* now perceived his error, and endeavoured to retrieve it: both he and *Colonna* attacked the *Turks* with ſuch fury on one ſide, while the heavy ſhips kept a briſk fire on the other, that *Uluzzali* did not think fit to hazard a general action, or wait the fruits of his ſtratagem: he ſtood aloof, and both the fleets continued for the ſpace of two hours cannonading at a diſtance, without coming to cloſe fight, after which
d they ſteered a different courſe, as if the engagement had broke off by mutual conſent.

BY this time Don *John* was arrived at *Corfu*, from whence he ſteered to *Lepanto*; but the wind proving adverſe, he returned again to *Corfu*, where he met with the expreſs from *Colonna*. *Pardo*, who bore this commiſſion, acquainted his highneſs of the combined fleet's having met *Uluzzali*, and offered battle, which, he believed, they had ſince accepted, from a briſk diſcharge of artillery he heard at ſea, on his courſe to *Corfu*. Don *John* was greatly diſturbed at this account, to bring certain advice of which he diſpatched *Baſſano* with two galliots. *Baſſano* ſoon diſcovered a fleet a-head, and miſtaking it for the *Turkiſh*, returned with the utmoſt precipitation to *Corfu*, where he put every thing in commotion by a falſe alarm, which was in vain contradicted by the *Venetian* pilots on board, until the arrival of the Chriſ-
e tian fleet next day confirmed the pilots aſſertion, to the great confuſion of *Baſſano*. *Foſcareni* had now joined the fleet with a reinforcement; ſo that the confederates were equal in every reſpect to the enemy. He and *Colonna* were for going in queſt of the *Turks*; but Don *John*, as if he had direct orders to oppoſe every propoſition for the honour and intereſt of the confederacy, was perpetually raiſing new obſtructions. Among others, he alledged, the *Venetian* diviſion was unfit for action, on account of the ſmall number of mariners on board. To this *Foſcareni* replied with indignation, that it would not appear to be ſo from their having twice, without his aſſiſtance, offered battle. *Colonna*'s interpoſition and prudence prevented the breach from becoming wider, and obtained a reſolution in a council of war, that they ſhould look out for the enemy; that, for the greater expedition, the heavy
f ſhips ſhould be ſent to *Zant*, there to wait further orders; and, in ſhort, that every expedient ſhould be uſed to redeem the time loſt, and reſtore the credit of the Chriſtian arms.

*Don John joins the confederate fleet, and takes the command.*

ACCORDINGLY the whole fleet weighed anchor, and ſteered for *Cephalonia*. Here they were informed, that ſickneſs prevailing among the *Turks*, had compelled *Uluzzali* to put into the port of *Quaglia* in a diſtreſſed condition. *Foſcareni* and *Colonna* were for attacking them without loſs of time, and the propoſal was ſo reaſonable, that Don *John* could not refuſe his aſſent. However, he found means to fruſtrate the intention of the reſolution, by conſuming two complete days in making unneceſſary diſpoſitions, and examining minutely the condition of each veſſel. In vain did the other officers repreſent that the opportunity would be loſt; Don *John* calmly replied, that the events of battle were ſo precarious, that
g too much caution could not be uſed in guarding againſt them. At laſt he weighed, and the pilots had orders to ſteer to *Modon*; but whether by ſecret directions or miſtake is uncertain, they brought the fleet to *Rodona*. Here they were wholly expoſed to the enemy's view, which put them upon uniting their fleet, which before lay in two different harbours; pro-

*Colonna's bravery, and the miſconduct of the other confederate officers.*

viding every thing againſt an attack, and taking ſuch meaſures as muſt greatly diſconcert the a
Chriſtians. *Colonna* was the firſt who diſcovered the miſtake; upon which, without ſtaying
for orders, he bore down upon a part of the *Turkiſh* fleet that fell about a mile a-ſtern.
Here he began an engagement, imagining he ſhould be ſupported by the reſt of the fleet;
but finding no proſpect of relief, he retreated. *Foſcareni* did all in his power to prevail on
Don *John* either to permit him with his diviſion to aſſiſt *Colonna*, or to advance with the
whole combined fleet; both which he peremptorily refuſed. In this manner was the happy
occaſion loſt of ruining the *Turkiſh* navy; after which, warm diſputes aroſe concerning the
plan of their future operations [z]. It was on all hands agreed that *Modon* was to be attacked;
but *Colonna* and *Doria* differed in the manner: the former was for attacking it both by ſea
and land; the latter with the land-forces only. Each ſupported their ſentiments with ſtrong b
arguments, and equal vehemence: with *Colonna* ſided the *Venetians*; and with *Doria* all the
*Spaniſh* officers. In theſe debates ſo much time was loſt, that Don *John* propoſed returning
to winter at *Meſſina*. This drove the *Venetians* into deſpair: they railed, without modera-
tion or caution, againſt the treachery of the *Spaniards*; they ſaid they were betrayed to the
enemy, and made the tools of their allies. Don *John* was cut with theſe reproaches, which
he could not avoid, although he knew them to be juſt. In his heart he approved the con-
duct of *Colonna* and the *Venetians*; but his inſtructions tied him up from entering upon ſuch
enterprizes as were ſuitable to his own ſpirit, and the common intereſt. At laſt the fleet
was brought before *Navarrino*, which he determined to batter, rather for want of any other
reaſonable meaſure, than that he thought the place of conſequence enough. The troops and c
cannon were landed, batteries were erected under the conduct of *Bonello*, a celebrated en-
gineer of *Florence*, and every thing diſpoſed for a cloſe aſſault; but, by an omiſſion of the
beſiegers, a body of five hundred choſen troops were thrown into the town.

THIS miſconduct on the ſide of the Chriſtians was compenſated by other blunders, no leſs
groſs, committed by the *Turks*. *Cuſhain* baſhaw, and the beglerbeg of *Greece*, having been
apprized by *Uluzzali* ſome months before of the probability that the Chriſtians would make
a deſcent on this place, neglected, notwithſtanding, to aſſemble an army for its protection.
They had now made ſeveral forced marches to relieve the garriſon; but they were retarded
by the difficulty of the roads, and a variety of councils. Theſe two generals blamed *Uluz-*
*zali* for not covering the place with his fleet; and this, he knew, would be ſufficient to diſ- d
grace him with *Selim*. At length *Navarrino* was reduced to the laſt extremity, when ſud-
denly a violent ſtorm of rain came on, which continuing for three days, greatly harraſſed
the beſiegers. This incident afforded the *Spaniards* an opportunity of abandoning an en-
terprize, in which they were never hearty. A council was called, and Don *John* remon-
ſtrated, in the ſtrongeſt terms, the neceſſity of raiſing the ſiege, before ſickneſs, the natu-
ral conſequence of lying upon wet ground, and under deluges of rain, ſhould ſeize the
troops. The *Venetians*, on the contrary, oppoſed this reſolution with all their power: they
ſaid it would bring eternal diſgrace on the confederacy to raiſe the ſiege, when the town was
ready to ſurrender for want of neceſſaries, and while the beſiegers abounded with proviſions,
men, and ammunition: but Don *John* perſiſted in his reſolution, which was accordingly e
put in execution. What adds to the diſgrace of the confederates is the diſtreſs to which
the army under the baſhaw, the fleet commanded by *Uluzzali*, and the town, were reduced.
So far had *Uluzzali*'s apprehenſions of receiving condign puniſhment carried him, that he
went off to *Barbary* with twenty-five ſail, leaving the reſt of the fleet to ſhift for themſelves.
So ill informed was he of the Chriſtian councils, that he imagined nothing could ſave the
place, for which he doubted not but his head muſt be anſwerable. In this manner ended a
campaign, which produced nothing but diſgrace, altercation, and a prodigious expence,
though the allies might eaſily have terminated the war, had they acted according to their
ſtrength, ſkill, and with the requiſite harmony and unanimity [a].

As ſoon as the ſiege was raiſed, the fleets ſeparated: Don *John*, with the *Spaniards*, re- f
tired to *Meſſina*: *Colonna*, with his diviſion, ſet out directly for *Oſtia*; while the *Venetian* admi-
ral ſailed to the gulph of *Catharra*, to make an attempt upon a magazine the *Turks* had
erected upon that coaſt. It was given out on all ſides, that the war would be reſumed with
the utmoſt vigour early in the following ſpring, at the ſame time that negotiations for a peace
were going on between *Selim* and the republic, by means of the *French* ambaſſador. The *Ve-*
*netians* had now too many aſſurances of the inclinations of *Philip*, to heſitate longer upon
ſecuring the beſt terms they could with the Grand Seignior. This point was therefore dili-
gently laboured for the whole winter, and at length brought to an iſſue leſs conſonant to
the ſpirit and juſtice of the republic, than to the circumſtances of her affairs. Peace was
concluded, upon condition that *Cyprus*, as by right of conqueſt, *Antivari*, *Delvino* in *Alba-*
*nia*, and *Soppoto*, by treaty, ſhould for ever be ceded to *Selim*. It was further articled, that
thirty thouſand crowns in gold ſhould, at certain inſtalments, be paid to *Selim*, to reimburſe

A. D. 1573. *Peace concluded between the* Turks *and* Venetians.

[z] Aut. citat. ubi ſupra. [a] PAPUTA, l. 3. MAUROCEN. l. 9. THUAN. l. 54.

him

a him for the expences of the war; after which, each ſhould be reſtored to all their former poſſeſſions, the priſoners exchanged, and the merchants reinſtated in their former privileges of commerce. *Andrea Badoario* was ſent in quality of ambaſſador from the republic to *Conſtantinople*, to confirm the treaty, which was ratified without conſulting his holineſs, and carefully concealed from *Philip*, until it was finally concluded. In their own defence, the *Venetians* urged the neceſſity of a meaſure wholly owing to *Philip*, and the reluctance he had ever ſhewn to comply with his engagements. This apology was ſent to their ambaſſadors at different courts; in which they warmly exclaimed againſt the inactivity, and even the treachery of *Philip*, which had rendered neceſſary a ſtep equally prejudicial to them, and ignominious to the Chriſtian arms. They affirmed, that inevitable ruin hung over their
b heads, after having long ſupported ſingly an unequal war againſt the moſt powerful monarch on earth; their treaſury was now exhauſted; their men worn out by fatigue and ſickneſs; their ſhips diminiſhed in number, and the greater part unfit for ſervice; while the poverty of the people, from a ſtagnation of commerce, rendered them unable to bear further aſſeſſments. They even endeavoured to prove the expediency of this peace to the ſafety of *Italy*, and of *Europe* in general; arguing that, if the republic was deſtroyed, *Selim* would then have the key of *Chriſtendom* in his own hand, and eaſily extend his conqueſts to the utmoſt of his ambition [b].

In order to quiet the pope's clamours, *Nicholao Ponti*, a man of conſummate wiſdom, eru-
c dition, and eloquence, was ſent to *Rome*; but his holineſs, after denying him a private audience, diſmiſſed him with a ſharp reprimand delivered in the conſiſtory. However, *Suranzo*, the *Venetian* miniſter at *Madrid*, had better fortune. Either the politics of *Philip* required his being upon good terms with the republic, or his conſciouſneſs of giving birth to the meaſures they were excuſing, made him willing to admit of their apology. After receiving *Suranzo* with the greateſt affability, he told him, that only his attachment to religion, his affection for the republic, and regard to the pope's entreaties, had induced him to take arms againſt the *Turks*: that it was but reaſonable the republic ſhould be permitted to know her own intereſt. She was principal in the war, and he, as an ally only, ought to be ſatisfied with ſuch terms as ſhe choſe to accept. Sufficient it was for him, he ſaid, that he had given proofs of his friendſhip to *Venice*, and of his zeal for the ſupport of the Chriſ-
d tian religion. With this anſwer *Suranzo* was diſmiſſed, his Catholic majeſty conducting himſelf upon this occaſion with an uncommon moderation, ſcarcely conſiſtent with the high hand he bore during the war [c].

In this manner was the year 1573 conſumed in negotiations and treaties, while the republic was at all the expence of a vigorous war, by maintaining large fleets, and numerous garriſons. The conjectures of the divan upon the ſudden reſolution of the ſenate to ſue for peace, were various. Some imagined that a deep deſign lay concealed under the pretence of moderation; and that nothing leſs than an intention of ſeizing the firſt opportunity of glutting their revenge could oblige the ſenate ſo eaſily to part with *Cyprus*, and the cities ceded by the treaty. Rumors of this nature prevailed for ſeveral months, and forced the
e republic to repoſe little confidence in a peace ſo ill founded.

At length they were eaſed of their apprehenſions by diſpatches from *Badoario*, with a full confirmation of all the articles of the treaty, ratified by the hand and ſeal of the Grand Seignior. Upon this the ſenate aſſembled, and reſolved to acquaint all their reſidents at foreign courts of the event. An immediate reſpite from the fatigues of war, and preparations for a vigorous reſiſtance, enſued, and the republic was once more reſtored to tranquility; yet did *Selim* continue augmenting his armies and fleet, which gave umbrage and ſuſpicion to ſome of the more cautious members of the ſenate: others, indeed, imagine, that *Selim* propoſed renewing the war with *Spain* in *Africa*. The ſecret grudge he bore to *Philip*, both on account of his perſecuting the *Moors*, and acceding to the late alliance to oppoſe him, ren-
f dered this opinion extremely probable. It was ſoon confirmed by the arrival of a *Turkiſh* ambaſſador, who, in a ſecret audience, acquainted the doge and council, that his inſtructions were to make an offer of all the *Othoman* forces to curb the inſolence of *Philip*, revenge the affronts ſuſtained by the republic, and reduce that haughty monarch within reaſonable limits. He then launched out into ſevere invectives againſt the Catholic king, bitterly reproaching him with perfidy, ambition, and tyranny: 'Who,' ſaid he, 'can doubt that the 'Turkiſh empire muſt have ſuffered greater damages from the *Venetian* bravery, unleſs it had 'been ſapped, betrayed, and checked by the policy and envy of *Philip*? Who doubts but 'the ultimate views of his cabinet terminate in univerſal monarchy, and the deſtruction of 'Chriſtian liberty? This, ſaid he, *Selim* perfectly well knows, and generouſly offers
g 'himſelf to ſtem the torrent of ambition, and ſhield innocence and freedom. The virtue 'of the *Venetians* has made him forget that they were lately his enemies. Great minds are 'ſoon united, and their differences, like the quarrels of lovers, ſerve only the more firmly

Turkiſh *ambaſſador comes to* Venice.

[b] Maurocen. l. 10. [c] Parut. l. 3.

'to

'to rivet their affections. *Selim* wants not to enlarge his territories; he aſpires not after 'conqueſts. The burthen of his dominions, ſo widely extended from weſt to eaſt, is already 'too great for mortal man to ſupport. Whatever his arms ſhall ſubdue, the *Venetians* may 'look upon as the property of the republic: their wiſe government merits more extenſive 'diſtricts, if it were only to encreaſe the happineſs of mankind.' He then exhorted them not to loſe ſo favourable an opportunity of glory, of wealth, and of eſtabliſhing their government on the moſt ſure foundation; of trampling upon uſurpation, and ſtanding up in defence of freedom [d]. With ſuch blandiſhments did the *Turk* endeavour to flatter her paſſions, and lead the republic into his maſter's views by a gentle compulſion; but the ſenate was not to be catched by ſweet words, and ſoothed into meaſures ruinous of the peace they had ſo lately purchaſed; for by them the affair was referred to the council of ten (A). It was not doubted but the intention of this ambaſſy was to ſound the inclinations of the republic towards *Philip*; to ſow the ſeeds of diſcord among the Chriſtian powers; and cut off all hopes of any future confederacy againſt the *Porte*. The ſenate, therefore, reſolved to couch their anſwer in as obliging but general terms as poſſible: they expreſſed their warm ſenſe of the honour done them by the friendſhip of ſo mighty a prince; but they ſaid, that the grievances againſt *Philip* were not ſufficient ground for a rupture, to which they could have no other inducement than their deſire of complying with every requeſt of *Selim*. It was evident, from the reply of the ambaſſador, that he was little ſatisfied with the iſſue of his miſſion: however, the ſenate adhered to their anſwer, and he was diſmiſſed with a magnificent preſent.

SOON after his departure, it was known, that *Selim* had reſolved upon an expedition into *Africa*; upon which orders were ſent to *Marco Quirini* the admiral, not to augment the fleet in *Candia*, and only to retain ten gallies in commiſſion for the ſecurity of commerce. All the new levies were diſbanded, and every poſſible ſtep taken to eaſe the oppreſſion under which the poor had long groaned.

*PHILIP*, in the mean while, was making mighty preparations, which created ſuſpicion that he would attempt ſomething againſt the republic, in revenge of the ſeparate peace made with *Selim*. *John* of *Auſtria* had paſſed from *Genoa* to *Milan* in a ſecret manner, where he held frequent conſultations with *Alexander Farneſe* duke of *Parma*; in conſequence of which ſoldiers were levied, cannon caſt, and other warlike preparations ſet on foot in the heart of *Italy*, which could not fail of exciting the jealouſy of the ſenate. To ſhew they were not ignorant of the tranſaction, inſtructions were ſent to *Contareni*, governor of *Verona*, to go directly to *Milan*, and compliment Don *John* in the name of the republic. Every precaution for the ſecurity of the *Venetian* territories was taken: the garriſons of the *Bergameſe* were augmented, and ſtores laid in of proviſion, ammunition, and other neceſſaries. Governors, in whoſe fidelity the ſenate might confide, were appointed, and the ſafety of *Bergamo* in particular provided for by a body of the rich citizens, who had ever ſhewn their affection and loyalty to the republic, by new fortifications and other alterations, ſufficient to evince that it could not be attacked in a defenceleſs condition; yet were theſe preparations made with ſo much prudence as gave no cauſe of offence [e].

*PHILIP*, in the mean time, had the melancholy proſpect of two formidable wars: one againſt the *Moors* in *Africa*, ſupported by the whole ſtrength of the *Othoman* empire; and the other with his own ſubjects in the *Netherlands*. Hence proceeded his inability to diſturb the peace of *Italy*, whatever might be his inclinations to revenge himſelf on the republic. To quiet the apprehenſions of the republic, he therefore ſent orders to his reſident at *Venice*, *Guzman de Silva*, to give the moſt ſolemn aſſurances to the doge and ſenate, that the levies in *Lombardy* were not intended to deſtroy the repoſe of *Italy*, of which he was at this time particularly deſirous: that Don *John*'s negotiations at *Milan* related ſolely to the diſturbances in the *Low Countries*: that no credit was to be given to the reports of thoſe who, from a buſy diſpoſition, were always blowing up the embers of contention among princes: that his affection for the republic was confirmed by numberleſs teſtimonies of hearty friendſhip, and her ſecurity at this time inſured by the circumſtances of his affairs, ſince nothing could be more impolitic then encreaſing the number of his enemies. To this he added, that ſound policy required a mutual confidence, ſince nothing could be more prejudicial to both than a ſuſpicious and lukewarm friendſhip. *De Silva* enforced his inſtructions with all the graces and power of oratory, in a laboured oration he delivered to the council; to which a ſuitable anſwer was returned.

[d] MAUROCEN. l. 10. THUAN. l. 54. [e] Aut. citat. ubi ſupra.

(A) It is uſual at *Venice* that ambaſſadors firſt lay their inſtructions before the council of ten, who, in moſt caſes, determine upon the anſwer of the republic, without conſulting the ſenate. The common form is, firſt an audience is obtained of the doge, then the ambaſſador is introduced to the council *di dieci*, or ten. If the affair in queſtion be of great importance, it is then carried to the ſenate, and there determined. *Maurocc. l.* 12. *p.* 476.

THE

# The HISTORY of NAPLES.

a WHEN *Charlemagne* put an end to the dominion of the *Lombards* in *Italy*, by taking *Desiderius* their last king prisoner, he at the same time obliged the *Lombard* dukes of *Friuli*, *Spoleto*, and *Benevento*, to acknowlege him as king of *Italy*; but allowed them to exercise the same power and authority which they had enjoyed before his conquest[a]. Of these three dukedoms *Benevento* was by far the most powerful and extensive, as it comprehended almost all that part of *Italy* which is at present known by the name of the kingdom of *Naples*[b], the *Greek* emperor possessing only the islands in the bay of *Naples*, that part of farther *Calabria* beyond the rivers *Savuto* and *Peto*, a few maritime cities in hither *Calabria*, with the city *Acripoli*, and the promontory in its neighbourhood, called b *Capo di Licosa*; and lastly the dukedoms of *Gaeta*, *Naples*, and *Amalfi*, which were very inconsiderable, and extended along the shore only about a hundred miles, and were interrupted by the Gastaldate or county of *Capua*[c]. These small territories excepted, all the rest of *Italy*, on the south side of the rivers *Garigliano* and *Fruento*, was distinguished with the name of the dukedom of *Benevento*, which comprised none of those twelve provinces into which the kingdom of *Naples* is at this day divided; namely, *Terra di Lavoro*, *Contado di Molise*, *The hither Apruzzo*, *Capitanata*, *Terra di Bari*, *Basilicata*, *The hither Calabria*, and both the principalities.

*The duke of Benevento submits to Charlemagne. A. D. 774.*

*The extent of that dukedom.*

THIS flourishing and extensive dukedom was at this time governed by *Arechis*, who had married one of the daughters of the last king of the *Lombards*, and had submitted and taken c the oath of allegiance to the conqueror *Charles*. However, a few years after, he renounced his allegiance to the *Franks*, and declared himself an independent sovereign, and was acknowleged as such by all the inhabitants of the duchy. To strengthen himself against *Pepin* king of *Italy*, who resided at *Ravenna*, he enlarged and fortified the city of *Benevento*, and likewise built the city of *Salerno*, on the sea-coast, which he surrounded with a very strong and high wall. He was greatly beloved by his subjects, and during his reign he was engaged in several wars with the subjects of the *Greek* empire in the duchy of *Naples*, who were sometimes obliged to give him hostages[d]. He likewise made several incursions into the territories of the pope, who not being able to oppose him, and receiving no as- d sistance from *Pepin*, prevailed on *Charlemagne* to return to *Italy*[e]. That conqueror accordingly, in the end of the year 786, repassed the *Alps* with a powerful army, and proceeded to *Rome*.

Arechis *renounces his allegiance to* Charlemagne. A. D. 781.

*Makes incursions into the pope's territories.*

*ARECHIS* was then at war with the *Neapolitans*, about the fields of *Nola*; but, being apprehensive lest they should join the *Franks*, he immediately concluded a peace with his neighbours, and granted them some diaria, or subsidies, in the contested fields[f]. He sent his eldest son *Romuald* also to *Rome*, with an offer of submission: *Charles*, however, at the instigation of the pope, rejected his offer, and, detaining his son prisoner, proceeded with his army into *Campania*; and, after ravaging the country, made himself master of *Capua*. e *Arechis*, not thinking himself safe in *Benevento*, went immediately to *Salerno*, from whence he again sent deputies to *Charles*, to sue for peace. These deputies were his other son *Grimoald*, with the *Beneventan* bishops, who were so successful as to prevail with *Charlemagne* to grant a peace, which was concluded on these conditions: That *Arechis* and the *Beneventans* should renew their allegiance to the *Franks*; that he should pay a yearly tribute to *Pepin*; should deliver up all his treasure; and give his son *Grimoald* and his daughter *Adelgisa*, with twelve others, as hostages for his fidelity[g]. The conditions of the treaty being executed, *Charlemagne* returned to *Rome*, where he celebrated the feast of *Easter*; but, after many intreaties, he restored *Adelgisa* to her father.

Charlemagne *returns to* Italy *and obliges him to submit.* A. D. 787.

AFTER the departure of *Charles* into *France*, *Arechis* entered into a negociation with the f empress *Irene* and her son *Constantine*, for expelling the *Franks* entirely from *Italy*. He sent ambassadors to *Constantinople*, to desire the honour of patriciate, and the dukedom of *Naples*,

[a] Vide the Antient Universal History, vol. xix. [b] CAMILL. PEREGRINUS in Dissert. de finib. Ducat. Benevent. [c] CONST. PORPHYROGEN. de Administ. Imper. c. 27. Dissert. Chorograph. de Italia medii Ævi, apud MURATOR. tom. x. col. 302, 303, & 304. [d] CAMILL. PEREGRIN. Hist. Princ. Longobard. apud MURATOR. tom. ii. Anonym. Salern. ibid. tom. ii. part ii. [e] SIGON. in Regn. Ital. [f] ERCHEMPERT Hist apud Peregrin. [g] Idem ibid. REGIN. in Annal Franc.

with all its dependencies, promiſing to acknowlege the emperor as his ſovereign, and to live after the manner of the *Greeks*; but requiring to be ſupported by a *Greek* army, and that his brother-in-law *Adalgiſus*, ſon of the late king *Deſiderius*, ſhould be ſent over to *Italy* to raiſe a party among the *Lombards*. The emperor readily agreed to theſe propoſitions, on condition that *Arechis* ſhould give his ſon *Romuald* as an hoſtage. Ambaſſadors were accordingly ſent to *Naples* with the enſigns of the patrician order; namely, the mantle of cloth of gold, the ſword, the comb, and the ſandals [h]: but before the ceremony could be performed, the young prince *Romualdus* died, which haſtened the death of his father, who

*His death.* died the ſame year, in the end of *Auguſt*, in the 30th year of his reign, and the 54th of his age. He was greatly regretted by the *Beneventans*, and is ſaid to have been a prince endowed with a great many royal virtues. He publiſhed ſeveral good laws, built ſeveral churches, and erected two ſtately palaces, one at *Benevento*, and the other at *Salerno*. He was a lover of learning, and greatly careſſed the learned men of thoſe times, particularly *Paul Warnefride*, or *Paulus Diaconus*, who had been ſecretary to *Deſiderius*, and had eſcaped to *Benevento* from *Tremiti*, whither he had been baniſhed by *Charlemagne*, on a ſuſpicion of intriguing in favour of *Adalgiſus* (A).

*His ſon* Grimoald *ſucceeds him.* AFTER the death of *Arechis*, the *Beneventans* ſent ambaſſadors to king *Charles*, demanding *Grimoald* with great ſubmiſſion and intreaties. *Charlemagne*, for what reaſon is uncertain, made no difficulty of granting their requeſt; perhaps he thought it was beſt to allow *Grimoald* to depart, and to truſt to his gratitude, as the *Grecks* were making preparations to invade *Italy*, and the *Beneventans* threatened to revolt if their prince was denied them [i]. He therefore allowed *Grimoald* to depart, after he had agreed to theſe conditions: That he ſhould oblige the *Lombards* to ſhave their beards; that in writings and on the money, the name of the king ſhould be put before that of the prince; and that he ſhould cauſe the walls of *Salerno*, *Acerenza*, and *Conſia*, to be entirely demoliſhed. At his departure he made him ſeveral preſents, and ſent with him two of his nobles, *Anetharius* and *Panlipert*, who afterwards received from *Grimoald* conſiderable poſſeſſions, and contracted noble alliances in the principality [k]. *Grimoald* was received by the *Beneventans* with the utmoſt demonſtrations of joy, and for ſome time after his return, he cauſed the writings and money to paſs with the name of *Charles*; but he neglected to fulfil the laſt article [l], though the author of the chronicon of *Salerno* gives us an account how he rather eluded it, by transferring the cities to other ſtronger places, and then deſtroying the old fortifications [m]. As the *Greeks* ſtill continued their preparations againſt *Italy*, *Grimoald* gave intelligence thereof to *Pepin*, and, inſtead of following the maxims of his father, and giving aſſiſtance to his uncle *Adalgiſus*, he raiſed an army to oppoſe him, and being joined by *Hildebrand* duke of *Spoleto*, and *Vinigiſe* the general of *Pepin*, he attacked the *Greeks* in *Calabria*, ſoon after they had landed, and after a moſt obſtinate battle, entirely defeated and took his uncle priſoner, who, according to *Sigonius*, was put to a cruel death by torture [n] (B).

*He renounces his allegiance to* Charlemagne. *GRIMOALD*, ſoon after, began to follow the maxims of his father, and having contracted an alliance with the *Greek* emperor, by marrying his niece *Wanzia*, he renounced his allegiance to *Charlemagne*, and reſolved to ſupport his independence againſt the efforts of *Pepin* king of *Italy*. Accordingly, in the fifth year of his reign, a war broke out betwixt him and *Pepin*, which continued for upwards of twelve years, with very little intermiſſion. This year *Pepin*, being joined by his brother *Lewis* king of *Aquitaine*, with an army of *Franks*, they marched into the principality of *Benevento*, which they ravaged in a hoſtile manner. Before the commencement of hoſtilities, *Grimoald* endeavoured to avert the war, by renouncing his alliance with the emperor, and divorcing his wife *Wanzia*, whom, under a pretence of her barrenneſs, he ſent back by force to *Conſtantinople*. The *French*, however, advanced into his territories, but they were not able to make any conqueſts, and the plague ſeizing their army, they were obliged to return home towards the end of the winter. *Erchempertus* informs us, that the war ſtill continued with great obſtinacy; the *French*, however, for ſeveral years, were repulſed by the *Beneventans*; and even

*His territories invaded by the* Franks; A. D. 793.

[h] ADRIAN Pontif. Epiſt. 44. [i] Vide Epiſt. 73, 86, & 90. Cod. Carol. [k] Anon. Salern. apud MURATOR. tom. ii. par. ii. p. 188. [l] PEREGR. Hiſt. Princ. Longob. [m] Anonym. Salern. ut ſupra. [n] SIGON. in Regn. Ital.

(A) *Paul*, after the death of *Arechis*, entered into the monaſtery of *Monte Caſſino*, and, in gratitude for the protection afforded him by that prince, wrote an epitaph upon him in elegiac verſe, which is publiſhed in the collection of *Muratori*.

(B) The continuator of *Aimonius* and *Maimburg* write, that *John*, general of the *Greek* army, which had been tranſported from *Sicily*, was taken priſoner, and put to death; but that *Adalgiſus* eſcaped after the battle, and returned, with a few followers, to *Conſtantinople*, where, ſubmitting to his fortune, he paſſed the reſt of his life quietly, in the quality of a patrician, and lived to a great age (1).

(1) *Continuat. Aimon. lib.* iv. *c.* 40. *Maimburg Hiſt. Icon. lib.* iii.

in

a in the beginning of the century, when *Charlemagne* had returned to *Rome*, and received the new dignity of emperor from pope *Leo* III. *Grimoald* refuſed to acknowlege him as ſuch, and braved his power when at its height. The following year, indeed, the *French* made themſelves maſters of *Chieti*, and ſome other places in that Gaſtaldate, which they united to the duchy of *Spoleto*. They alſo took *Lucera* in *Puglia*, but it was quickly retaken by *Grimoald*, who made *Guinigiſe*, or *Vinigiſe*, lately created duke of *Spoleto*, and the whole garriſon of *Franks*, priſoners of war. *Sigonius* tells us, that, two years after, *Pepin* agreed to a truce with *Grimoald*, when *Vinigiſe* was again ſet at liberty; *Erchempertus*, however, ſays, that, during the whole reign of *Grimoald*, there was not a moment of peace betwixt him and *Pepin*, as they were both young and warlike princes. *Grimoald* at laſt, after hav-

*who conquer the Gaſtaldate of* Chieti. A. D. 801.

b ing glorioufly withſtood the great power of the *French*, died about three years after the concluſion of the truce, in the twentieth year of his reign[o]. He was buried at *Salerno*, near his father and brother, and the epitaph upon his tomb, in elegiac verſe, is ſtill extant[p].

*Death of* Grimoald.

*GRIMOALD*'s only ſon, *Gothofred*, dying before him, he was ſucceeded in the principality by one *Grimoald*, who had been his treaſurer. The author of the chronicon of *Salerno* repreſents this prince as cruel and tyrannical; but, according to *Erchempert*, he was of a mild diſpoſition, and inclined to peace. In order to free his ſtate from the continual incurſions of the *French*, he ſent ambaſſadors to *Charlemagne*, after the death of *Pepin*, and propoſed a peace with him, which the emperor agreed to, on condition that *Grimoald* ſhould

c pay a yearly tribute of ſeven thouſand crowns, but, according to others, of twenty-five thouſand[q]. From this time the principality of *Benevento* became tributary to the emperors of the Weſt as kings of *Italy*. *Grimoald* likewiſe concluded a peace with the *Neapolitans*, which was not of long continuance; for *Theodore* the patrician, who then governed the dukedom of *Naples*, under the emperor *Leo*, ſurnamed *the Armenian*, granting protection to *Dauferius*, a noble *Beneventan*, who had been concerned in a conſpiracy againſt his prince, *Grimoald* marched againſt the city of *Naples*, and inveſted it by ſea and land. *Theodore*, however, ſtill refuſed to deliver up the *Beneventan* traitor, and a general engagement enſuing, both by land and ſea, the *Neapolitans* were entirely defeated with ſo great a

Grimoald II. *ſucceeds to the principality of* Benevento. A. D. 806.

*He becomes tributary to the emperor;* A. D. 812.

*and inveſts the city of* Naples.

d ſlaughter, that, for upwards of ſeven days, the water on the ſea-ſhore was ſtained with the blood of the dead. *Erchempertus* informs us, that five thouſand men were killed on the ſpot, and that, in his time, the graves, where the heaps of the ſlain had been laid, were ſtill to be ſeen. *Theodore* and *Dauferius* made their eſcape into the city, where they were again in great danger of their lives from a tumult of the *Neapolitan* women, whoſe huſbands had been ſlain in the action. *Theodore* having found means of quelling the tumult, immediately ſollicited a peace from *Grimoald*, who had approached with his army to the very gates of the city. He was ſo ſucceſsful as to prevail upon the *Beneventan* prince to agree to a treaty, on condition of delivering up *Dauferius*, and giving eight thouſand crowns for the expences of the war. *Grimoald* was ſo merciful, as not only to pardon *Dauferius*, but to receive him into his former favour; the traitor, however, reflecting upon the heinouſ-

e neſs of his crime, was ſeized with remorſe, and went a pilgrimage to the *Holy Land*, carrying a large ſtone in his mouth, by way of penance, which he never took out but at his meals[r].

THOUGH *Grimoald* happily put an end to this conſpiracy, yet, a few years after, another was formed, which proved fatal to him. The chief conſpirators were *Radechis*, or *Radelchis*, count of *Conſia*, and *Sico*, Gaſtald of *Acerenza*, who, during the reign of *Arechis*, had fled from the duchy of *Spoleto*, where he had lived in great authority. As he had offended *Pepin*, he durſt not return to his own country: *Arechis* and his ſon *Grimoald* had heaped a great many favours upon him, and his power and authority became ſo great, that he began

*He is murdered by the count of* Conſia. A. D. 871.

f to aſpire to the ſucceſſion. *Grimoald* II. however, being preferred to him, his ambition prompted him to conſpire againſt his life. He accordingly, together with *Radelchis*, and the other conſpirators, murdered him, when he had juſt completed the eleventh year of his reign[s].

*SICO*, though a ſtranger, ſucceeded to the principality, by the intrigues of *Radelchis*, the following year renewed the treaty with *Lewis the Good*, which his predeceſſors had concluded with the *French*. *Radelchis*, ſoon after his acceſſion to the throne, repenting of his villainy, became a monk in *Monte Caſſino*, where he lived in great auſterity. *Sico*, in the mean time, aſſociated his ſon *Sicardo* with himſelf in the government, and, being of an ambitious and reſtleſs diſpoſition, ſought a pretence for attacking the *Neapolitans*. As they, about that time, expelled their duke *Theodore*, and elected one *Stephen* in his room, *Sico* is ſaid to have declared war againſt them, on account of the injury done to his friend *Theodore*.

Sico IV. *ſucceeds.*

[o] ERCHEMPERT, ut ſupra. Annal. Bertin. apud MURATOR. tom. ii. par. i. [p] Ap. CAMILL. PEREGR. [q] Annal. Bertin. ut ſupra. [r] Anonym. Salern. ut ſupra. [s] CAMILL. PEREGRIN. Hiſt. ut ſupra.

He inveſted the city of *Naples* both by ſea and land; and, having beat down a part of the wall, was preparing to make a general aſſault, when duke *Stephen* ſubmitted; but, to prevent the pillaging of the city, begged of him to delay his entry till to-morrow, and in the mean time ſent out his mother and his two children as hoſtages. *Sico* conſented to his requeſt; but next morning he found the breach built up, and the *Neapolitans* prepared for a defence. Exaſperated with their perfidy, he renewed his attacks with greater fury, but without ſucceſs, as the *Neapolitans* defended themſelves with great obſtinacy. The emperor of the eaſt neglecting to give them any aſſiſtance, they had recourſe to the emperor *Lewis*, who ſent them ſome ſmall reinforcements, which enabled them ſtill to hold out againſt the attacks of the beſiegers. *Sico*, however, ſtill continued the ſiege with great ardour; and the *Neapolitans*, conſidering the precarioufneſs of foreign aſſiſtance, and finding themſelves, at laſt, unable to oppoſe his aſſaults, they prevailed upon him, by the mediation of their biſhop *Orſo*, to agree to a peace. The treaty was accordingly concluded on theſe conditions, That the *Neapolitans*, for the future, ſhould pay a yearly tribute to the princes of *Benevento*, which was called *Collata*, and ſhould conſent to the tranſporting of the body of *St. Januarius* from his church, without the walls of *Naples*, to *Benevento*. [t]. Theſe conditions being ratified, and hoſtages given by the *Neapolitans*, *Sico* returned with great honour to *Benevento*, carrying with him the ſacred relics, which were long worſhipped in that city. A few years after, *Sico*, under pretence that the *Neapolitans* neglected paying the tribute, renewed the war againſt them, which continued during the remaining part of his reign. He died at *Benevento*, after he had reigned fifteen years, and a magnificent tomb was erected to him before the door of the cathedral church of that city, with a pompous inſcription, which is ſtill extant[u](C).

*He obliges the* Neapolitans *to pay him tribute.*

*His death.* A. D. 833.

*His ſon* Sicardo V. *ſucceeds.*

After the death of *Sico*, his ſon *Sicardo* poſſeſſed the government. He had, during the life of his father, married the daughter of the infamous *Dauferius*, and now delivered himſelf up entirely to the counſels of his wife's brother *Roffrid*, by whoſe bad advice he oppreſſed his ſubjects in ſo miſerable a manner, that they at laſt conſpired againſt his life. In the beginning of his reign, he made war upon the *Neapolitans*, under pretence that they did not pay the tribute. He beſieged the city of *Naples* with a powerful army, and took poſſeſſion of *Acerra* and *Atella*, which he fortified. But *Bonus*, the *Neapolitan* duke, defended the city with ſuch vigour, that the *Beneventans* were obliged to retire, being even forced to abandon *Acerra* and *Atella*, the fortifications of which places were razed by the *Neapolitans*. According to the author of the chronicon of *Salerno*, *Sicardo* was perſuaded to raiſe the ſiege by his favourite *Roffrid*, who had been bribed by the *Neapolitans* [w]. However, he ſoon renewed his hoſtilities; but upon the interceſſion of *Lothaire*, emperor and king of *Italy*, and of *John* biſhop of *Naples*, he agreed to a peace for five years. The *Saracens*, whom *Andrew* the then duke of *Naples* called over from *Africa* to his aſſiſtance, ſeemed chiefly to have induced *Sicardo* to agree to a peace: for they were no ſooner ſent back to *Africa*, than he ſought to delay the concluſion of the treaty; but the emperor interpoſing his authority, a peace was at laſt ratified in the third year of his reign, after the war had continued, with very little intermiſſion, for ſixteen years [x](D).

*He concludes a peace with the* Neapolitans. A. D. 836.

*Repulſes the* Saracens.

Soon after the concluſion of this peace, the *Saracens* from *Sicily* landed at *Brindiſi*, and having made themſelves maſters of the place, ravaged all the neighbouring country. *Sicardo* marched againſt them with a numerous army, but was at firſt repulſed with great loſs by the *Saracens*, who, apprehenſive of the number of his men, had recourſe to a ſtratagem, and drew them into a diſadvantageous ground, where they had dug a great many ditches, which they had ſlightly covered over. The *Beneventans*, during the action, were thereby thrown into great confuſion, and were afterwards entirely routed. *Sicardo*, after having reinforced his army, marched again to attack them: but they, deſpairing of being able to reſiſt him, pillaged and burned *Brindiſi*, and retired with their booty, and a great

[t] Anonym. Salern. apud Murator. tom. ii. p. 290. [u] Camill. Peregr. Tumul. Princ. Longob. [w] Anonym. Salern. c. 47. [x] Jo. Diac. in Chron. Epiſt. Neap.

(C) The *Saracens*, *Agarens*, or *Iſhmaelites*, who, a few centuries before, had embraced the doctrines of *Mahomet*, and had conquered the whole northern coaſt of *Africa*, and part of *Spain*, firſt infeſted *Sicily* and the coaſts of *Italy* during the reign of this prince. In the year 820 they came from *Africa*, like ſwarms of bees, into *Sicily*, took poſſeſſion of *Palermo*, and ravaged a great part of that iſland. Afterwards they croſſed the *Faro*, and landing at *Tarento*, ſeized that city, and ravaged the provinces in the lower part of *Italy*, belonging to the *Greeks* (2).

(D) This treaty conſiſted of forty-nine articles, ſeventeen of which are ſtill preſerved, by the care of *Peregrinus*. By theſe it appears that *Amalfi* and *Sorrento* were then comprehended in the duchy of *Naples*, and that the conditions of the treaty were regulated according to the *Longobard* laws. It was ſtipulated that neither of the nations ſhould diſturb the commerce of the other, by ſea, rivers, or land; that fugitives ſhould be punctually delivered up on both ſides; and that the *Neapolitans* ſhould continue to pay to the princes of *Benevento* the wonted yearly tribute (3).

(2) *Epit. Chron. Caſinenſ. Murat. tom.* ii. *Sigu. in Regn. Ital.* (3) *Peregr. de Capitulor. Sicardi.*

a great many captives, to *Sicily* [y]. They were no ſooner gone than *Sicardo* marched with his army againſt *Amalfi*, for what reaſon is not mentioned, though it would appear from the chronicon of *Salerno*, that his chief motive for attacking that city was his great deſire of poſſeſſing relics, which were then ſuperſtitiouſly believed to be a greater protection to a city, than ſtrong fortifications or a powerful army, and which he ſpared no pains to acquire, ſending about this time for the body of *St. Bartholomew* from one of the iſlands of *Lipari*. He accordingly, without any bloodſhed, ſurpriſed and took poſſeſſion of *Amalfi*, which he entirely ſtripped of all its wealth, carrying off with him to *Benevento* the body of their ſaint *Triphomen*. He likewiſe ordered the walls of the city to be levelled, plundered the neighbouring country, tranſported a great many of the inhabitants to *Salerno*, and, by
b promoting alliances between the inhabitants of both places, endeavoured to unite it thoroughly to his principality [z].

*and reduces* Amalfi.

During theſe tranſactions, his own ſubjects continually felt the effects of his cruel and tyrannical diſpoſition. He allowed his favourite *Roffrid* to ſtrangle an abbot, *Alphanus*, whom he had perſecuted for ſeveral years, with great malice and enmity, and who came to *Salerno*, under an oath of ſecurity granted him by his prince. He robbed a great many churches and monaſteries of their wealth; impriſoned and put to death many *Beneventan* nobles, whoſe eſtates he ſeized; depoſed and impriſoned the famous *Deuſdedit*, abbot of *Monte Caſſino*; and, being jealous of his own brother *Siconolphus*, he compelled him to turn prieſt, and afterwards ſent him bound to *Tarento*, where he ſhut him up in an old
c tower, that had been built for a ciſtern. Theſe, and many other acts of tyranny, at laſt rendered him odious to all his ſubjects; and ſome nobles, who had received perſonal injuries from him, entered into a conſpiracy againſt him, and murdered him in his tent, in the ſixth year of his reign.

*Is murdered by his nobles.* A. D. 839.

As *Sicardo* left only one daughter, and a baſtard ſon, and his brother *Siconolphus* was a priſoner at *Tarento*, *Radelchis*, who had been his treaſurer or ſecretary, was unanimouſly elected prince of *Benevento*, upon his death [a]. A few months after his acceſſion, the *Amalfitans* who lived at *Salerno*, deſpairing of receiving the ſame favours from him as from his predeceſſor, burnt their houſes in that city, and returned to *Amalfi*. *Radelchis*, or *Radelchiſus*, who, before his election, had acquired a great reputation for his juſtice and pro-
d bity, began his reign with baniſhing *Dauferius*, with his ſons *Romuald*, *Arechis*, and *Grimoald*, and ſome other *Beneventan* nobles. Theſe exiles privately ſollicited the *Salernitans* to revolt in favour of *Siconolphus*, brother of the deceaſed prince, and were joined by *Landulph*, Gaſtald of *Capua*, who, being apprehenſive of the reſentment of *Radelchis*, on account of the cruelty of his government, had renounced his allegiance to him, and retired to *Sicopolis*, a ſtrong city in his Gaſtaldate, lately built by prince *Sico*. [b]. Several other *Beneventan* lords entered into this conſpiracy, among whom was *Orſo* count of *Conſia*, a relation of *Siconolphus*, who at this time had eſcaped from his priſon at *Tarento*, and concealed himſelf at the caſtle of *Orſo*. The *Amalfitans* were likewiſe prevailed upon to eſpouſe the cauſe of *Siconolphus*, who, the following year, was conducted to *Salerno*, and declared by
e his party prince of *Benevento*.

Is ſucceeded by Radelchis.

*who is oppoſed by* Siconolphus. A. D. 840.

*RADELCHIS* immediately raiſed an army to oppoſe his competitor, and an obſtinate and moſt ruinous civil war enſued. The party of *Siconolphus* was at firſt the moſt ſucceſsful; for, having entered into an alliance with the *Neapolitans*, he received ſuccours from them, by which means he defeated the army of *Radelchis*, reduced great part of *Calabria* and *Puglia*, and marching towards *Benevento*, took ſeveral places in its neighbourhood, and at laſt inveſted the city itſelf; but by the bravery of the *Beneventans*, he was quickly obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and withdraw his army. The *Saracens*, in the mean time, taking advantage of the inteſtine diviſions of the *Beneventans*, again landed in *Italy*, and ſeized *Tarento* and ſeveral places in *Puglia* [c]. *Radelchis*, finding the party of his competitor was becoming
f every day more powerful, deſired *Pando* governor of *Bari* to invite the *Saracens* to his aſſiſtance, not reflecting on the dangerous conſequence of ſuch an alliance. The *Saracens* readily embraced the offers made them by *Pando*, and encamped without the walls of *Bari*; but, a few days after, they deceitfully ſurpriſed the garriſon, and making themſelves maſters of the city, made a terrible ſlaughter of the inhabitants, and threw the governor into the ſea. *Radelchis*, not being in a condition to puniſh their perfidy, condeſcended ſtill to court their alliance, and is even ſaid to have robbed the church of *St. Mary* in *Benevento* of its treaſure, to hire them as auxiliaries [d]. In their firſt irruption into the territories of *Siconolphus* they were defeated and repulſed with great loſs [e]. But not long after, in conjunction with

[y] Anon. Salern. [z] Idem ibid. [a] Stemma Sicon. & Ignot. Monach. Caſſin. Frag. apud Peregrin.
[b] Epit. Chron. Caſſin. apud Murator. tom. ii. Erchempert. ut ſupra. Anonym. Salern. Leo Oſtienſ. l. i. c. 23. Tabula. Chorogr. medii Ævi. [c] Anon. Salern. Erchempert, apud Peregr. ſect. xvi. Epit. Chron. Caſſin. [d] Id. Ibid. [e] Id. Ibid.

*The* Saracens *burn* Capua. A. D. 842.

the troops of *Radelchis*, they marched into the Gaſtaldate of *Capua*, which they ravaged in a a moſt cruel and barbarous manner, and laid *Capua* itſelf in aſhes [f].

*SICONOLPHUS*, perceiving the advantage which his competitor gained by his alliance with the *Saracens* who had come from *Africa*, moſt imprudently followed his example, and ſent for thoſe *Saracens* who had ſettled in *Spain*, inviting them to come to his aſſiſtance. In imitation of *Radelchis* likewiſe he robbed the church of *St. Mary* at *Salerno* of its treaſure [g]; a particular account of which we have in *Leo Oſtienſis* [h]. The whole duchy of *Benevento* then became a ſcene of blood and devaſtation. Though *Siconolphus*, by the aſſiſtance of his new allies, gained ſeveral advantages over his rival, yet their barbarity and inſolence ſoon made him ſenſible of the imprudent ſtep he had taken. He therefore reſolved to have recourſe to the *French*: and hearing that the emperor's eldeſt ſon *Lewis* had arrived b at *Rome*, he went thither, after having a ſixth time robbed the monaſtery of *Caſſino*, and purchaſed his friendſhip, at the expence of an hundred thouſand crowns [i]. We do not read, however, of any aſſiſtance given to him at that time by *Lewis*, for the war continued for ſeveral years after, almoſt to the intire deſtruction of the principality, the *Saracens*, as it ſerved their intereſts, ſometimes acting as auxiliaries, and at other times as declared enemies to both parties.

*The emperor divides the principality between the two competitors.* A. D. 851.

At length the emperor *Lewis*, at the earneſt intreaties of the abbot of *Monte Caſſino*, marched with an army from *Breſcia* to *Benevento*, and having obliged the *Beneventans* to deliver up the *Saracens*, with their prince *Maſſar*, who were put to death without the walls, made a partition of the duchy between the two competitors, allowing *Radelchis* to retain *Benevento*, with a certain part of the ancient duchy, c and aſſigning the remaining part to *Siconolphus*, under the title of prince of *Salerno*; but at the ſame time obliging both princes to acknowlege him as their ſovereign, and to ſwear fealty to him, thereby declaring themſelves not only tributaries but feudatories to the *French* [k] (E). Such was the conſequence of this moſt ruinous civil war, which had continued, with great animoſity, for near twelve years. The emperor *Lewis*, who had arrived at *Benevento* about *Whitſuntide*, after the concluſion of the treaty, returned with his army to *Mantua*. But the two princes, who were now reconciled, did not long enjoy the fruits of the peace, both princes dying the ſame year, *Siconolphus* leaving an infant ſon, named *Sico*, to the care of one *Peter*, his godfather, and *Radelchis*, who, by his wife *Caretruda*, had twelve children, appointing his ſon *Radelgarius* as his heir [l], whom he had aſſociated with himſelf in the d principality before his death [m].

Radelcar *ſucceeds to the principality of* Benevento.

*RADELGARIUS*, or *Radelcar*, ſoon after the death of his father, ſent his forces, in conjunction with thoſe of the prince of *Salerno*, againſt the *Saracens*, who were ſtill in poſſeſſion of *Bari*. He was not, however, able to reduce the city or expel the Infidels. On the contrary, they repulſed his forces, and afterwards made an irruption into *Apulia* and *Calabria*, and even advanced to the neighbourhood of *Benevento* and *Salerno*. The *Beneventans*, not able to put a ſtop to their ravages, ſent the abbots of *Monte Caſſino* and *St. Vincent* to beg the protection of the emperor, offering to ſubmit themſelves, as faithful ſubjects, to the meaneſt officer he ſhould put over them [n]. The emperor *Lewis*, by his father's deſire, immediately returned to *Italy*, and marched directly, with a conſiderable army, to- e wards *Capua*, in expectation of being joined by the inhabitants. But they only granted him a few auxiliaries; ſo that, although he defeated the *Saracens* in ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, he was not able to drive them out of *Italy* [o]. *Erchempertus* ſays, that, on this account, *Lewis* was offended with the *Salernitans*, baniſhed their young prince *Sico*, that is, ſent him to *France*, and conferred his principality on *Ademarius*, ſon of *Peter* the regent [p]. But the author of the chronicon of *Salerno*, who wrote ſoon after this period, affirms, with more probability, that *Peter* betrayed his truſt, and, in favour of his own ſon *Ademarius*, ſet

[f] Tab. Chorog. ap. MURATOR. t. x. [g] Anon. Salern. ut ſupra. [h] LEO Oſtienſ. l. i. c. 28. [i] Idem ibid. Annal. Bertin. an. 844. [k] LEO Oſtienſ. l. i. c. 31. SIGON. Anon. Salern. PIETRO GIANNONE Hiſt. di Nap. [l] CAMILL. PEREGR. Stem. Princ. Benevent. Anonym. Salern. [m] Tumul. Radelcar. apud PEREGRIN. [n] ERCHEMPERT. ſect. xx. [o] SIGON. de Regn. Ital. [p] ERCHEMPERT. ibid.

(E) This partition treaty, which conſiſts of twenty-eight articles, is publiſhed by *Peregrinus* and in the collections of *Muratori*. *Radelchis* thereby promiſed to acknowlege *Siconolphus* and his ſucceſſors as lawful princes of the principality of *Salerno*, which was declared to contain *Tarento*, *Latiniano*, *Caſſano*, *Coſſenza*, *Laino*, *Lucania*, *Conſia*, *Montella*, *Rota*, *Salerno*, *Sarno*, *Ciraterium*, *Furculo*, *Capua*, *Feano*, *Sora*, and the half of the Gaſtaldate of *Acerenza*, where it joins *Latiniano* and *Conſia*. The boundary between *Benevento* and *Capua* was fixed at *St. Angelo ad Cerros*, extending to the rock of *Monte Virgine*, and to the place called *Feneſtella*. *Alli Peregrini* was made the boundary betwixt *Benevento* and *Salerno*, and *Staffilo* betwixt *Benevento* and *Conſia*. The monaſteries of *Monte Caſſino* and *St. Vincent* were declared to be immediately under the protection of the emperor. Both princes ſtipulated that no hoſtilities for the future ſhould be committed by either againſt the ſubjects of the other, and promiſed to join their forces to drive the *Saracens* entirely out of their dominions. The author of the chorographical deſcription of *Italy* juſtly obſerves, that the terms of the treaty are not ſo explicit, as to enable us to mark out diſtinctly the limits of the two principalities (4).

(4) *Capitul. Radelchis, apud Peregrinus. Murator. tom.* ii. & x.

a aſide the young prince, and ſent him to *France*, under pretence of being educated at the court of the emperor[q]. During theſe tranſactions *Radelcar* prince of *Benevento* died, in the third year of his reign, and was ſucceeded by his brother *Adelchis*, or *Adelgiſe*, a prince of a mild diſpoſition, who was engaged for ſeveral years in hoſtilities with the *Saracens*, to whom he was obliged at length to give hoſtages and a yearly ſubſidy[r].

*He is ſucceeded by his brother* Adelchis. A. D. 854.

Two years after his acceſſion to the principality of *Benevento*, *Sico* the young prince of *Salerno* returned to *Italy*, and was poiſoned at *Sicopolis*, by *Lando* count of *Capua*, who the ſame year removed from *Sicopolis*, which had been built upon the top of a hill twenty-five years before, and, in conjunction with two of his brothers, *Landulph* the biſhop, and *Landulph* the count, built *New Capua*, on the plain near the bridge of *Caſſilino*. About the

b ſame time they likewiſe revolted from *Ademarius*, then prince of *Salerno*, and declared themſelves independent. Their father count *Landulph*, who had been Gaſtald of *Capua*,

c put moſt of his own relations to death, and about the beginning of the civil war between *Radelchis* and *Siconolphus*, began to govern his Gaſtaldate in an arbitrary manner. His ſons ſeeing the principality of *Benevento* ravaged by the *Saracens*, and that of *Salerno* poſſeſſed by one whom they looked upon as an uſurper, took that opportunity of renouncing their allegiance to *Ademarius*, who was no ſooner informed of their revolt than he marched againſt them with an army, in order to reduce them; but after ſeveral unſucceſsful ſkirmiſhes, he was obliged to retire. *Lando* governed his new county (F) with an independent ſway for five years, and, dying, left his children to the care of his two brothers *Pando* and *Landulph* the biſhop, who betraying their truſt, baniſhed their nephews, and ſeized the county; which occaſioned a civil war betwixt the favourers of the uncles and nephews.

*The counts of* Capua *declare themſelves independent.* A. D. 856.

DURING the government of *Lando* at *Capua*, *Ademarius* prince of *Salerno*, by his cruelty and rapaciouſneſs, entirely alienated the affections of his ſubjects. *Guaferius* the ſon of *Dauferius*, who was then in exile at *Naples*, being encouraged by the malecontents, and privately aſſiſted by the *Capuan* counts, returned to *Salerno*, and ſeizing *Ademarius*, ſhut him up in a cloſe priſon, a few months after the death of *Lando*[s]. *Adelgiſe*, prince of *Benevento*, in the mean time, was engaged in repelling the incurſions of the *Saracens*; though he had received, at different times, conſiderable ſuccours from the emperor *Lewis*, he was unable to oppoſe the ravages of the Infidels. He therefore entered into alliance with *Gua-*

d *ferius* prince of *Salerno*, and, in conjunction with him, ſent an embaſſy to the emperor, intreating his protection in a moſt humble manner. *Lewis*, in the mean time, received an embaſſy from the emperor of *Conſtantinople*, propoſing a junction of their forces to expel the *Saracens* entirely from *Italy*; he therefore reſolved upon an expedition againſt them, and gave orders for aſſembling a formidable army, ſending likewiſe to his brother *Lotharius*, king of *France*, deſiring him to march with ſome troops into *Italy*[t]. The *Saracens*, in the mean time, continued their incurſions, and ſome authors ſay, at the inſtigation of *Adelgiſe*, who had made peace with them, they invaded the county of *Capua*, which they ravaged in a moſt barbarous manner, and from thence proceeded to the dukedom of *Naples*, which they likewiſe plundered. The *Neapolitans* aſſembling an army, and hiring the

e troops of the duke of *Spoleto*, and *Gerard* count of *Marſi*, endeavoured to oppoſe them; but the *Saracens* gaining the victory, they turned more inſolent, and ravaged the duchy of *Benevento*, making themſelves maſters of *Venafro*, plundering the monaſtery of *St. Vincent the martyr*, and raiſing a contribution of three thouſand crowns from the monaſtery of *Caſſino*; and retired undiſturbed with ther booty to *Bari*[u].

Ademarius *prince of* Salerno *is impriſoned by* Guaferius. A. D. 861.

A FEW months after the emperor *Lewis* arrived with his army at *Sora*, and proceeding from thence to *Caſſino*, was received with great reſpect by the abbot and monks. Upon his entering the county of *Capua*, he was joined by *Landulph* the biſhop and count, with a body of *Capuans*; but *Landulph* ſoon after perſuading the *Capuans* to deſert, the emperor immediately marched againſt that city, which he made himſelf maſter of, after a ſiege of

f three months. Having almoſt totally deſtroyed that city, he marched from thence, in the end of the year, towards *Salerno*, and was met by *Guaferius*, who marched out with his quota of troops, having ordered the eyes of *Ademarius* to be put out in his abſence. *Lewis* confirmed him in the principality, and marched with his army to *Benevento*, where he was

*The emperor marches to* Benevento *againſt the* Saracens. A. D. 866.

[q] Anonym. Salern. c. 79. Princ. Salern. apud PEREGRIN.
[r] ERRCHEMPERT ſect. xxix. ERCHEMP. ſect. xxvi.
[s] Anon. Salern. c. 85, 86. Stemma
[t] Idem ibid. LEO Oſtienſ. l. i. c. 37, & 38.
[u] SIGON. ERCH. (ut ſupra.

(F) This Gaſtaldate or county of *Capua*, was bounded on the north by *Arpino*, on the ſouth by the lower ſea, betwixt the mouths of the *Garigliano* and *Volturno*, which two rivers likewiſe ſerved for the eaſtern and weſtern boundary of the country, though it poſſeſſed ſome cities on the further ſide of both, namely, *Sora*, beyond the *Garigliano*, and *Caſerta* and *Sueſſala* beyond the *Volturno* (5).

(5) *Tabul. Chorograph. ap. Murator. t.* x.

received

received with great reſpect by *Adelgiſe*. Early the following ſpring he ordered his army to aſſemble at *Lucera*, and proceeded from thence to inveſt *Bari*. Finding the city ſtrongly fortified and garriſoned, and having ſuffered ſome conſiderable loſſes in ſkirmiſhes with the Infidels, he withdrew his army, and marched againſt *Matera*, which he made himſelf maſter of, and, after permitting his ſoldiers to plunder it, ſet it on fire. He likewiſe reduced ſeveral other inconſiderable places belonging to the *Saracens*, to whom he gave no quarter; and having placed garriſons in *Venoſa* and *Canoſa*, and ſent for aſſiſtance from his brother *Lotharius* and the *Greek* emperor *Baſilius*, he returned, upon the concluſion of the campaign, to *Benevento*. As the *Saracens* were continually reinforced from *Palermo* and *Africa*, and were beſides protected by the *Neapolitans*, *Lewis* did not reduce the city of *Bari* till three years afterwards, though he received a conſiderable reinforcement from his brother *Lotharius*, and was aſſiſted by upwards of two hundred ſail of *Greek* ſhips[x]. He is ſaid by ſome authors to have put *Seodan* or *Soldan*, the *Saracen* prince, and all the garriſon to death[y]; but the author of the chronicon of *Salerno* relates, that the emperor, at the interceſſion of *Adelgiſe*, ſpared *Soldan* and two others, whom he delivered as priſoners to the *Beneventan* prince[z].

*He reduces* Bari. A. D. 871.

AFTER the reducing and demoliſhing of *Bari*, the *French* and *Lombards* marched againſt the *Saracens* in *Puglia* and *Calabria*, and laid cloſe ſiege to *Tarento*, from whence, about *Auguſt*, *Lewis* returned with great glory to *Benevento*, reſolving, after having totally expelled the *Saracens* from *Italy*, to make a conqueſt of *Sicily*[a]. His future ſchemes of conqueſt were however fruſtrated by a ſingular accident. The empreſs *Engelberga*, who attended her huſband, had, on ſeveral occaſions, behaved in an inſolent manner to *Adelgiſe*; and the *French* army, elated with their ſucceſs, had of late begun to oppreſs the *Beneventans*, and to treat them with contempt. On theſe accounts, and ſome ſay at the inſtigation of *Baſilius*, *Adelgiſe* ſurpriſed *Lewis* in *Benevento*, and kept him in priſon for forty days; the *Beneventans*, at the ſame time, plundering the retinue of the emperor, and expelling them the city. During his impriſonment a new body of *Saracens* arrived from *Africa*; and being joined by thoſe in *Italy*, they beſieged the city of *Salerno* with an army of thirty thouſand men, ravaging the neighbouring country with great barbarity[b]. This new invaſion greatly alarmed *Adelgiſe*: however, reſolving to free his principality from the oppreſſion of the *French*, before he would give the emperor his liberty, he obliged him to ſwear upon the ſacred relics not to revenge the inſult he had received, and never to return to *Benevento*. After his departure *Adelgiſe* joined his forces to thoſe of *Guaferius* prince of *Salerno*, to oppoſe the *Saracens*, who ſoon after raiſed the ſiege and marched into *Calabria*, which they intirely deſtroyed; leaving it as deſolate, ſays *Erchempertus*, as it was at the flood[c].

*Is impriſoned at* Benevento *by* Adelgiſe, *who ſoon after ſets him at liberty.*

THE emperor *Lewis*, in the mean time, had advanced to *Capua*, where by the perſuaſion of *Landulph* the biſhop and count, who had become his favourites, he put nine thouſand *Saracens* to death, and detained two ambaſſadors, who had been ſent by the prince of *Salerno*, during the ſiege, to deſire his aſſiſtance. A few weeks after he proceeded to *Rome*, where he was crowned by the pope; and from thence, according to a certain author, marched with his army towards *Benevento*[d]. Other authors, however, place this expedition in the following year, when he received abſolution from his oath from pope *John* VIII.; and ſome ſay, that he did not go himſelf with his army, but gave the command of it to his empreſs; and that, though a body of *Greeks* had landed at *Otranto* to ſupport *Adelgiſe*, that prince, deſpairing of being able to defend himſelf, left *Italy* and fled to *Corſica*. The accounts of authors, concerning theſe tranſactions, are very different, and impoſſible to be reconciled. We find that this ſame year *Adelgiſe*, by the interceſſion of his countryman pope *John*, was reconciled to the emperor, and reſtored to his principality, which he enjoyed till his death, which happened five years afterwards, when he was murdered by his own relations[e]. The emperor *Lewis*, ſoon after his reconciliation with *Adelgiſe*, reſtored the county of *Capua* to the biſhop *Landulph*: however, he refuſed to erect *Capua* into a metropolitan ſee, and to ſubject it to the ſee of *Benevento*, which the ambitious biſhop ſolicited with great earneſtneſs[f].

Adelgiſe *is reconciled to the emperor.* A. D. 873.

*LEWIS* immediately left *Capua*, and died the following year in *France*, while the *Saracens* were ſtill continuing their ravages in *Benevento*, which induced the inhabitants of *Bari* to deliver their city to *Gregory* governor of *Otranto*, who took poſſeſſion of it with a *Greek* garriſon. At the ſame time, the *Salernitans*, *Neapolitans*, *Cajetans*, and *Amalfitans*, having made peace with the *Saracens*, were compelled to agree to their propoſal of attacking the *Roman* dukedom; and accordingly fitted out a fleet of ſhips, with which they infeſted the

*The* Greeks *take poſſeſſion of* Bari. A. D. 876.

[x] Annal. Bertin. Epiſt. Ludov. ad Imp. Baſil. ap. BARON. & MURATOR. tom. ii. part ii. [y] LEO Oſtienſ. ut ſupra. [z] Anon. Salern. c. 108. [a] Epiſt. Ludov. ut ſupra. [b] ERCHEMPERT, ſect. 35, [c] Idem ibid. [d] Annal. Bertin. ad an. 872. [e] ERCHEMPERT, ſect. 29. Anon. Salern. c. 126. AIMON. l. v. c. 80. in fin. [f] ERCHEMP. ſect. 36.



coaſts

a coasts of the territories belonging to the pope[g]. His holiness earnestly sollicited assistance from *Charles the Bald* king of *France*, whom the year before he had created emperor, and wrote to *Guaferius* prince of *Salerno*, dissuading him from an alliance with the Infidels[h]. In the beginning of the following year he again sollicited the emperor's assistance, and excommunicated *Sergius* duke of *Naples*, who was the most zealous friend of the *Saracens*. He likewise wrote to the prefect of *Amalfi*, to *Landulph* bishop of *Capua*, and to *Clio* bishop of *Benevento*, desiring them to exert themselves against the Infidels. He even went himself at the head of an army to the neighbourhood of *Gaeta*, in conjunction with *Vido* and *Lambert* dukes of *Spoleto*, and prevailed upon *Guaferius* prince of *Salerno* to renounce his alliance with the Infidels, and to declare war against the *Neapolitans*. *Guaferius* accordingly at-
b tacked the *Neapolitans*, and took twenty-two prisoners, whom the pope ordered to be beheaded. *Sergius* duke of *Naples*, being privately supported by *Lambert* duke of *Spoleto*, and *Adelgise* prince of *Benevento*, refused to abandon the Infidels; but soon after he was sent a prisoner to *Rome* by his brother *Athanasius* bishop of *Naples*, who, after apprehending him, ordered his eyes to be put out. The pope, however, being disappointed of the assistance of the emperor, who came no farther than *Pavia*, and was cut off by poison, was therefore obliged to purchase a peace from the Infidels, and to promise to pay them a large annual tribute[i].

*The* Saracens *invade the pope's territories.*

By the death of the emperor *Charles*, all *Italy* was thrown into the greatest confusion. Several competitors claimed the imperial dignity and the kingdom of *Italy*; and as the
c pope's suffrage now appeared of great consequence, *Lambert* duke of *Spoleto* entered *Rome*, with an armed force, to compel the pope to declare for him. *John*, provoked by this outrage, left *Rome*; and, the following year, went by sea to *France*. During his absence, *Adelgise* prince of *Benevento*, as we mentioned above, was murdered by his own nephews; one of whom, *Gaideris*, seized the principality, to the prejudice of *Radelchis*, the son of the deceased. *John* returned, towards the end of the year, to *Rome*, when he declares, in a letter to the king of *France*, that he found all the coasts of the *Roman* dukedom, towards *Fundi* and *Terracina*, in the possession of the *Saracens*. Five days after his arrival he assembled some troops; and marching against the *Saracens*, recovered six hundred captives, and took eighteen of their ships[k]. A few months after, *Landulph* bishop of *Capua*
d dying, that county was divided, according to his will, betwixt his three grandchildren. *Pandonulphus*, besides *Capua*, possessed *Tiano* and *Lasamirta*; *Lando*, *Berolassi*, and *Suessa*; and the other *Lando*, *Calinio*, and *Cajazetta*. At the same time, *Landulph* the son of *Lando* was chosen bishop. These dispositions, however, continued only two months; for the brothers invaded each other's inheritance; and, to support their party, some had recourse to *Guaferius* prince of *Salerno*, others to *Lambert* duke of *Spoleto*, and others to *Gaideris* prince of *Benevento*, and *Gregory* governor of *Bari* and *Otranto*. To complete the confusion, *Landulph* the new bishop was expelled, and *Landenulph* the brother of the governor of *Capua*, though a layman, was chosen in his room, and even consecrated by the pope[l], who wrote to *Guaferius*, prohibiting him, under pain of excommunication, from attacking
e *Capua*. Though *Guaferius* is said to have shewn himself always submissive to the pope, yet he seems not to have regarded the present threatening; for we find from *Erchempertus*, that he besieged *Capua* both this year and the following. That miserable province was at the same time obliged to support the armies of the prince of *Benevento* and the duke of *Spoleto*.

Gaideris *succeeds to the principality of* Benevento. A. D. 878.

*A civil war in the county of* Capua.

The *Saracens* in the mean time seized the favourable opportunity for strengthening their power in *Italy*. *Athanasius*, bishop and duke of *Naples*, notwithstanding the great commendations he had received from the pope, for putting out the eyes of his brother, now consented to an alliance with the Infidels, in conjunction with whom he ravaged the pope's territories, and those of *Benevento* and *Spoleto*, plundering all the churches, monasteries, towns, and cities, through which they passed[m]. The *Saracens* about the same time over-
f ran the principality of *Salerno*, and obliged the *Salernitans* to conclude a peace with them, and to grant them a settlement in the neighbourhood of their city[n]. At the invitation of *Docibilis*, duke of *Gaeta*, who was oppressed by the count of *Capua*, they likewise sailed from *Agropoli*, and landing in the neighbourhood of *Gaeta*, plundered the province to a considerable distance. The pope used his utmost endeavours with the *Cajetans* to dismiss them: and by going himself to *Gaeta*, prevailed upon *Docibilis* to renounce his alliance with them, and to attack them; but as he quickly found them too powerful, he was obliged to conclude a peace with them, and to grant them a settlement on the north side of the *Garigliano*, where they fortified themselves, and continued for more than forty years[o]. The pope, to put a stop to the confusion which overwhelmed *Italy*, thought proper about this
g time to restore *Landulph*, bishop of *Capua*, but allowed *Landenulph* to reside in the new

*The* Saracens *strengthen themselves in* Italy.

[g] Idem, sect. 39. [h] Epist. Joan. ap. Baron. An. 876. [i] Epist. Joan. 89. [k] Ejusd. Epist. ap. Sigon. [l] Erchemp. sect. 40. Anon. Salern. c. 127. [m] Erchempert. sect. 44. [n] Anon. Salern. c. 128. [o] Leo Ost. l. v. c. 42, 44. Epist. Joan. 256, 279.

city, and to govern one half of the dioceſe. Notwithſtanding this partition, the civil diſ- a
ſenſions ſtill continued in *Capua*, brothers and couſins, according as the fortune of war prevailed, ſuffering baniſhment, or baniſhing each other.

Guaferius, *prince of* Salerno, *is ſucceeded by his ſon* Guaimarius. A. D. 880.

THE following year *Guaferius*, prince of *Salerno*, died, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Guaimarius*. He had not held the principality of *Salerno* many months, when *Gaideris*, prince of *Benevento*, was taken priſoner by *Lando*, one of the counts of *Capua*, becauſe he had eſpouſed the cauſe of count *Pandonulph*, and had given his daughter in marriage to his ſon. In room of *Gaideris*, the *Beneventans* choſe *Radelchis*, the ſon of their former prince *Adelgiſe*, who was ſoon after informed that *Gaideris* had made his eſcape from *France*, whither he had been ſent as a priſoner, and had put himſelf under the protection of the *Greeks* at *Bari*. From thence he proceeded to *Conſtantinople*, where he was received in an b
honourable manner by the emperor *Baſilius*, who conferred upon him for life the government of *Oria*, an inland city betwixt *Brindiſi* and *Tarento*[p]. In the mean time *Athanaſius*, biſhop of *Naples*, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the pope, continued his alliance with the *Saracens*, in conjunction with whom he ravaged the territories of *Benevento*. Being in hopes likewiſe of making a conqueſt of *Capua*, he fomented the diviſions among the brother counts, and ſent troops to the aſſiſtance of *Pandonulph*. The pope, not being able to prevail with him to renounce his alliance with the Infidels, though he had even gone to *Naples* for that purpoſe, returned to *Rome*, and in the month of *March* denounced a ſentence of excommunication againſt him. This cenſure, however, ſeemed to have no effect; *Athanaſius* united himſelf more cloſely than ever to the *Saracens*, and ſent to *Sicily*, c
deſiring king *Suchaim* to come over and command a great body of his countrymen, who had ſettled at the foot of mount *Veſuvius*. He likewiſe continued his army in *Capua*, where it committed great diſorders; and this year, among other priſoners, took the hiſtorian *Erchempertus*, then a youth, and ſtripped him of all that he had[q]. *Suchaim*, in the mean time, who had taken the command of the *Saracens*, began hoſtilities againſt his ally *Athanaſius*, and allowed his troops to live at diſcretion in the territory of *Naples*, where they raviſhed the women, and plundered the inhabitants of their effects. The *Neapolitans*, thinking theſe calamities were a conſequence of the ſentence of excommunication, prevailed on *Athanaſius* to conclude an alliance with *Guaimarius*, prince of *Salerno*, againſt the Infidels. The biſhop, accordingly, receiving a conſiderable body of troops from *Guaimarius*, and drawing reinforcements from the cities and maritime towns of *Capua*, obliged d
the Infidels to quit *Naples*, and retire to *Agropoli*.

*The pope excommunicates the biſhop of* Naples; A. D. 881.

AFTER their expulſion from his territories, he declared againſt *Pandonulph*, count of *Capua*, and beſieged that city in conjunction with the ſons of *Lando* and *Landonulph*. *Pandonulph* had recourſe to his kinſman *Radelchis*, prince of *Benevento*, for aſſiſtance, who marching with his brother *Aio* to his relief, was admitted into the city, and ſoon after attacked the beſiegers, who were at that time aſſiſted by the *Amalfitans*. Both parties fought with great obſtinacy, but neither ſide could claim a victory. *Radelchis* not long after returning to *Benevento*, *Athanaſius* perſuaded *Pandonulph* to an accommodation with his brothers; which was accordingly agreed to, and confirmed by an oath. But he and his party e
were no ſooner admitted into the city, but they ſeized *Pandonulph*, and his brother *Landonulph* the biſhop, with all their friends, and ſent the count and the biſhop priſoners to *Naples*. The *Saracens* in the mean time ſtill continued their incurſions, and ravaged the provinces in ſuch a manner, that the lands and fields became intirely deſolate, and, for want of being cultivated, began to be covered with brambles and thorns[r]. About this time they aſſembled a powerful army from *Garigliano* and *Agropoli*, and marched to the relief of their countrymen, who were beſieged by the *Greeks* in *Santa Severina*. They were, however, very unſucceſsful in this expedition; for *Erchempertus* relates that they were all cut off by the *Greeks*, who immediately after made themſelves maſters of *Santa Severina* and *Amantea*, and recovered all *Lower Calabria*. f

*who makes himſelf maſter of* Capua. A. D. 882.

Aio *ſucceeds his brother* Radelchis, *who is expelled by the* Beneventans. A. D. 884.

IN the midſt of theſe confuſions, the *Beneventans* expelled their prince *Radelchis* in the third year of his reign, and choſe his brother *Aio* in his room[s]. *Aio* had not enjoyed the principality many months, when he was taken priſoner by *Guido*, duke of *Spoleto*, at *Capua*. When the *Saracens* drew their chief force into *Calabria* againſt the *Greeks*, *Guido*, or *Vido*, attacked their ſettlement at *Garigliano*, which he took and plundered. Being afterwards met by *Aio* at *Capua*, he detained him a priſoner, and proceeded to *Benevento*, where he diſpoſed of every thing according to his pleaſure, and afterwards marched quite through the principality to *Siponto*, now *Manfredonia*, on the *Adriatic* ſea. The *Sipontins*, being informed that their prince was a priſoner, ſurpriſed *Guido* in one of their churches, and obliged him to ſet *Aio* at liberty. The *Saracens* in the mean time plundered and burnt the g

[p] ERCHEMPERT. ſect. 48. [q] Idem, ſect. 44. [r] ERCHEMPERT. ſect. 51. [s] Idem. ſect. 48. [t] Idem, ſect. 59.

mo-

a monaſtery of *Monte Caſſino*, which remained for two years in ruins, while *Athanaſius*, biſhop of *Naples*, renewed his hoſtilities againſt the *Capuans*, and endeavoured to perſuade *Atenulphus* to ſeize his couſin *Lando* and his ſons, and to aſſume the ſovereignty of all *Capua*. *Atenulphus* at firſt rejected his advice, and even diſcovered it to his couſins; but about two years after he allowed himſelf to be perſuaded, and, having drawn a great many young men over to his party, ſurpriſed *Capua*, and immediately declared himſelf count. As a ſecurity for his engagements to *Athanaſius*, he ſent his ſon a hoſtage to *Naples*; and to prevail with pope *Stephen* IV. to countenance his uſurpation, he ſent the abbot of *St. Vincent*, and *Dauferius*, a deacon, to *Rome*, offering to ſubmit himſelf to the pope, to reſtore *Gaeta* to him, and to aſſiſt him againſt the *Saracens*, who were ſettled at *Garigliano*; which pro-

b miſes, however, he afterwards neglected to fulfil[u]. Some time before this revolution in *Capua*, *Guaimarius*, prince of *Salerno*, not being able to oppoſe the *Saracens*, who, in conjunction with *Athanaſius*, ravaged his principality, went to *Conſtantinople*, to aſk aſſiſtance from the *Greek* emperors *Leo* and *Alexander*, who the ſame year had ſucceeded their father *Baſilius*, received him with great honour, created him a patrician, ſupplied him with money and proviſions, and, upon his return, ſent with him a conſiderable body of *Greeks*, who were put in garriſon at *Salerno*[w]. *Pellegrinus* informs us likewiſe, that they granted him a charter, which is recorded by *Summontes*[x], confirming to him the principality of *Salerno*, according to the treaty of partition made betwixt *Siconolphus* and *Radelchis*[y].

Atenulphus *uſurps the ſovereignty of* Capua.

Soon after his return, *Aio*, prince of *Benevento*, renounced his allegiance to the *Greeks*,

c and attacked their garriſon in *Bari*. The biſhop of *Naples* in the mean time attacked his territories, and thoſe of *Atenulphus*, count of *Capua*. In ſhort, all thoſe provinces, which compoſe the preſent kingdom of *Naples*, were engaged, about this period, in continual civil wars, and with great animoſity contributed to their mutual ruin. They concluded ſolemn treaties, which they violated within ten days after; and preferring their private reſentment to the good of the public, and inſtead of uniting to expel the *Saracens*, they continually aſſociated themſelves with the Infidels, who made no ſcruple of ſerving in oppoſite armies[z]. The anarchy which prevailed at this time in *Italy* was greatly increaſed by the death of the emperor *Charles the Groſs*, without male iſſue. The *Italians*, on this occaſion, reſolved no longer to be governed by a foreign prince, and accordingly choſe *Be-*

Aio *renounces his allegiance to the* Greeks. A. D. 888.

d *rengarius* duke of *Friuli*, for their king, who, by the mother's ſide, was great grandſon of *Charlemagne*. He obtained the kingdom peaceably, as he had entered into a previous compact with another ambitious great grandſon of *Charles the Great*, namely, *Vido*, or *Guido*, duke of *Spoleto*, who, in his choice of the kingdoms of the late emperor, thought proper to prefer *France*. The *French*, however, having conferred their kingdom on *Otho*, count of *Paris* and *Orleans*, *Guido* returned diſappointed to *Italy*, and immediately formed pretenſions to his native kingdom; in which he was ſo fortunate, as to be countenanced by pope *Stephen*, who had adviſed him to his *French* expedition. A civil war enſuing, *Guido* defeated his competitor, and, after much bloodſhed, having intirely reduced all thoſe of the oppoſite party, he was crowned emperor by pope *Formoſus*, in the firſt year of his pon-

Berengarius *and* Guido *contend for the crown of* Italy.

e tificate.

At the commencement of this deſtructive civil war, which continued four years in the northern parts of *Italy*, *Leo*, emperor of *Conſtantinople*, reſolving to puniſh the revolt of *Aio*, prince of *Benevento*, made great preparations for an expedition into *Italy*. *Aio*, however, died before the arrival of the *Greek* army, and left his principality to his ſon *Orſo*, then a boy of ten years of age. *Gaideris*, the exiled prince, who ſtill reſided at *Oria*, urged the emperor to ſeize that opportunity of making a conqueſt of *Benevento*. *Leo*, accordingly, the follow-

*The* Greeks *conquer* Beneventum. A. D. 891.

ing year, ſent over into *Italy* a powerful army, under the command of *Simbaticius*, Protoſpatharius, who, inveſting *Benevento*, made himſelf maſter of the city, after a ſiege of three months; and ſoon after reducing all the cities of the principality, ſubjected it to the *Greek*

f emperor, after it had been governed by the *Lombards* about three hundred and twenty years[a]. *Simbaticius* remained in *Benevento* about two years, and afterwards delivered up his government to *George* the patrician, who treated the *Beneventans* with great mildneſs and humanity, in hopes of reconciling them to their new maſter. In the mean time *Guaimarius*, prince of *Salerno*, governing his ſubjects in a tyrannical manner, many of them fled to *Benevento*, where they entered into a conſpiracy againſt their prince, and offered to deliver up *Salerno* to the patrician. *George* accordingly aſſembled an army, under pretence of attacking the *Saracens*, and marched to the very walls of *Salerno*; but, though the gates were opened by the conſpirators, he was diſſuaded from marching into the city by the biſhop of *Beneventum*, who pretended to propheſy, that if they entered *Salerno*, they would

[u] Erchempert. ſect. 63. [w] Idem, ſect. 54, 67. Anon. Salern. c. 134. [x] Summont. t. i. p. 428. [y] Camill. Peregrin. in Stem. Princ. Salern. [z] Anon. Salern. Erchemp. paſſim. [a] Camill. Peregrin. Hiſt. Princ. Longob. Anon. Salern. c. 142.

all

all be ſlain. The *Beneventans* likewiſe refuſed to join in the enterprize; and, in the mean while, a panic ſeizing his army, they fled back with great precipitation. This treacherous proceeding of the patrician intirely alienated the *Beneventans* from the *Greeks*. They therefore privately deſired *Guaimarius*, prince of *Salerno*, to invite *Guido*, prince of *Spoleto*, whoſe ſiſter he had married, to come into their neighbourhood with an army, promiſing to deliver their city to him. *Guido*, whoſe elder brother *Lambert* was then emperor and king of *Italy*, quickly arrived with an army in the neighbourhood of *Benevento*, were he was joyfully received by the inhabitants, who had been for ſome time greatly oppreſſed by the *Greek* governor *Theodore Turmaca*, the ſucceſſor of the patrician *George*, who had died a little before of a palſy [b].

*which is recovered by the duke of* Spoleto. A. D. 896.

a

Radelchis *is reſtored to the principality of* Benevento. 898.

*GUIDO* allowed *Turmaca* to depart, upon paying five thouſand crowns; and, after he had held the principality near two years, he reſolved to return to *Spoleto*, and to put *Guaimarius*, his brother-in-law, in poſſeſſion of *Benevento*. *Guaimarius* accordingly proceeded with a numerous retinue to *Avellino*, within fourteen miles of *Benevento*, where he was ſurpriſed at night by the Gaſtald *Adelpherius*, who immediately put out his eyes. *Guido* nevertheleſs left *Benevento*, which, after his departure, was governed a few months by *Peter* the biſhop, who, finding great difficulty in repulſing the *Greeks*, invited the mother of the emperor *Lambert* to come to the city. She ſoon after arrived at *Benevento*, and reſtored the principality to her brother *Radelchis*, who had been expelled about 14 years before by *Aio* [c]. As he was of a ſoft and indolent diſpoſition, and had no talents for government, he ſuffered himſelf wholly to be directed by the councils of one *Virialdus*, who excited him to harraſs his ſubjects, and to baniſh ſeveral of the *Beneventan* lords. Theſe exiles, with many others who voluntarily baniſhed themſelves, retired to *Capua*, where they were honourably entertained by *Atenulphus*. In reſentment of the ſeverity of *Radelchis*, they formed a deſign of again expelling him, and conferring the principality on their protector *Atenulphus*, who willingly hearkened to their propoſal, and, to ſtrengthen his intereſt, immediately ſent an embaſſy to *Guaimarius*, prince of *Salerno*, begging the prince's daughter for his ſon *Landulph*, and offering to be ſubject to him, as his predeceſſors had been to the *Salernitan* princes. *Guaimarius*, at the inſtigation of his wife *Jota*, and the *Capuan* exiles *Lando* and *Landulph*, rejected the propoſed alliance in a diſdainful manner, which obliged *Atenulphus* to have recourſe to the friendſhip of *Athanaſius*, the biſhop and duke of *Naples*, who, without any difficulty, conſented to a firm alliance with him, and to give his only daughter *Gemma* to *Landulph*, the young count of *Capua* [d].

b

c

d

Atenulphus *count of* Capua *obtains poſſeſſion of that principality.* A. D. 900.

*ATENULPHUS*, ſtrengthened by this alliance, haſtened the execution of the deſign formed by the exiles, and proceeding with them towards *Benevento*, ſurpriſed the city during the night, and ſeized *Radelchis*. He was inſtantly proclaimed prince by the nobles and people, whoſe affection he afterwards ſtudied to ſecure by liberal gifts and a mild adminiſtration. This great revolution was very unacceptable to many *Beneventans*, who could not forbear repining at finding themſelves ſubjected to the dominion of a ſtranger, who was not deſcended of the race of their antient dukes and princes [e]. During theſe tranſactions at *Benevento*, *Guaimarius*, or *Waimar*, who had rendered himſelf odious to his ſubjects by his cruelty, was depoſed by his ſon *Guaimarius* II. whom he had a few years before aſſociated with himſelf in the government [f]. *Atenulphus*, in the mean while, to ſecure the poſſeſſion of the principality to his family, aſſociated his ſon *Landulph* with himſelf as prince, and, appointing *Peter* the biſhop as governor of *Benevento*, returned to *Capua*, where he fixed his reſidence, to the irrecoverable loſs of the city of *Benevento*, which from that time began to loſe its ſplendor, and decay. After his return to *Capua*, the *Beneventans*, prompted by their biſhop *Peter*, formed a deſign of a revolt; but the conſpiracy being diſcovered to *Atenulphus*, he marched back to *Benevento*, ſeized the chief rebels, and expelled the biſhop, who retired full of ſhame to *Salerno*, where he was kindly received by *Guaimarius* II. at that time greatly jealous of the power of the prince of *Benevento* (G). *Atenulphus*, having eſtabliſhed his authority in *Benevento*, was afterwards engaged for ſeveral years in op-

e

f

[b] Fragment. Hiſt. Longob. ap. PELLEGRIN. [c] Idem ibid. Anonym. Salern. ap. PELLEGRIN. [d] Anon. Salern. ut ſupra [e] Idem Ibid. [f] Idem ut ſupra.

(G) *Atenulphus* comprehended both the principality of *Benevento* and the county of *Capua* under the ſame government; and, according to *Pellegrinus*, they continued ſo united during the reigns of his ſons and grandſons. For though, ſoon after this period, in ſome antient records, mention is made of the princes of *Capua*, yet that is only in compliance with the vulgar ſpeech, becauſe the princes of that family reſided at *Capua*. It is evident from many proofs, that *Atenulphus* did not erect *Capua* into a new principality, diſtinct from that of *Benevento*. We ſhall particularly mention the following words in an agreement made betwixt the princes *Landulph* and *Atenulph*, and *Gregory*, duke of *Naples*; which was afterwards renewed in the year 933. The words are theſe: "In toto principatu veſtro *Beneventano*, cum omnibus ſuis pertinentiis, nec in toto "comitatu *Capuano*, nec in *Teano*, cum pertinentiis "ſuis" (1).

(1) *Anon. Salern. Peregrin. & Pietro Giannone ut ſupra.*



poſing

a poſing the incurſions of the *Saracens*, who had fortified themſelves ſtrongly on the *Garigliano*. He was aſſiſted by the *Amalfitans*, and by *Gregory* duke of *Naples*, who had ſucceeded *Athanaſius*; but finding their joint forces unable to ſuppreſs the Infidels, he applied for aſſiſtance to the emperor *Leo*, and ſent his ſon *Landulph* to *Conſtantinople*. *Leo*, deſirous of recovering the authority of his predeceſſors in *Italy*, received *Landulph* with great kindneſs, created him a patrician, and ordered a powerful army to be tranſported into *Italy*. During the abſence of *Landulph*, *Atenulphus* aſſociated his other ſon, of his own name, in the principality, and died in a few months after, having governed the *Beneventans* ten years and ſix months, and been count of *Capua* twenty-three years and an half[g]. *His death.* A. D. 910.

b *LANDULPH* hearing of the death of his father, who was greatly regretted, immediately left *Conſtantinople*, and returned to *Capua*, where he was received with great affection by his brother; and together with him aſſumed the government, both of them agreeing not to ſeparate the principality from the county, as had been propoſed by their father. *His two ſons govern conjointly.* Mean while the *Greek* army arrived in *Italy*, under the command of *Nicholas Picigli*, a patrician, who brought with him the dignity of patriciate from the emperor *Conſtantine* VIII. for *Gregory*, duke of *Naples*, and *John*, duke of *Gaeta*, in order to detach them intirely from the *Saracens*. *Nicholas* having drawn conſiderable reinforcements from *Puglia* and *Calabria*, which were then almoſt intirely under the dominion of the *Greeks*, and being joined by auxiliary troops from *Naples*, *Gaeta*, and *Salerno*, beſides thoſe of the *Beneventans* and *Capuans*, he marched to the *Garigliano*, and ſat down before the fort of the *Saracens*.

c *John* X. likewiſe joined in this alliance, and alſo the *Spoletans*, and inhabitants of *Camerino*, and together with *Alberic*, marquis of *Tuſcany*, inveſted another ſide of the fort. The *Saracens*, after a ſiege of three months, deſpairing of being able to defend the place, ſet fire to ſeveral parts of the town, and ſallied out to the neighbouring woods and mountains; but being purſued and ſurrounded by the *Italians* and *Greeks*, they were almoſt intirely cut off[h]. *The* Saracens *are entirely defeated at* Garigliano. A. D. 915.

THOUGH by this celebrated victory, obtained by the allies, *Italy* was intirely freed from the *Saracens*, yet, ſoon after, another body of *Moors* arriving from *Africa*, and being joined with thoſe who had ſaved themſelves from *Garigliano*, they ravaged *Puglia* and the territories of *Benevento*. The tranquility of the provinces was likewiſe ſoon diſturbed by the

d *Grecks*, who governing the *Apulians* and *Calabrians* with great ſeverity, obliged them to revolt. They accordingly put themſelves under the protection of *Landulph*, prince of *Benevento*, who willingly eſpouſed their cauſe; and being in hopes, by that opportunity of recovering *Bari*, and many cities of *Puglia*, he immediately began hoſtilities againſt the *Greeks*. The event of the war at firſt, however, was contrary to his expectation; for the *Apulians* and *Calabrians* were quickly reduced by the *Greeks*, whoſe reſentment was ſo great againſt them and *Landulph*, that they invited the *Saracens* again from *Africa*, and hired them as auxiliaries. Though the *Greeks*, in the beginning of the war, made conſiderable progreſs, yet, in the third campaign, *Landulph* gained a complete victory over them at *Aſcoli*, when the *Greek* general was ſlain. About eight years afterwards, according to *Lu-*

e *pus*, Protaſpata, *Landulph* being aſſiſted by *Guaimarius*, prince of *Salerno*, at laſt wreſted *Puglia* from the *Greeks*, and kept poſſeſſion of the province ſeven years[i]. The war, however, ſeems ſtill to have continued, for we read the following ſtory in *Luitprand*, which is placed by *Sigonius* four years after the conqueſt of *Apulia*. The *Greeks* continuing their hoſtilities with great vigour, *Landulph* called in *Theobald*, marquis of *Spoleto* and *Camerino*, to his aſſiſtance. *Theobald* having gained ſome advantages over the *Greeks*, ordered the priſoners he had taken to be caſtrated, and ſent them back in that condition to the *Greek* general, with orders to tell him, that as he knew his emperor was a great lover of eunuchs, he had ſent him theſe few, but he hoped to be able to ſend him a much greater number in a ſhort time. A certain woman, whoſe huſband had been taken priſoner, hearing of the

f intention of the marquis, came to his camp, and being admitted to his preſence, made loud complaints againſt his proceeding, and accuſed him of baſe cowardice, for making war upon helpleſs women, by depriving their huſbands of what gives them health, pleaſure, and children. If he had a mind to puniſh them, they had eyes, a noſe, and hands, which were their own: but what he had hitherto deprived them of was the property of their wives, and ought not to be injured. This woman's ingenuous declaration had ſuch an effect upon *Theobald*, that her huſband and all that ſhe had loſt were immediately reſtored to her[k]. Two years after this tranſaction, it appears that the *Beneventan* princes had returned to their obedience to the *Greeks*; for *Peregrinus* mentions a charter which is dated in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of *Landulphus*, to which is added likewiſe the years of the reign *A war betwixt* Landulph *and the* Greeks.

[g] MURATOR, tom. ii. p. 278. [h] LUITPRAND. hiſt. ap. MURATOR. t. ii. p. 441. SIGON. in Regn. Ital. an. 915. Series Abbat. Caſſin. apud MURATOR. t. v. p. 210. [i] LUITPRAND. Legatio, LUP. Protoſpat. apud MURATOR. tom. v. p. 38. [k] SIGON. in Regn. Ital. LUITPRAND. l. iv. c. 4.

of the emperor *Constantine* [l]. This peace, however, continued but a few years; for *Lupus*, Protaſpata, mentions a battle fought betwixt the *Lombards* and the *Greeks* at *Matera*, in which the *Greek* general was killed [m]. This action happened about three years before the death of *Landulph*, who died in the forty-third year of his reign, after he had again been obliged to ſubmit to the *Greeks*, as appears from the words of a charter produced by *Baronius* and *Peregrinus* [n]. About ten years before the death of *Landulph*, died *Guaimarius* II. prince of *Salerno*, leaving his principality to his infant ſon *Giſulphus*, whom a little before he had aſſociated with himſelf in the government. *Guaimarius* had married *Gaitelgrima*, the daughter of *Atenulphus* II. prince of *Benevento*; who being expelled in the twenty-ſecond year of his reign, by his brother *Landulph*, retired to *Salerno* [o]. Notwithſtanding his baniſhment, his name was ſtill retained in the public writs. *Landulph*, in the mean time, aſſociating with himſelf in the government his two ſons, *Atenulphus* III. and *Landulph* II. which laſt ſucceeeded him at his death. As there is no mention of *Atenulphus* III. after the death of his father, it is probable that he did not ſurvive him [p].

Landulph *ſubmits and dies.* A. D. 943.

Landulph II, *ſucceeds to the principality*; A. D. 943.

*LANDULPH* II. held the principality eighteen years, having in the beginning of his reign aſſociated with himſelf in the government his ſon *Pandulph*, ſurnamed *Iron-head*, and afterwards, about two years before his death, conferred the title of prince upon his other ſon *Landulph* III [q]. During his reign the *Greeks* beſieged and took *Aſcoli*, and the *Huns*, or *Hungarians*, who for ſeveral years before had infeſted *Italy*, marched as far as *Capua* and *Lucera*, but were entirely defeated by the inhabitants [r].

*which is again ſeparated from* Capua. A. D. 961.

UPON the death of *Landulph* II. his two ſons, *Pandulph Iron-head* and *Landulph* III. made a diviſion of his territories, *Landulph* having the principality of *Benevento*, and fixing his reſidence in the ancient capital, while *Pandulph* reſided at *Capua*, and governed that county. In the ſecond year of their reigns, *Otho* the Great, king of *Germany*, upon the invitation of the pope and the *Italians*, arrived with a powerful army in *Italy* againſt *Berengarius* III. and marching to *Rome*, received the imperial crown from the pope. *Otho*, in imitation of *Charlemagne*, immediately applied his thoughts to the eſtabliſhing his authority in *Italy*; and the following year, in the month of *Auguſt*, he proceeded to *Capua*, to receive the homage of the *Lombard* princes [s]. Their power and influence, ſince the time of *Arechis* and *Grimoald*, were greatly decayed; they could not therefore imitate thoſe princes, and oppoſe the arms of the new conqueror. *Pandulph* and his brother being ſenſible of their own weakneſs, ſtrove to procure the favour of *Otho* by their obſequiouſneſs and reſpect, and being informed of his march towards *Capua*, they went out to meet him with a great retinue, and conducted him and his empreſs *Adelaide* to the city, with great demonſtrations of joy. They acknowleged him as their ſovereign, declared themſelves his vaſſals and feudatories, and ſubjected their ſtates to him in the ſame manner as their predeceſſors had done to the antient *Lombard* kings. *Pandulphus* particularly having acquired his favour, obtained from him an imperial decree, erecting the county of *Capua* into a principality, and that he ſhould for the future have the title of prince of *Capua* [t]. *Otho* during his reſidence at *Capua* ſent an ambaſſy to *Giſulphus*, the brother of his empreſs, inviting him to come and ſee his ſiſter. The *Salernitan* prince was very apprehenſive of a ſiniſter deſign; but after having in a ſolemn manner implored the protection of the Virgin *Mary*, and having obtained the bleſſing of his biſhop, he ſet out with his attendants for *Capua*, and was met at ſome diſtance from the city by the princes *Pandulph* and *Landulph*, who preſented him to the emperor. According to our author, *Otho* ſtepped down from his throne to receive him, and his ſiſter *Adelaide* ran to him, and falling on his neck, kiſſed him ſeveral times, reproaching him in a tender manner for not coming to ſee her without being invited. *Giſulphus*, after receiving ſome valuable preſents from the emperor and empreſs, returned with great joy to *Salerno* [u].

Capua *is erected into a principality by* Otho; A. D. 964.

*who propoſes to reduce* Puglia *and* Calabria.

*OTHO* in the mean time reſolved to recover *Puglia* and *Calabria* from the *Greeks*; but was at that time recalled from *Campania* by a rebellion of the pope and the *Romans*. He was employed ſome time in reducing the rebels; and having re-eſtabliſhed his authority at *Rome*, went back to *Germany*. The *Italians* during his abſence revolted, and the *Romans* expelled pope *John* XIII. becauſe he refuſed to join in their rebellion. Theſe commotions obliged the emperor, about two years after, to return to *Italy*, where he puniſhed the chiefs of the rebellion with great ſeverity; and ſending for his young ſon *Otho*, then about thirteen years of age, cauſed him to be crowned emperor by the pope. Soon after he again proceeded to *Capua*, where he received an ambaſſy from the *Greek* emperor *Nicephorus*, who being apprehenſive of his power, profeſſed a deſire of living in friendſhip with him. *Otho* propoſed an alliance betwixt his young ſon and *Theophania*, the daughter of the late em-

[l] PEREGRIN. in not. 23. ad LUP. Protoſpat. [m] LUP. Protoſpat. ad ann. 940. [n] BARON. Annal ann. 941. PEREGR. in not. 26. ut ſupra. [o] Anon. Salern. [p] PELLEGRIN. in Stem. Gener. Atenulph. apud MURAT. t. ii. [q] Idem. Ibid. [r] LUP. Protoſpat. ut ſupra. [s] BARON. ad ann. 963. [t] PIETRO GIANNONE, ut ſupra. [u] Anon. Salern. ut ſupra.

peror

peror *Romanus*, whose wife had poisoned him, that she might marry *Nicephorus*. He required likewise the provinces of *Puglia* and *Calabria* as a dowry with the young princess; and to negotiate the affair, he sent *Luitprand*, bishop of *Cremona*, as his ambassador to *Constantinople*, being firmly resolved to commence hostilities if *Nicephorus* refused to agree to his proposal, as appears from his letter to his generals *Herman* and *Theodoric*, whom he had left in *Germany* [w]. *Luitprand* wrote a curious account of his ambassy, which is still extant [x]. He says, he was received at *Constantinople* with the greatest inhumanity, and almost starved; that *Nicephorus* in his discourse treated *Otho* and the *Germans* with great contempt and ridicule, and refused to consent to the match, unless *Otho* would restore to him *Rome* and *Ravenna*, and all that part of *Italy* betwixt those cities and *Sicily*: though the match should not take place, he required *Otho* to leave *Rome* free, and to renounce all pretensions to the sovereignty over the *Beneventan* and *Capuan* princes, who were his subjects. *Otho* in the mean time had returned to *Rome*, together with the pope, who, while he was at *Capua* with the emperor, erected that see into a metropolitan, and created *John*, the brother of *Pandulph*, the first archbishop [y].

*He sends an ambassy to* Constantinople. A. D. 968.

BEFORE the return of *Luitprand* from *Constantinople*, *Otho*, when at *Rome*, received an ambassy from *Nicephorus*, who desired him to send some of his chief men to *Apulia*, to receive *Theophania*. The emperor accordingly sent some of his nobles, with a large escort, to receive the princess; but instead of finding *Theophania*, they were unexpectedly attacked by the *Greeks*, and almost all killed or taken prisoners. This perfidious action immediately determined the emperor to declare war. He accordingly, in the month of *March*, laid siege to *Bari*; but the *Greeks* defended themselves with such resolution, that he was obliged to withdraw his army. The rest of the campaign was spent with various success; for tho' the emperor ravaged some of the *Greek* territories, yet *Pandulph*, prince of *Capua*, who invested *Bovino*, was defeated in a sally, and taken prisoner by the *Greeks*, who immediately sent him to *Constantinople*. A little before this campaign, *Landulph*, prince of *Benevento*, dying, *Pandulph* had succeeded him in that principality, to the prejudice of the son of the deceased, and had associated his own son *Landulph* IV. in the government. After his defeat before *Bovino*, the *Greeks*, elated with their success, invaded the territories of *Benevento*, took *Avellino*, and advancing towards *Capua*, plundered all the country through which they marched, and at last invested the city. They were joined on their march by *Marinus*, then duke of *Naples*, with a great body of *Neapolitans*, who neglecting the siege, employed themselves wholly in ravaging the country. *Eugenius*, the *Greek* commander, finding that he made no progress in the siege, and being informed that *Otho* was assembling a powerful army for the relief of the city, raised the siege, which had continued about six weeks, and retired with his troops, ordering the greatest part of them to march through the duchy of *Benevento*, while he with the rest went to *Salerno*, where he was received with the utmost civility by the prince *Gisulphus*, who was secretly in the interest of *Nicephorus* [z].

*besieges* Bari, *but without effect.*

*The* Greeks *besiege* Capua.

*OTHO* in the mean time arrived with his army at *Capua*, and being joined by the *Capuans*, advanced into the duchy of *Naples*, ravaging the country, and at last sitting down before the city. Finding himself unable to get possession of the place he decamped, and marched to *Avellino*, which he burnt, because the inhabitants had voluntarily submitted to the *Greeks*. He afterwards marched to *Benevento*, which that same year had been erected into an archbishopric; and designing an expedition into *Apulia*, he and his nobles heard mass, which was celebrated by the new archbishop *Landulph*, after which they received the eucharist under both kinds, according to the practice then in use [a]. The archbishop then giving his benediction to the whole army, they immediately marched into *Puglia*, where they defeated the *Greeks*; and towards the end of the campaign returned to *Avellino*. The following year *Otho* again marched into the *Neapolitan* territories, from whence he carried off a great number of cattle, and then proceeded into *Puglia*, ravaging the country, and burning the suburbs of *Bovino*, which city his troops again invested. While he was on his march thither, he was met by *Alvara*, the wife of prince *Pandulphus*, with her son, who requested him in the most earnest manner to procure the liberty of her husband, who was treated with great inhumanity by *Nicephorus*. The *Beneventan* prince soon after recovered his liberty, by a revolution which happened at *Constantinople*, *Theophania*, who had poisoned her first husband, *Romanus*, this year murdered *Nicephorus*, and promoted her confidant, *John Zimisceus*, to the empire; who, to quiet the murmurs of the people, resolved to make peace with *Otho*, and immediately set *Pandulph* at liberty. Resolving to use him as a mediator, he soon after sent him to *Bari*, and desired him to inform *Otho* that he would agree to the marriage betwixt his step-daughter *Theophania* and his son *Otho* II. *Pandulph*, upon his return to *Italy*, was received with great affection by the emperor,

*Their territories are ravaged by* Otho; A. D. 970.

[w] BARON. ad ann. 968. Rer. Germ. Script. apud MEIBOM. t. i. p. 666. [x] MURATOR. t. ii. p. 479.
[y] LEO Ostiens. l. ii. c. 9. [z] Anon. Salern. [a] Idem ibid.

*who concludes a peace with the* Greeks. A. D. 972.

peror, who reſtored him to his former dignity, and by his perſuaſions conſented to evacuate *Puglia*, and to agree to a peace with *Zimiſceus*, who accordingly two years after ſent *Theophania* to *Italy*. She was received with great magnificence at *Rome*, where in the month of *April* ſhe was married to *Otho* II. by the pope, who afterwards crowned her empreſs. *Otho*, a few months after, returned to *Germany*, where he died the year following. a

*Giſulphus prince of* Salerno *is depoſed by his uncle;*

About the time that *Otho* left *Italy*, *Giſulphus*, prince of *Salerno*, was baſely ſurpriſed by his uncle *Landulph*, the ſon of the baniſhed prince of *Capua*, *Atenulphus* II. *Giſulphus*, by the perſuaſions of his mother *Gaitelgrima*, who was ſiſter to *Landulph*, had laviſhed a great many favours upon him, and had created him count of *Conſia*, from whence, however, he was ſoon expelled on account of his cruelty, and obliged to retire to *Naples*, with his four ſons, *Guaimarius*, *Indolf*, *Landulph*, and *Landenulph*. By the intereſt of his ſiſter he was ſoon after recalled to *Salerno*, reſtored to the county of *Conſia*, and promoted to ſuch a degree of favour, that, according to the cotemporary hiſtorian, he was next in authority to the prince [b]. His promotion only ſerved to diſcover his ingratitude and ambition; for ſoon after, by the aſſiſtance of his ſons, he ſurpriſed *Giſulphus* and his princeſs in their palace, and publiſhing to the people that they were murdered, he prevailed upon them to acknowlege himſelf as their prince. He was aſſiſted in eſtabliſhing his authority by *Marinus*, duke of *Naples*, and *Manſo*, duke of *Amalfi*, to which laſt city he had privately removed *Giſulphus* and his princeſs. But a difference happening betwixt him and his ſon *Indolf*, who expected to have been aſſociated into the principality, the enraged ſon began to concert means of reſtoring his lawful prince, and perſuaded the *Salernitan* nobles to ſecure the caſtles, and to apply to *Pandulph Iron-head*, prince of *Capua*, for his aſſiſtance. *Pandulph* hearkened to their requeſt with great joy, and aſſembling ſome troops, quickly reduced all the cities and towns in the principality of *Salerno*, except the capital, which was ſtrongly garriſoned by the *Amalfitans*. After a conſiderable time ſpent in the ſiege, he at length made himſelf maſter of *Salerno*, and having expelled the uſurper, reſtored *Giſulphus*, who had been near two years a priſoner. *Giſulphus* having no children himſelf, ſoon after his reſtoration, from gratitude to his reſtorer, adopted his ſon *Pandulph*, and made him his co-partner in the government. With him he reigned four years, and at his death he left *Pandulphus*, the father, as his ſucceſſor; who accordingly united all the three diviſions of the antient principality of *Benevento*, being called prince of *Benevento*, *Salerno*, and *Capua*. *Pandulphus* enjoyed the principality of *Salerno* about three years, and at his death very imprudently made a diviſion of his territories. He left his ſon *Pandulphus* prince of *Salerno*, and another ſon, *Landulph* IV. as prince of *Capua* and *Benevento*. Beſides, he gave ſeparate fiefs to his other ſons *Laidulph*, *Giſulph*, *Landenulph* and *Atenulph*; but no mention is made how he diſpoſed of the duchy of *Spoleto*, and marquiſate of *Camerino*, which he was likewiſe in poſſeſſion of for twelve years [c] (H). b c d

*but is reſtored by* Pandulph *prince of* Capua; A. D. 974. *who ſucceeds him in the principality of* Salerno. A. D. 978.

Benevento *and* Capua *are again divided.* A. D. 981.

A few weeks after his death *Otho* II. arrived with an army at *Benevento*, with the intention of expelling the *Greeks* and *Saracens* entirely from *Puglia* and *Calabria*. His army was reinforced by *Romans*, *Neapolitans*, and *Beneventans*; and he was likewiſe joined by prince *Landulph* IV. and his brother count *Atenulph*; though it appears that *Landulph* was, about this time, diſpoſſeſſed of *Benevento* by his couſin *Pandulph*; who, upon his father's death, had been deprived of his inheritance by *Pandulph Iron-head*. *Otho*, we are informed by *Sigonius*, made great progreſs at firſt in *Puglia* and *Calabria*, and advanced with his army as far as *Tarento*: but the following year, on the 15th of *July*, he was entirely defeated, in a general engagement, by the *Greeks* and *Saracens* of *Baſentello*, a ſmall town on the coaſt of *Calabria*. His defeat was owing to his *Italian* auxiliaries, who being diſguſted with his cruelty, deſerted in the beginning of the action, by which means his army was almoſt entirely cut to pieces, and he himſelf, with great difficulty, eſcaped in diſ- e

[b] Anon. Salern. [c] Petrus Damiens. l. 7. ep. 12. Pellegrin. par 7. Anon. Salern. f

(H) The learned and accurate *Giannone* relates, that from the great number of fiefs and counties which now began to be turned into hereditary lordſhips, and were poſſeſſed by nobles who lived abſolute and independent in fortified caſtles, ſurnames began about this time to be reſtored in theſe provinces, for the better diſtinguiſhing thoſe princes who had the ſame name, and were deſcended from the ſame family. The ſurnames were generally taken where they or their forefathers had fixed their reſidence. They were alſo taken from magiſtracy and office, ſuch as *Maſtrigiudice*, *Doci*, *Conti*, *Cavaleanti*, *Filaſtoppa*, &c. Sometimes, though rarely, from the names of their forefathers, as the family of *Atenulpho*, and ſome others; but afterwards, from an infinite number of occaſions and accidents. Thoſe ſurnames began to be uſed about the end of the tenth century; yet they are rarely found in the charters and other writs of thoſe times. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries they began to be a little more frequent among the *Normans*; and in the thirteenth and fourteenth they were ſo diffuſed and eſtabliſhed, that commonly every body, though of mean extraction, had ſurnames, and tranſmitted them to poſterity (1).

(1) *Pietro Giannone hiſt. di Naple. l.* 8. *c.* 8. *ſect.* 2. *Dufrene in Gloſſ. voc. Cogno. Freccio de ſubfeud. p.* 24.

guise. The prince *Landulph*, with his brother *Atenulph*, and many other persons of distinction, were slain in the battle; and though the *Greeks* did not pursue their victory as might have been expected, yet *Sigonius* relates, that they recovered all *Calabria* and *Puglia*, over which they placed a new governor, under the title of Catapan, with greater authority than formerly; and the author of the chorographical description of *Italy* thinks that at this time they conquered the greater part of ancient *Lucania*, which they annexed to their other *Italian* provinces, under the name of *Basilicata*, in honour of the emperor *Basilius* II. who was then reigning [d].

*OTHO* having saved himself with the remains of his army at *Capua*, conferred that principality on *Aloara* and her son *Landenulph*, the brother of the deceased *Landulph*, who governed the principality ten years; but *Aloara* dying, *Landenulph*, about four months after, was cruelly murdered by his own subjects [e]. The emperor, who, according to some authors, was wounded with a poisoned arrow during the battle, soon after caused his son *Otho* III. then about ten years of age, to be declared king of *Italy* and *Germany*; and having recruited his army, the following year he marched to *Benevento*, which city he allowed his soldiers to pillage, in resentment of the treacherous behaviour of the *Beneventans* at *Basentello*. We do not find, however, that he attacked the *Greeks*, but returning to *Rome*, he died in that city in the beginning of *December*.

Otho *dies*. A. D. 983.

The death of *Otho* occasioned great disturbances in *Italy*. About four months after, *Peter*, bishop of *Pavia*, his chancellor, was elected pope by the name of *John* XIV. and did his utmost to secure the *Romans* to the interest of the young *Otho*. *Boniface*, in the mean time, who had been expelled as an intruder into the *Roman* see by the former pope *Benedict*, hearing of his death, and of the death of *Otho*, returned from *Constantinople* to *Rome*; where, by bribing the *Romans* with those treasures which he had formerly taken from the *Vatican*, he raised a strong party, who imprisoned *John*, and declared him pope. *John*, after four months imprisonment, died of hunger. *Boniface*, however, did not long enjoy the papal dignity, but died suddenly, about four months after. The *Romans* then chose *John* XV. but he was soon after expelled by *Crescentius Numentanus*, who seized the castle of *St. Angelo*, and assumed the government of *Rome*, under the title of consul. *John* retiring into *Tuscany*, and pressing the young *Otho* to come into *Italy*, the *Romans*, who began to be apprehensive of the emperor's resentment, immediately invited the pope back to the city, and upon his return received him with the greatest respect; *Crescentius*, however, still retaining the government of the city, and keeping possession of the castle of *St. Angelo*.

*Is succeeded by* Otho III.

During these proceedings several revolutions had happened in the principality of *Salerno*. Before the death of the late emperor, *Pandulph* had been expelled from *Salerno*, by *Manso* duke of *Amalfi*, who associated his son *John* with him in the principality, which he held for two years, till the emperor's death. After the death of *Otho* the *Salernitans* expelled *Manso* and his son, and chose one *John*, called *di Lamberto*, to distinguish him from the emperor *John*. He associated his son *Guido* with him in the government, and upon his death, which happened about five years after, he conferred the title of prince upon his other son *Guaimarius*, with whom he reigned six years [f]. The year before his death, *Landenulph*, prince of *Capua*, as we mentioned above, was murdered by his subjects, and his brother *Laidulph*, who was concerned in the murder, was chosen as his successor.

*Revolutions in* Salerno,

*and in* Capua.

While *Laidulph* held this principality, and *Guimarius* or *Guaimarius* III. reigned in *Salerno*, and *Pandulph* II. with his son *Landulph* V. governed *Benevento*, *Otho* III. in the twelfth year of his reign, arrived with an army in *Italy*, to establish his authority in that kingdom, and particularly to reduce *Crescentius*, who still kept possession of the castle of *St. Angelo*, and governed with a despotic authority in *Rome*. *John* XV. dying about the time the emperor arrived at *Ravenna*, he ordered the *Romans* to elect his nephew *Bruno*, who took the name of *Gregory* V. and proceeding to *Rome* received the imperial crown from his hands, after which ceremony he returned, in the end of the year, to *Germany*. Before he had quitted *Italy*, *Crescentius*, whom he had pardoned at the intercession of the new pope, again assumed his former authority, expelled *Gregory*, and substituted the bishop of *Placentia* as pope, who took the name of *John* XVI. *Gregory* retired to *Germany*, and intreated *Otho* to return to *Italy* with a powerful army to reduce the *Romans*. The emperor accordingly repassed the *Alps* the following year in the month of *April*; and having obliged the *Romans* to deliver their city, seized the antipope, whose eyes he ordered to be put out, and his ears and hands to be cut off. He likewise, after a vigorous siege, reduced the castle of *St. Angelo*, and put *Crescentius* to death. About two years after, he

Otho *marches into* Rome. A. D. 996.

[d] Sigon. in regn. Ital. ad an 892. Tabul. Chorograph. apud Murator, t. 10. col. 285. 286. Leo Ost. l. 2. c. 9. [e] Leo Ostiens. c. 9. & 10. Petr. Damian l. 7. epist. 12. [f] Peregrin. in Stem. princ. Salern.

again returned to *Italy*, and his nephew *Gregory* being dead, he nominated to the pontificate the famous *Gerbert*, archbishop of *Ravenna*, who had come into *Italy* with him about three years before, and now assumed the name of *Silvester* II. Soon after, being informed that *Laidulph*, prince of *Capua*, had been concerned in the murder of his brother, he expelled him from that principality, banished him from *Italy*, and bestowed his government upon *Ademarius* a *Capuan*, who had been educated from his infancy with himself, and enjoyed a great share of his favour [g]. a

*Confers the principality of* Capua *on* Ademarius.

A. D. 969.

The *Saracens* in the mean time still continued to make irruptions into these provinces. About three years before, they took and plundered *Matera*, after a siege of four months; and this year, immediately after the departure of the emperor for *Germany*, they invaded *Campania*, and made themselves masters of *Capua*. *Otho* returned to *Italy* the following year with a powerful army, recovered *Capua*, and all the other places of *Campania*, from the Infidels, and, after visiting *Monte Cassino* and *Monte Gargano* on a religious account, he marched with his army to *Benevento*, from whence, in resentment for the treacherous behaviour of the *Beneventans* to his father, he carried off the body of *S. Paulinus*. He survived this expedition only a few months; and dying in the end of the following *January* without any issue, gave a new opportunity to the *Italians* of claiming the empire and kingdom of *Italy*. The *Italian* nobles accordingly assembled at *Pavia*, and conferred the kingdom of *Italy* on *Ardoin*, the son of *Dodo*, marquis of *Ivrea*: but the archbishop of *Milan* and the *Italian* clergy, thinking themselves injured, because they were not called to the election, assembled at *Lodi*, where they deposed *Ardoin*, and declared *Henry*, duke of *Bavaria*, king of *Italy*, who had already succeeded *Otho* in the kingdom of *Germany*. This imprudent and impolitic conduct of the clergy occasioned a civil war betwixt the two competitors and their adherents, which continued about ten years. At length pope *Benedict* VIII. being expelled by a faction at *Rome*, retired to *Germany*; and having persuaded *Henry* to enter *Italy* with a powerful army, to establish his own authority, and to restore him to his see, the year after conferred upon him the imperial crown.

*Defeats the* Saracens.

*His death.* 1002.

b

c

*The* Greeks *strengthen themselves in* Italy.

During these transactions, the *Greeks*, who, after the defeat of *Otho* II. at *Basentello*, had enlarged their dominions in *Italy* were endeavouring to establish their authority upon solid foundations. Besides appointing a new magistrate, with unlimited power, called catapan (I), who fixed his residence at *Bari*, they put strong garrisons into the cities of *Puglia* and *Calabria*, and founded several new cities, such as *Draconaria*, *Cividade*, *Firenzuola*, and *Troja*, the last of which only remains at this day. They had extended their bounds about this time so far, that they were in possession of more than two-thirds of the present kingdom of *Naples*. The three dukedoms of *Amalfi*, *Naples*, and *Gaeta*, indeed, were governed in the form of commonwealths, and frequently elected their magistrates, and even their dukes out of their own body: the *Greek* emperors, however, still preserved in these dutchies the shadow of supreme dominion, and particularly were wont to confirm the dukes of *Amalfi*, which city, about this period, by its extensive commerce, had raised itself to a great degree of grandeur and opulence (K). Though the *Greeks* had so far extended their territories in *Italy*, yet being unacquainted with the nature of fiefs, they did not erect any dukedoms, counties, or baronies, in *Puglia* and *Calabria*; these dignities, however, were soon after introduced by new conquerors. d

*The first arrival of the* Normans *in* Italy.

The *Normans*, who had invaded *France* during the reigns of several princes, at last, about the beginning of the former century, concluded a peace with *Charles the Simple*, e

[g] Peregrin. in Stem. Princ. Cap. Leo Ost. l. ii. cap. 15. Sigon. in regn. Ital. l. vii.

(I) Some authors think that the title Capitain or Captain, used by the *Franks* and *Italians*, was derived from the name of this *Greek* magistrate; but the name of Captain appears to have been used among the *Italians* and *Franks* 200 years before the *Greeks* sent any *Catapan* into *Italy* (1). Besides, their office was very different; the *Greek Catapan* was a supreme governor, formerly called *Patricius*, *Strategus*, *Anthypatus*, *Protospatha*, &c. (2); whereas Captain among the *Franks* denoted nothing else than one who was invested in a small fief by a sovereign prince, and was anciently called *Valvasor Major* (3).

(K) *Amalfi* is generally supposed to have been founded about the year 600. At first it was subject to the dukedom of *Naples*, and was governed by annual prefects; but being afterwards erected into a duchy, it extended its territory, which reached eastward to *Vico Vecchio*, and westward to the promontory of *Minerva*, including likewise the island *Caprea* and the two islands of the *Galli*. Towards the north it comprehended the cities of *Lettere*, *Gragnans*, *Pimontio*, and *Casule di Franchi*; and, towards the south, *Scala*, *Ravelli*, *Minori*, *Majuri*, *Atrani*, *Tramonti*, *Agerula*, *Citara*, *Prajano*, and *Rosilano* (4). The laws, which this republic made with regard to trade and commerce, afterwards had the same authority in the kingdom of *Naples* as the *Rhodian* laws had among the *Romans* (5).

(1) *Annal. Franc. Lambecian. Dufrene Gloss. v.* Catapan. (2) *Tabul. Chorograph. Ital. ap. Murat. t.* x. (3) *Feudor. l.* ii. *tit.* 10. (4) *Pietro. Giannone, ut supra.* (5) *Frecia de subfeud. p.* 27.

a and, having embraced Chriſtianity, turned very zealous in their new religion. They placed great devotion in viſiting ſacred places, particularly *Rome*, and the holy ſepulchre at *Jeruſalem*; and, not diſcouraged by the length and danger of the journey, they joined in bands, and forced their way thro' all obſtacles, frequently routing great bodies of *Greeks* and *Saracens*, who endeavoured to oppoſe them. About the time of the death of the emperor *Otho* III. forty of theſe *Normans*, as *Leo Oſtienſis* writes [h], or, according to other authors, 100, returning from *Jeruſalem* by ſea, landed at *Salerno* in the habit of pilgrims, where they were honourably received by *Guaimarius*. During their reſidence at *Salerno*, a great body of *Saracens* landed, and inveſted the city. *Guaimarius*, not being in a condition to repulſe the invaders by force, was preparing to pay them a large ſum of money,
b which they demanded, when the *Normans* propoſed to attack them, and having got horſes and arms from the prince, engaged them with ſuch fury and bravery, that they intirely defeated them, and obliged them to fly to their ſhips. This complete victory filled *Guaimarius* with admiration of the ſtrangers, whom he intreated to remain in his country, offering them lands, and the moſt honourable employments; but not being able to prevail with them to ſtay in *Italy*, or even accept of his preſents, at their departure he ſent ſome ambaſſadors with them to *Normandy*, with veſſels loaded with exquiſite fruits, rich furniture for horſes, and precious garments of gold and ſilk, with the deſign to allure the *Normans* to come into *Italy*; and it appeared, a few years afterwards, that he was not diſappointed in his expectations.

c THE *Saracens* in the mean time continued their incurſions in different parts of *Italy* with various ſucceſs, as the *Greeks* were continually ſending reinforcements to *Puglia*. About three years after the departure of the *Normans*, they beſieged *Bari*, and reduced the city to great extremity; but the beſieged being at laſt relieved by a *Venetian* fleet, *Gregory*, the firſt catapan whom we find mentioned, obliged the infidels to raiſe the ſiege and retire [i]. *Gregory* was ſucceeded the following year by *Xipheus*, who died the year after, and had for a ſucceſſor *Curcua*, in the ſecond year of whoſe government the *Saracens* broke the peace which they had concluded with his predeceſſors, and ſeized *Coſenza*. As *Curcua* governed in a very arbitrary and oppreſſive manner, he raiſed a general diſaffection among the *Apulians* againſt the *Greeks*, ſo that about the time that the *Saracens* ſeized *Coſenza*, the inhabitants of *Bari* opend ly revolted, and put themſelves under the conduct of *Mello*, who was deſcended of an ancient *Lombard* family, and had great power and authority in in their city [k]. *Mello*, with his kinſman *Datus*, had excited them to throw off the *Greek* yoke, and defended them againſt the attempts of *Curcua*; but he dying the following year, and *Baſilius Bajanus* arriving as his ſucceſſor with a ſtrong reinforcement of *Macedonians*, the *Bariſians* thought of a ſubmiſſion, and, to procure their peace with the *Greeks*, promiſed to deliver up *Mello* and *Datus*. The two chiefs, being informed of their deſign, fled from *Bari* to *Aſcoli*, from whence *Mello* went to *Benevento*, afterwards to *Salerno*, and at laſt to *Capua*; while *Datus* retired with his wife and children to *Monte Caſſino*, from whence he was invited by pope *Benedict*, and made governor of *Garigliano*. The catapan *Bajanus* in the mean time entered *Bari*, and ſeizing
e the wife and ſon of *Mello*, ſent them priſoners to *Conſtantinople*.

*The* Saracens *beſiege* Bari. A. D. 1005.

Bari *revolts from the* Greeks. A. D. 1009.

*MELLO* was received at *Capua* with great kindneſs by *Pandulph* II. who had then aſſociated his ſon and grandſon with himſelf in the government. About a year after his arrival at *Capua*, or, according to ſome authors, five years after, a company of *Norman* adventurers arrived at *Rome*, and offered their ſervice to the pope, who, ſtruck with their military appearance, propoſed to them to give their aſſiſtance to the *Lombard* princes againſt the *Greeks*, who had lately incroached greatly on the *Roman* empire [l]. The chief of theſe *Normans* was one *Oſmond Drengot*, who, having ſlain another lord in a duel, was obliged to leave his own country, to ſhun the reſentment of his prince duke *Robert*. The reputation his countrymen had acquired a few years before at *Salerno*, and the kind invitation of *Guaimarius*,
f perſuaded him to come to *Italy*; and, having had great authority and influence in *Normandy*, he was attended by four of his brothers, with their ſons, nephews, and many other friends, who were reſolved to ſhare his fortune. *Mello*, who was waiting for an opportunity of delivering his country, immediately engaged the *Normans* to aſſiſt him; and, having drawn together a conſiderable army from *Benevento* and *Salerno*, marched againſt the *Greeks*, whom he entirely defeated, and obliged to abandon their camp. In this engagement the *Normans*, and particularly one *Rodolphus*, diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their bravery; and the news of their ſucceſs arriving in *Normandy*, an innumerable company, with their wives and children, left their native country, and, croſſing the *Alps*, after a long and hazardous march, joined their countrymen in *Apulia*. After the arrival of this reinforcement, *Mello* again engaged
g *Bajanus*, and gained another victory, though with conſiderable loſs. The *Greeks* were a

*The* Normans *arrive a ſecond time in* Italy. A. D. 1015.

*Gain ſeveral victories over the* Greeks;

[h] LEO OST. l. iii. c. 37. [i] SIGON. in regn. Ital. [k] LUP. Protoſpat. ap. MURATOR. t. iii. [l] GLABER. l. iii. c. 1.

third

third time defeated, and loſt a great many of their towns; but *Bajanus*, the year after, ventu- a
*but at length are defeated.* A. D. 1019. ring another battle at the city of *Capua*, gained a complete victory over *Mello* and the *Normans*, and recovered all his loſt territory [m].

THIS defeat obliged *Mello* and *Rodolphus* to apply to the emperor *Henry* for aſſiſtance, who received them very graciouſly, promiſed to ſend an army into *Italy*, and gave ſeveral rich preſents to *Rodolphus*. During their abſence, ſome *Normans* entered into the ſervice of *Atenulph*, abbot of *Monte Caſſino*; and, ſettling in the neighbourhood of *St. Germano*, defended the territories belonging to the monaſtery from the incurſions of the counts of *Aquino*. Others of them had retired to *Datus* at *Garigliano*, and engaged to defend that citadel. *Bajanus*, in the mean time, having no enemy to contend with, and receiving large ſums of money from *Conſtantinople*, prevailed on ſeveral cities to ſubmit to the *Greek* emperor. He b
brought over the abbot *Atenulph* to his intereſt, by making a donation of a forfeited eſtate to the abbey of *Caſſino*, and prevailed on *Pandulph*, prince of *Capua*, to ſubmit to *Baſilius*, and to grant him a free paſſage thro' his territories againſt *Garigliano* [n]. He accordingly ſurpriſed *Garigliano*, took *Datus* and the *Normans* priſoners, after they had defended themſelves two days, and, pardoning the *Normans* at the deſire of *Atenulphus*, put *Datus* to death as a traitor, by ſewing him in a ſack, and throwing him into the ſea (L).

*The emperor marches into* Apulia. A. D. 1022. THIS ſurpriſing progreſs of *Bajanus* at length awakened the emperor, eſpecially as he was earneſtly preſſed to march into *Italy* by *Mello*, who had gone a ſecond time into *Germany*, and by the pope, who had likewiſe paſſed the *Alps*. *Mello* died while the emperor was preparing for the expedition; but ſoon after *Henry* marched with a powerful army into c
*Italy*, dividing his troops into three bodies, and giving the command of one diviſion to *Poppo*, patriarch of *Aquileia*, of another to *Belgrimus*, archbiſhop of *Cologne*, and marching with the third himſelf through *Lombardy* [o], he wanted to ſeize the abbot of *Caſſino*; but *Atenulphus*, being informed of his deſign, embarked at *Otranto* with the intention of ſailing to *Conſtantinople*, but was ſhipwrecked during the voyage. *Capua* being ſurrounded by the diviſion of the archbiſhop of *Cologne*, *Pandulph* ſurrendered to the prelate, on condition of being carried to *Henry*, before whom he promiſed to prove his innocence. The emperor was then beſieging *Troja*, which had been rebuilt by *Bajanus* a few years before. The city ſurrendering a few days after, *Pandulphus* was tried by all the barons, and unani-
Pandulphus, *prince of* Capua, *is baniſhed.* mouſly condemned to die; but the emperor, prevailed upon by the intreaties of the archbiſhop, changed his ſentence into perpetual baniſhment into *Germany*, and conferred the principality of *Capua* on *Pandulph*, count of *Tiano*, and gave the title of count to *Stephen*, *Mello*, and *Peter*, the nephews of the famous *Mello*. As his army ſuffered greatly by the exceſſive heats of *Apulia*, he marched back to *Rome*, after he had taken *Troja*, and ſeveral other cities, from the *Greeks*, and according to ſome authors, gained a complete victory over them in the neghbourhood of *Salerno*, on which account he dedicated a church to the Holy Virgin [p]. At his departure, he left ſeveral of his officers to aſſiſt the counts of *Tiano* in recovering *Bari*, and recommended the *Normans* to them and to the princes of *Benevento*, *Salerno*, and *Capua*. He left *Italy* the following year; and, dying the year after in
Conrad *ſucceeds to the empire.* A. D. 1024. *Germany*, was ſucceeded by *Conrad* the *Salic*, duke of *Franconia*, of the illuſtrious houſe of e
*Saxony*. *Glaber* informs us, that about the ſame time the famous *Rodolphus*, with a great many *Normans*, left *Italy*, and returned to their native country, where they were joyfully received by duke *Richard* their prince [q]. Many of them, however, ſtill remained in *Campania*, where they were treated with great contempt, and even inhumanity, by the inhabitants, who, forgetting their obligations to them, ſuffered them to wander in the woods, without allowing them any place for ſhelter. The *Lombard* princes likewiſe, paying no regard to the emperor's recommendation, denied them their wonted pay and ſubſiſtence.

THE *Normans*, at laſt reſolved to do themſelves juſtice by arms; and chuſing one *Turſtin* for their leader, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the late war, and was particularly recommended by the emperor to the *Lombard* princes, they ſoon brought the inhabitants to be f
at their diſcretion. He dying ſoon after by the bite of a ſerpent [r], the *Normans* unanimouſly choſe as his ſucceſſor *Rainulphus*, another diſtinguiſhed officer, who quickly made himſelf conſiderable by taking part in the civil diſputes which happened in theſe provinces

[m] SIGON. ut ſupra. LUP. Protoſpat. an. 1019. [n] LEO Oſt. l. ii. c. 37, 38, 39. [o] LEO Oſt. ut ſupra. [p] Vide SIGON. in regn. Ital. [q] GLABER. l. iii. c. 1. [r] LEO. Oſtienſ. l. ii. c. 58. GUL. Apul. ap. MURATOR, t. v. p. 255. WILLEL. Gemeticenſis, l. vii. c. 43.

(L) *Bajanus*, by this great ſucceſs, having almoſt intirely re-eſtabliſhed the affairs of the *Greeks* in *Italy*, made a ſeparate province of the weſtern part of *Puglia*, by the name of *Catapanata*, which is at this day called *Capitanata*. There is a frivolous diſpute among ſome authors, whether it ought not ſtill to retain its firſt name, or whether the name of the province was not originally derived from the *Latin Capitaneus*. According to the expreſs teſtimony of *Romuald* the *Salernitan*, the province received its name from the office of Catapan (1).

(1) *Romuald. Salern. Chron. ad an.* 1013.

upon

upon the succeſſion of the emperor *Conrad*. The *Normans* were particularly oppreſſed by *Pandulph*, the new prince of *Capua*, who was likewiſe deteſted by his own ſubjects on account of his avarice. *Guaimarius* III. prince of *Salerno*, who had married the ſiſter of the baniſhed prince, and had gained the favour of the new emperor, being likewiſe offended with him, prevailed on *Conrad* to ſet his brother-in-law *Pandulph* IV. at liberty, and ordered him to be reſtored to his principality. *Pandulph* accordingly, ſoon after arriving in *Italy*, was immediately joined by the *Normans* under *Rainulphus*; and receiving troops from his brother-in-law *Guaimarius* and the catapan *Bajanus*, inveſted *Capua*, which he made himſelf maſter of, after a ſiege of eighteen months. The other *Pandulph*, the count of *Tiano*, found means, however, of getting the protection of *Bajanus*, who ſent him and his ſon *John* to
b *Naples*, where he was kindly received by the duke *Sergius*. *Pandulphius* IV. having recovered his principality, about twelve months after declared war againſt *Sergius*, on account of the protection he afforded to the count of *Tiano*; and marching ſuddenly againſt *Naples* with an army, obliged the city to ſurrender, which none of the *Lombard* princes his predeceſſors had been able to effect. *Pandulph* of *Tiano* made his eſcape to *Rome*, where he ſoon after died. *Sergius* fled before the taking of the city; and, being informed that *Rainulphus* the *Norman* was greatly diſſatisfied with the *Capuan* prince, who, ſince his reſtoration, had neglected to perform his engagements to him, he applied to him for aſſiſtance to recover his dukedom. *Rainulphus* was then building the city of *Averſa*, about ten miles diſtant from *Naples*; and, embracing the offers made to him by *Sergius*, immec diately commenced hoſtilities againſt *Pandulphus*, who was at length obliged to quit *Naples*, after he had been about three years in poſſeſſion of the city. *Sergius*, being ſenſible that he owed his reſtoration to *Rainulphus*, entered into a ſtrict alliance with him, and married one of his relations; and, to ſhew his gratitude to his benefactor, he created *Rainulphus* a count, and erected the territory of *Averſa* into a county. *Rainulphus*, in order to people his new city, ſent ambaſſadors to the duke of *Normandy*, giving him an account of his ſucceſs, and inviting his countrymen to come and partake of his good fortune. In conſequence of this invitation, great numbers of *Normans* a few years after came into *Italy*, among whom were *William*, *Drogo*, and *Umbert*, three of the ſons of *Tancred*, duke of *Hautville*, from whoſe poſterity thoſe princes were deſcended who firſt conquered *Sicily* from the *Sa*d *racens*, and formed the kingdom of *Naples* (M). Theſe three ſons of *Tancred*, upon their arrival in *Italy*, fixed themſelves at *Salerno*, and offered their ſervice to *Guaimarius* IV. who, about four years before, had ſucceeded his father in the principality. They were received by him with great regard, and employed him in all his affairs.

*Reſtores* Pandulphus *to his principality.* A. D. 1026.

*He makes himſelf maſter of* Naples. A. D. 1027.

*The* Normans *build* Averſa. A. D. 1030.

*PANDULPHUS*, prince of *Capua*, in the mean time, after he had been obliged to reſtore *Naples* to *Sergius*, had turned his arms againſt the monaſtery of *Caſſino*. He impriſoned the abbot *Theobald*, and obliged the monks to chuſe another of his own nomination; and, beſides robbing the treaſury, he ſeized ſeveral poſſeſſions belonging to the monaſtery. The monks made great complaints againſt him to the emperor, who, being likewiſe informed that the *Italians* were forming the deſign of a general revolt, entered *Italy*
e with a powerful army; and having quieted the diſturbances in *Lombardy*, and puniſhed the rebels, proceeded to *Rome*. From thence he ſent ſome of his officers to *Capua*, ordering *Pandulph* to reſtore all that he had taken from the monaſtery of *Caſſino*; but no regard being had to his officers he proceeded with his army to *Caſſino*, and from thence to *Capua*. *Pandulphus*, afraid of the emperor's reſentment, had left the city and fled to the caſtle of *St. Agatha*, which was very ſtrongly fortified. However, thinking it moſt prudent, if poſſible, to make the emperor his friend, he offered for his pardon three hundred pounds of gold; one half to be immediately paid, and his ſon and nephew to be given as hoſtages for the ſecurity of the payment of the reſt. This offer was accepted by the emperor; but *Pandulphus* ſoon after repenting of what he had done, and refuſing to fulfil his engagef ments, in hopes that, after the departure of the emperor, he would eaſily recover the poſſeſſion of *Capua*, *Conrad*, by the advice of his barons, and the noblemen of *Capua*, deprived him of his principality, which he conferred on *Guaimarius* IV. prince of *Salerno*, who, being in great favour with him, prevailed upon him to give the inveſtiture of the county of

Conrad *marches to* Capua. A. D. 1038.

*and confers that principality on the prince of* Salerno.

(M) *Tancred* was deſcended from *Rollo* the famous *Norman* pirate, who ravaged the coaſts of *France* in the time of the emperor *Lewis* II. but afterwards embracing Chriſtianity, took the name of *Robert*, and married *Giſla* the ſiſter of *Charles the Simple*. *Tancred* married two wives, *Moriella* and *Fredeſiana*, by whom he had twelve ſons and three daughters. By his firſt wife he had *William*, ſurnamed *Bracchio di ferre*, or *Iron-arms*, *Drogo*, *Humphrey*, *Geoffrey*, and *Serlo*. By his ſecond, *Robert*, *Guiſcard*, *Malger*, *William*, *Alfred*, *Umbert*, *Tancred*, and *Roger*. Ten of theſe ſons came as adventurers into *Italy*, and one of the daughters married a count of *Averſa* (1).

(1) *Malater. l.* i. *c.* 1, 2, 4, 9, 10, 19, & 38. & *l.* iii. *c.* 35. *Leo Oſtienſ. l.* ii. *c.* 67.

*Aversa* to *Rainulphus* the *Norman*. The emperor, at the same time, restored *Atenulphus* bishop of *Capua*, who had been imprisoned by *Pandulphus*; and, having returned to *Germany* with his army, died the year following [s]. After his departure, *Pandulphus* left one of his sons in the castle of *St. Agatha*, and went to *Constantinople* to desire the assistance of the *Greek* emperor to recover *Capua*; but *Guaimarius* had such influence at that court, that *Pandulphus* was immediately ordered into banishment, where he continued two years, till the emperor's death; and though the succeeding emperor restored him to liberty, he would not grant him any assistance.

*GUAIMARIUS*, in the mean time, by means of the *Normans*, made himself master of *Sorrento*, which he gave to his brother *Guido*, reserving only the title to himself. By their assistance likewise he conquered *Amalfi*, which he annexed to his principality; and soon after b
he assumed the title of duke of *Puglia* and *Calabria*; so that no prince in those provinces equalled him in power and grandeur. However, the great authority and influence which he saw the sons of *Tancred* had acquired, beginning to give him some uneasiness, he seized the first opportunity of dismissing them. About the time that *Conrad* marched into *Italy*, the *Greek* emperor *Michael Paphlagon*, to secure the esteem of his fickle subjects, resolved to endeavour the recovery of *Sicily* from the *Saracens*; and for that purpose, sent the catapan *Michael Maniacus* with an army into *Sicily*. This commander, hearing of the great reputation of the *Normans*, before he transported his troops from *Calabria*, sent to *Guimarius*, intreating him to grant him some of those warriors. His request was most willingly hearkened to by the prince of *Salerno*, who, to encourage the *Normans* to engage in the expedi- c
tion, promised them some additional rewards besides the emperor's pay. *William*, *Drogo*, and *Umbert*, accordingly marched from *Salerno* with three hundred of their countrymen; and passing over into *Sicily*, distinguished themselves most remarkably by their valour in the conquest of that island. *Maniacus* acknowledged that the recovery of *Messina* was chiefly owing to their bravery; and *William*, with his *Normans*, gained a signal victory over the *Saracens* before *Syracuse*, and killed the governor of the city with a lance. *Maniacus* made himself master of *Syracuse*, and entirely reduced almost the whole island; but, being accused of treason, was conducted the following year a prisoner to *Constantinople* [t]. Some authors assert, that he was murdered at *Syracuse* [u]; and others, that he still continued in the command [w]. His successor, according to *Cedrenus* and *William* of *Puglia*, was *Doceanus*, a man d
of no abilities, who quickly lost the whole island, except *Messina*, and treated his *Norman* auxiliaries with the most insolent contempt. He would not allow them any share in the booty, and even ordered one *Ardoin*, a noble *Lombard*, and associate and interpreter of the *Normans*, to be whipt round the camp, because he refused to part with the horse of a *Saracen* whom he had slain in single combat.

*The* Normans *assist the* Greeks *in* Sicily. A. D. 1040.

*They are offended with the* Greek *general*;

The consequences of this tyrannical behaviour were very fatal to the *Greeks*; for *Ardoin* and the *Normans* took a most severe revenge. At that time they dissembled their resentment; but *Ardoin* soon after obtaining leave to return to *Italy*, under pretence of going to *Rome* on account of a vow, he and all the *Normans* embarked at night, and crossed the *Pharo* to *Reggio*. *Ardoin*, instead of going to *Rome*, went immediately to *Aversa*, and persuaded e
count *Rainulphus* to join with him in the design he had formed of attacking the *Greek* provinces in *Italy*, which he shewed would be an easy conquest, as the inhabitants submitted with great reluctance to the *Greeks*, and the provinces were at that time almost entirely defenceless. *Rainulphus*, approving of his scheme, raised three hundred soldiers, whom he sent under twelve officers to join the other *Normans* under the sons of *Tancred*; and made an agreement with *Ardoin*, that the conquests should be equally divided among the chief leaders. The two parties, being joined, immediately invested *Melphis*, one of the strongest cities in *Puglia*, which presently surrendered. They increased its fortifications so as to render it impregnable. They soon after made themselves masters of *Venosa*, *Ascoli*, and *Lavello*, with very little opposition. *Doceanus*, alarmed with the conquests of the *Normans*, f
immediately left *Sicily*, and marched with his army into *Puglia*, where he attacked the invaders near the river *Oliviento*; but, after a fierce engagement, he was obliged to retire with considerable loss. The *Greeks*, a few weeks after, were defeated a second time at *Cannæ*; and in a third engagement, which happened near the river *Ofanto*, the army of *Doceanus* was entirely routed, and he himself was obliged to fly to *Bari* [x]. The *Normans*, after these victories, chose *Atenulphus*, the brother of *Pandulph* III. prince of *Benevento*, for their leader, that they might secure the affection of the inhabitants. The court of *Constantinople*, in the mean time, was in the utmost confusion, occasioned by the death of the emperor *Michael* IV. and the ingratitude of his successor and nephew *Michael Calaphates*, who expelled the empress *Zoe*, the wife of his uncle, who had adopted him for her son. *Zoe*, however, a few months after, g

*and return to* Italy *and attack* Puglia. A. D. 1041.

*They defeat the* Greeks;

[s] Leo. Ost. l. ii. c. 65. [t] Curopalat. Hist. [u] Leo Ostiens. l. ii. c. 68. [w] Malater. l. i.
[x] Gul. Apul. Leo Ostiens. ut supra. Malater. l. i. c. 9. Lup. Protospat. Chron. ad an. 1041. & not. 87.

was

a was reſtored to her former dignity by the people, and married *Conſtantinus Monomachus*, who became her partner in the empire, while *Calaphates* had his eyes put out, as a puniſhment for his ingratitude. During theſe domeſtic diſturbances, *Doceanus* received orders to return to his command in *Sicily*; and ſent another army to *Puglia*, under the command of *Exauguſtus*, or, according to *Cedrenus*, of *Bajoannes*, ſon of the late catapan *Bajanus*. This commander had no better ſucceſs than his predeceſſor; for engaging with the *Normans*, near *Monte Piloſo*, his army was entirely routed, and he himſelf taken priſoner. *Atenulphus*, however, without conſulting the *Normans*, ſoon after ſet him at liberty, on receiving a conſiderable ſum of money; which action ſo offended the adventurers, that they deprived him of the chief command, and conferred that dignity on *Argyrus*, the ſon of the late *Mello*, b who had eſcaped from *Conſtantinople*, and, according to *Lupus*, protoſpata, now aſſumed the title of prince and duke of *Italy* [y]. The ſame author relates, that before this engagement, *Maniacus* had returned to *Italy*; and, to ſtrike a terror into the revolted cities, executed a great many perſons of all ages and ſexes with great inhumanity [z]. As the emperor *Conſtantinus* ſucceeded to the throne ſoon after his arrival in *Italy*, he openly rebelled againſt him, and prevailed upon his own army to proclaim him emperor, beginning hoſtilities immediately againſt the *Greek* cities. *Argyrus*, at the ſame time, took *Giovennazzo*, and beſieged *Trani*, and ſoon after beſieged *Maniacus* in *Tarento*, where he had fixed his chief reſidence. *Maniacus*, afraid of falling into the hands of the *Normans*, left *Tarento*, and went to *Otranto*; from whence he croſſed the *Adriatic*, and engaged *Stephanus Sebaſtophorus* in *Bul*c *garia*, where he was intirely defeated; and, being taken priſoner, had his head ſtruck off [a].

THE *Normans*, in the mean time, having made many conqueſts, and being ſenſible of their own ſtrength, reſolved to render themſelves more independent; and reflecting, that they owed a great deal of the reputation they had acquired to the valour of *William Bracchio di Ferre*, they aſſembled the following year at *Matera*, and unanimouſly elected him their commander in chief, honouring him likewiſe with the title of count. They then agreed to make an equal partition of their conqueſts, and for that purpoſe appointed a diet to be held in *Melphis*, to which they invited *Guaimarius* and *Rainulphus*. By the diviſion which was made, the city of *Siponto* and *Monte Gargano*, with all the villages and places belonging to them, were given to *Rainulphus* count of *Averſa*; the city of *Aſcoli* was conferred on *Wil*d *liam* the count; *Drogo*, *Arnolinus*, *Hugh*, *Peter*, *Walter*, *Rodolphus*, *Triſtian*, *Erveus*, *Aſclittinus*, *Rainfrid*, and *Ardoin*, all had their diſtinct ſhares; but the city of *Melfis* was left common to all, and reſerved as a place for aſſembling to conſult about the moſt important affairs of their nation. Though *Argyrus* was neglected in this diviſion, yet, by having expelled the rebel *Maniacus* from *Italy*, he found means of acquiring the favour of the emperor *Conſtantine*, who, as a check upon the power of the *Normans*, conferred upon him the dignity of patrician; and likewiſe gave him the city of *Bari* and its territory, with the title of prince and duke of *Puglia*.

*and conquer great part of* Puglia. A. D. 1043.

Argyrus *is created duke of* Bari *by the* Greek *emperor.*

THE *Normans*, having now acquired great power, began to behave with great inſolence to their neighbours. During the war in *Puglia*, thoſe of *Averſa* had uſurped ſeveral terrie tories belonging to the abbey of *Caſſino*, which the abbot finding impoſſible to recover, contented himſelf with receiving from them the oath of fidelity as vaſſals. They, however, did not ceaſe their uſurpations; but took poſſeſſion of ſeveral other territories belonging to that monaſtery, and built a fort in the neighbourhood, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the abbot, whom *Rainulphus* endeavoured to ſeize by a ſtratagem; but was himſelf taken priſoner with his men. Upon his return to *Averſa*, he was reſolved to revenge the affront by declaring war againſt the abbot, but was prevented by the authority of *Guaimarius*, who about the ſame time aſſiſted count *William* in an expedition againſt the *Greeks* in *Calabria* [b]. *Rainulphus* did not long ſurvive the peace; but dying, about a year afterwards, without any ſons, was ſucceeded in the county by *Aſclittinus de Quadrellis*, f who had married his ſiſter. The death of *Rainulphus* was preceded by that of *William Bracchio di Ferre*, who was ſucceeded in the county of *Puglia* by his brother *Drogo*, or *Drago*. In the beginning of his government, all the reſt of his brothers, except two, left their native country, and came into *Italy*, with many other *Norman* gentlemen, in the habit of pilgrims, that they might not be oppoſed by the *Italians*, who began to be very jealous of the power of theſe ſtrangers. *Drogo* joyfully received theſe new adventurers, cauſed his brother *Umfred* to be created a count, and conferred the government of the caſtle of *St. Mark*, on the frontiers of *Calabria*, on his brother *William*, who, on account of his great prudence, was ſurnamed *Guiſcard*.

Drogo *ſucceeds his brother as count of* Puglia.

[y] LUP. Protoſpat. ad an. 1042. [z] Idem ibid: GUL. Apul. l. i. ad fin. [a] CEDREN. p. 624, 625. ZONARAS. [b] LUP. Protoſpat. ut ſupra. LEO Oſt. lib. ii. c. 71 & 72.

MEAN

*The emperor* Henry *comes to* Italy, A. D. 1046.

MEAN while the great confuſions in *Italy*, particularly in *Rome*, where three popes had a
divided the pontificate among themſelves, brought the emperor *Henry* II. with an army,
into *Italy*. Before his arrival, *Gratian*, a *Roman* prieſt, had prevailed on the three popes to
reſign, in conſideration of receiving a yearly penſion from the revenues of *St. Peter*; and
by that means procured the pontifical dignity for himſelf, and took the name of *Gregory* VI.
The emperor, however, diſapproving of his intruſion, called a council at *Sutri*, in the
neighbourhood of *Rome*, where *Gregory* was depoſed; but, according to ſome authors, was
only prevailed upon to reſign. *Henry* received the imperial crown from the ſucceeding pope
*Clement* II. and after this ceremony diſmiſſed part of his army with the empreſs, proceeding
with the remaining part to *Monte Caſſino*, accompanied with the pope. Having given ſe-
veral preſents to the monaſtery, he marched to *Capua*, where he prevailed on *Guaimarius* b
to reſign that principality, which he again conferred on *Pandulphus*, in conſideration of a
large ſum of money [c]. He was there viſited by *Drogo* count of *Puglia*, and *Rainulphus* II.
count of *Averſa*, who a little before had ſucceeded *Aſclittinus*. Theſe princes were very de-
ſirous of ſecuring the favour of the emperor, who as willingly received them as his vaſſals;
and having been preſented by them with ſome fine horſes, and a large ſum of money, gave
*and confirms the* Normans *in their conqueſts.* A. D. 1047.
them the inveſtiture of all thoſe territories they were then in poſſeſſion of. Afterwards proceed-
ing to *Benevento*, *Pandulph* III. who, with his ſon *Landulph*, then governed that principality,
ſhut the gates againſt him, being apprehenſive that he would imitate the examples of the
emperors *Otho* II. and III. who had allowed their army to plunder the inhabitants. *Henry*,
in reſentment of this affront, which he was not then in a condition to revenge, prevailed e
on the pope to excommunicate the city, and gave all the territory of that principality to
the *Normans*. He then returned with his army to *Germany*, taking pope *Clement* along with
him, who died that ſame year, in the month of *October*, of poiſon, which he is ſaid to have
received, while he was in *Italy*, from the antipope *Benedict* [d], who again ſeized upon the *Ro-
man* ſee. The emperor, in the mean time, at the deſire of the *Romans*, ſent *Poppo* biſhop
of *Breſcia*, or *Brixen*, to *Rome*, as ſucceſſor to *Clement* II. who was accordingly crowned the
following year in the month of *July*, when the antipope *Benedict* was prevailed upon to re-
ſign. He took the name of *Damaſus* II. but dying twenty-three days after his elevation,
the emperor about three months after, ſent *Bruno* biſhop of *Toul*, his own relation, to be his
ſucceſſor, who was perſuaded by *Hildebrand*, afterwards the famous *Gregory* VII. not to ac- d
cept of the pontifical dignity upon the nomination of a layman. He therefore laid aſide
his pontifical robes; and aſſuming the dreſs of a pilgrim, proceeded with *Hildebrand* to
*Rome*, where he was unanimouſly elected by the people, and took the name of *Leo* IX. be-
ing greatly diſtinguiſhed for his piety and the innocence of his life.

THE *Greek* emperor, in the mean time, hearing that *Henry* had granted the inveſtiture
of *Puglia* to the *Normans*, and that there were no hopes of expelling them by force, ſent
*Argyrus* with large ſums of money from *Conſtantinople*, which was to be diſtributed among
them, if they would engage in his ſervice in a war which he was reſolved to declare againſt
the *Perſians*. The *Normans* perceiving the ſnare, and anſwering, that they were deter-
mined not to leave *Italy*, unleſs expelled by force, *Argyrus*, by means of the ſame money, f
bribed the *Puglians* that were moſt intimate with count *Drogo* to aſſaſſinate him. The
*The inhabitants of* Puglia *maſſacre the* Normans.
chief of the conſpirators was one *Viſo*, who, when the count was going in the morning to
the church at his caſtle of *Montoglio*, ſtabbed him, while his aſſociates attacked and killed
a great many of his guard, and made themſelves maſters of the fort. Many more *Normans*
were, about the ſame time, maſſacred in the other cities of *Puglia*; ſo that a greater num-
ber of them periſhed by this conſpiracy, than had been killed in the late wars. *Umfred*,
who had been declared count before the death of his brother, immediately aſſembled his
countrymen, and retook the caſtle of *Montoglio*, and likewiſe defeated *Argyrus*, who with
ſome troops endeavoured to take the advantage of the confuſion occaſioned by the maſ-
ſacre. *Argyrus*, beſides bribing the *Puglians*, had recourſe likewiſe to *Leo* IX. intreating h
his holineſs to deliver *Italy* from the cruel *Norman* tyrants; and the inhabitants, who were
now treated with great ſeverity by the *Normans*, privately ſollicited his holineſs to march
with an army into their country againſt their oppreſſors.

Leo IX. *marches againſt the* Normans. A. D. 1053.

*LEO* willingly hearkened to their complaints, as the *Normans*, beſides continuing their
hoſtilities againſt the *Greeks*, had of late made ſeveral incurſions into the territories of the
church; and, being then in *Germany*, he made an exchange with the emperor of ſeveral pa-
trimonies belonging to the holy ſee in *Germany*, for other places in *Italy* ſubject to the em-
peror [e]. The biſhopric of *Bamberg* particularly was, at this time, exchanged for the city
of *Benevento* [f]; and the emperor, at the deſire of *Leo*, granted him a powerful army to re-
cover the territories of the church, which had been ſeized by the *Normans*. However, after g

[c] LEO. Oſt. l. ii. c. 80. [d] ROMUALD. Chron. ad an. 1047. [e] HERMAN. Chron. [f] LEO Oſt. l. ii. c. 4. 46. & 85.

a the army had advanced into *Italy*, *Henry*, at the perſuaſion of *Geberard* biſhop of *Eichſtet* countermanded a great part of it. Many *German* voluntiers, and people of deſperate fortunes, nevertheleſs, continued with the pope, who, by his military preparations, greatly aſtoniſhed all *Italy*. As he had a great reputation for ſanctity, and was at the head of a body of *Germans*, and had a correſpondence with *Argyrus* and the *Greeks* in *Apulia*, the *Normans* began to be very apprehenſive, and ſent a ſubmiſſive embaſſy to him, offering to hold all their conqueſts as vaſſals of the *Roman* ſee. *Leo* neglecting their offer, and refuſing to grant them peace, unleſs they firſt reſtored all their conqueſts, the *Normans* unanimouſly agreed rather to part with their lives than the territory they had acquired; and attacking the pope's army, gained a complete, though bloody, victory: and a few days after beſieging the city
b of *Civitate*, where *Leo* had fled, obliged him to abſolve them from the ſentence of excommunication, and to ſurrender himſelf their priſoner[g]. This military expedition of *Leo* is greatly cenſured by his cotemporaries *Herman* the hiſtorian and the famous *Peter Damian*; but *Baronius* is at great pains to defend his proceeding, and to prove, that the biſhop of *Rome* has both the power of the temporal and ſpiritual ſword[h].

*He is defeated and taken priſoner;*

THE *Normans* received *Leo* with the greateſt reverence; and having ſet him, and all the other priſoners, at liberty, conducted him to the city of *Benevento*, where he arrived about the end of *June*. He was ſo pleaſed with the veneration ſhewn to him by the *Normans*, that in a letter, which he ſoon after wrote to the *Greek* emperor, he declared he would have been ſorry to have obtained a victory; and, according to *Malaterra*, he granted
c them, as an hereditary fief of the holy ſee, all the conqueſts they had already made, or ſhould make for the future, in *Calabria* and *Sicily*[i]. The learned *Giannone* aſſerts, that this conceſſion of the pope was nothing elſe but a teſtimony of his friendſhip for the *Normans*, who wanted him only to bleſs their arms, as a pretence to vindicate their acquiſitions, and juſtify all their future undertakings; for they reſtored nothing to his holineſs of what he pretended to in *Benevento*, but gave that city to the prince *Pandulph* with his ſon *Landulph*, who had been expelled upon the approach of the *German* army, and ſerved them as auxiliaries[k]. *Pandulph*, about four years after, forſook the world, and turned monk; but *Landulph* held the principality till his death, which happened about twenty-four years after[l]. The pope, however, ſeems not to have acted with good faith towards the *Normans*; for it appears,
d from his letter to the *Greek* emperor, that he had not laid aſide his deſign of extirpating them from *Italy*, which, he ſaid, he hoped quickly to accompliſh by the aſſiſtance which he ſhould receive from him and from his couſin *Henry*[m]. Death prevented the execution of this deſign; for he ſickened ſoon after at *Benevento*; and proceeding to *Rome*, died there the nineteenth of *April*. Count *Umfred*, in the mean time, intirely reduced all the cities of *Apulia*, and afterwards puniſhed the authors of his brother's murder with great ſeverity. The death of *Leo* freeing him from a watchful and zealous enemy, he propoſed to enlarge his dominions by the conqueſt of *Calabria*, where, by the valour of his brother *Robert Guiſcard*, he quickly made a conſiderable progreſs. The *Normans*, about the ſame time, granted their aſſiſtance to *Giſulphus* II. in recovering the city of *Salerno*, which had been ſurpriſed
e by ſome *Amalfitans* and *Salernitans*, who the year before the expedition of *Leo* IX. had murdered his father *Guaimarius* IV. After the war had continued about two years in *Calabria*, count *Umfred* died; leaving only two young ſons, *Bacelardus* and *Hermanus*, whom he committed to the care of his brother *Robert*, who immediately, upon his deſire, aſſumed the government of *Puglia*.

*and gives the inveſtiture of* Puglia *to the* Normans.

*Count* Umfred *dies, and is ſucceeded by* Robert Guiſcard. A. D. 1056.

THE ſhort reigns of the two ſucceſſors of *Leo* IX. contributed greatly to the eſtabliſhment of the power of the *Normans* in *Calabria*. *Geberard* biſhop of *Eichſtet*, who, after a vacancy of near twelve months, ſucceeded *Leo*, and took the name of *Victor* II. regretted his former oppoſition to the expedition of his predeceſſor; but was prevented by death from forming any deſign againſt them. After he had enjoyed the pontifical dignity two years,
f he was ſucceeded by *Frederic* abbot of *Monte Caſſino*, and brother of *Godfrey* the huſband of *Beatrice* counteſs of *Tuſcany*, betwixt whoſe family and that of the emperor there was a kind of hereditary animoſity. The new pope, who took the name of *Stephen* X. ſoon after his elevation, reſolved upon an expedition againſt the *Normans*; and as the emperor *Henry* had died the year before, and left his dominions to his infant ſon *Henry* IV. he propoſed to confer the imperial dignity on his own brother *Godfrey* duke of *Tuſcany*, and afterwards, in conjunction with him, to march into *Puglia*: but before he could bring his ſchemes to maturity, he died ſuddenly at *Florence*, in the eighth month of his pontificate[n]. After his death a ſchiſm enſued at *Rome*, which continued for ten months, when *Benedict* the ſchiſmatical pope reſigned, and *Nicholas* II. who had been legally elected, obtained the peaceable poſſeſ-

[g] MALATER. l. i. c. 14. [h] Vide BARON. Annal. ad an. 1053. [i] MALATER. ut ſupra ap. MURATOR. t. iii. [k] GIANNONE ut ſupra. [l] PEREGR. in Stem. Princ. Benevent. ex Chron. S. Sophiæ. [m] Epiſt. Leon. ap. BARON. ad an. 1054. [n] LEO Oſt. l. ii, c. 99 & 100. BARON. Annal.

ſion of the chair. About the ſame time great revolutions happened in the court of *Conſtantinople*. *Michael Stratioticus* had renounced the empire and aſſumed the habit of a monk, while ſeveral competitors endeavoured by force to procure the ſucceſſion, which was at laſt ſecured by *Iſaac Comnenus* [o]. a

*who aſſumes the title of duke of* Puglia *and* Calabria; A. D. 1059.

DURING theſe confuſions at *Rome* and *Conſtantinople*, *Robert Guiſcard* made great progreſs in *Calabria*. After making himſelf maſter of almoſt all the cities and places of ſtrength in that province, he at laſt reduced *Reggio*, after which conqueſt he cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed duke of *Puglia* and *Calabria* [p]. The year before he had divorced his firſt wife *Alberada*, who was too nearly related to him, and had married *Sikelgaita*, one of the ſiſters of *Giſulphus* II. prince of *Salerno* [q]. About the ſame time he gave aſſiſtance to his brother *Geoffry* count of *Capitanata*, and granted a ſhare of his conqueſts to his youngeſt brother *Roger*, who had been very active in robbing and plundering the inhabitants of *Calabria*, which the hiſtorian *Malaterra* ſays he does not mention to his reproach; but takes notice of, expreſly by his own deſire, to ſhew from what poverty he arrived at the greateſt honour. While the ſons of *Tancred* were thus extending their dominion, the *Norman* counts of *Averſa* were likewiſe enlarging their territory. *Richard* I. the ſon of *Aſclittinus*, invaded the principality of *Capua*; and beſieging the city, obliged the inhabitants to ſurrender, and *Landulphus* V. to quit the government. After cauſing himſelf to be crowned prince of *Capua*, he reduced all *Campania*; and returning to the city, obliged the inhabitants to deliver up to him the gates and towers of the city, which at firſt he had left in their poſſeſſion. Thus ended the dominion of the *Lombards* in *Capua*, which had continued in an uninterrupted ſeries of 160 years from *Atenulphus* to this *Landulphus* V. whoſe children the abbot *Deſiderius* mentions he ſaw going about as vagabonds, begging bread to ſupport their miſerable lives [r]. b c

*NICHOLAS* II. finding the power of the *Normans* continually increaſing, immediately after his acceſſion denounced a ſentence of excommunication againſt them, under pretence that they had ſeized ſome territories belonging to the holy ſee. Notwithſtanding this ſentence, *Robert Guiſcard* abſolutely refuſed to part with the diſputed territory; however, as he was by many of the *Puglians* looked upon as an uſurper, and his nephew *Bucilardus* had prevailed upon ſome cities to revolt in his favour, he thought it moſt prudent to procure, if poſſible, the friendſhip of the pope. He accordingly ſent a ſubmiſſive embaſſy to him, intreating him to come into *Apulia*, and promiſing to give him ſatisfaction if he would reſtore him to the communion of the church. *Nicholas* willingly agreed to this propoſal, being ſenſible, by the misfortune of his predeceſſor *Leo*, that the *Normans* could not be eaſily extirpated out of *Italy*; and after *Whitſuntide* he proceeded to *Melphis*, where he held a council for reforming ſeveral eccleſiaſtical abuſes, and had a conference with the *Norman* princes. d

*and receives the inveſtiture of thoſe duchies from the pope.*

Both parties being ſenſible that they needed each others aſſiſtance, they ſoon came to an agreement; and *Robert* reſtoring what he had taken from the church, and conſenting to hold all his conqueſts as a fief of the holy ſee, *Nicholas* abſolved the *Normans* from the ſentence of excommunication, and ſolemnly gave the inveſtiture of *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and *Sicily*, to duke *Robert*, and the principality of *Capua* to *Richard*, count of *Averſa*, both princes taking the oath of fidelity to the pope, and promiſing to pay a yearly acknowlegement of twelve pence of *Pavia*, for every yoke of oxen in their dominions. This agreement was probably made without much difficulty, as both parties had nothing in view but to rob their neighbours of their rights, and to make their advantage by the bargain (N). The pope in particular immediately made uſe of his new friends to quell the inſolence of the e

[o] CUROPALAT. Hiſt. [p] LEO Oſt. l. iii. c. 16. SIGON. ut ſupra. [q] MALATER. l. i. c. 30, 31. PEREGRIN. in Stem. [r] DESID. Dial. l. iii. PEREGRIN. in Stem.

(N) About this period, nothing was more dreaded than the cenſures of the church, which the popes perverted from their primitive uſe, and applied them to ſecular matters, uſing them chiefly for the defence and recovery of temporal poſſeſſions; the people believing, that if uſurped territories and goods were not reſtored after the ſentence of excommunication was denounced, the poſſeſſors were irrecoverably damned, imputing the damnation more to the cenſure than to the ſin. Officers and ſoldiers, who did not ſtand in awe to offend God by robbing their neighbours, were ſo overawed by the dread of excommunication, that they abſtained from the poſſeſſions of the church with great reſpect; ſo that thoſe who were not able to preſerve their effects from being ſeized by force, a thing too common in that age, were induced to make them over to the church, on condition that they ſhould ſtill be maſters of their eſtates, and hold them of the church in fief, for a ſmall acknowlegement. This cuſtom contributed greatly to the enlargement of the church; for when the male iſſue of the feudatories failed, which often happened in thoſe times, by reaſon of the continual wars and popular ſeditions, the eſtates devolved to the church. Neither princes nor people were at pains to enquire into the authority aſſumed by the popes in creating dukes and counts, and of obliging them to ſwear fealty to them. They were contented to be protected from the rapacity of their neighbours by excommunications, which were then ſo terrible. The *Normans* then very politically declared themſelves vaſſals of the popes, that none might pretend to make war againſt them, without expoſing themſelves to the cenſures of the church. Upon this weak and tottering foundation, the popes have built their claim of ſupreme dominion over the kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily* (1).

(1) *Vide Giannone Hiſt. di Napol. Frecia de Subfeud. l.* i. *p.* 53.

counts

counts of *Tuſculum*, now *Freſcati*; and upon his return to *Rome*, took with him a great number of *Normans*, who, at his deſire, ravaged the territories belonging to the *Tuſculan* family, on the ſouth ſide of the *Tyber*; and afterwards paſſing that river, deſtroyed all the caſtles of count *Gerard*, as far as *Sutri*. *Nicholas* ſurvived this tranſaction about two years, and died at *Rome*, in the third year of his pontificate. *The Normans aſſiſt the pope againſt the counts of* Tuſculum.

*ROBERT*, in the mean time, continued the war againſt thoſe cities which ſtill held for the *Greeks*, while his brother, count *Roger*, paſſed over with an army into *Sicily* againſt the *Saracens*. The duke made himſelf maſter of *Brindiſi*, *Tarento*, and *Matera*, and a few years after beſieged *Bari*, both by ſea and land. This city was ſuperior to all the reſt in *Puglia* in wealth and greatneſs, and had been ſtrongly fortified by the *Greeks*, who had ſent thither
b a numerous garriſon, under the command of the catapan *Stephen Pateranus*, or *Sebaſtophorus*. *Robert*, however, perſevering in the ſiege, at laſt made himſelf maſter of the place, which had been defended by the inhabitants and garriſon for more than three years [s]. After the reduction of this city *Robert* embarked, and ſailed with a fleet of fifty-eight ſhips for *Sicily*, in order to aſſiſt his brother *Roger* in the conqueſt of that iſland. In the mean time great confuſions had happened at *Rome*, where *Alexander* II. had been elected pope, without the conſent of the emperor, who, to ſupport his prerogative, had nominated one *Cadolus* to the pontificate. This antipope was condemned in two or three councils, while *Alexander* was ſupported by *Godfrey*, marquis of *Tuſcany*, who protected him againſt the other faction, and marched with an army as far as *Aquino* againſt *Richard*, count of *Averſa*,
c who endeavouring to take advantage of the diſturbances in *Rome*, hoped by force to cauſe himſelf to be elected a patrician. *Godfrey* had ſeveral ſkirmiſhes with the *Normans*; but at laſt having received a large ſum of money from *Richard*, he retired with his army [t]. *Alexander* II. at laſt obtaining the quiet poſſeſſion of the *Roman* ſee, by the death of his competitor, confirmed the inveſtiture of *Puglia* and *Calabria* to duke *Robert*, and ſent a bleſſed ſtandard to count *Roger*, to teſtify his approbation of his *Sicilian* expedition. *Roger*, before the arrival of his brother *Guiſcard*, had almoſt intirely conquered the iſland of *Sicily*; and being joined by his forces, at laſt made himſelf maſter of *Palermo*, after a ſiege of five months. *Robert* gave the inveſtiture of the whole iſland to *Roger*, with the title of count, reſerving only to himſelf the half of *Palermo*, *Meſſina*, and the valley of *Demona*; and returning to *Puglia* ſtopped at
d *Melphis*, where he was received with acclamations by the greateſt part of the barons of *Puglia* and *Calabria*. The count of *Trani*, however, ſtill refuſing to acknowlege him as his ſovereign, *Robert* beſieged and took that city, with ſeveral other towns depending upon it, and ſoon after ſurpriſed his ſon; but as the young prince then conſented to take the oath of fealty to him, he generouſly reſtored all that he had taken from him, except *Trani*. Sicily *conquered by the* Normans. A. D. 1071.

Pope *Alexander* II. in the mean time died at *Rome*, and was ſucceeded the next day by the famous *Hildebrand*, who took the name of *Gregory* VII. whoſe turbulent and ambitious ſpirit firſt gave riſe to thoſe imperial and papal factions, which diſturbed the peace of *Italy* for ſeveral hundred years after. In the beginning of his pontificate, a difference happened be-
e twixt duke *Robert* and his brother-in-law *Giſulphus*, prince of *Salerno*, which gave a new opportunity to the *Normans* of extending their conqueſts. The *Amalfitans* being treated with great rigour and ſeverity by prince *Giſulphus*, in reſentment for their diſloyalty to his father, had recourſe to the interceſſion of *Guiſcard*, who accordingly ſent an embaſſy to his brother-in-law in their behalf. *Giſulphus*, who did not deſire his interceſſion, treated his ambaſſadors with great coldneſs, and remonſtrated to them, that the duke had ſeized *Areco* and *Sancta Euphemia*, with ſome other places belonging to his principality, which he inſiſted ſhould be immediately reſtored. *Robert* propoſed to accommodate the difference amicably; but *Giſulphus* obſtinately refuſed to treat, probably truſting to the aſſiſtance of *Richard*, prince of *Capua*, who was then at variance with *Robert*, and had eſpouſed his intereſt. *Robert*, finding that a rupture was unavoidable, privately adjuſted his difference with the prince of
f *Capua*, who even agreed to aſſiſt him againſt *Giſulphus*; and having made a treaty with the *Amalfitans*, and put a garriſon into their city, he prepared to attack *Salerno*. *Giſulphus*, notwithſtanding the intreaties of the pope and *Deſiderius*, abbot of *Caſſino*, ſtill obſtinately refuſed to hearken to an accommodation, though *Robert* had already advanced with his troops to the neighbourhood of *Salerno*. *Robert* at laſt commenced the ſiege, and by the aſſiſtance of his brother count *Roger*, in a few months made himſelf maſter of *Salerno* and *San Severino*, his two nephews *Bucelardus* and *Hermannus*, who had eſpouſed the cauſe of *Giſulphus*, being obliged to fly to *Conſtantinople*, and *Giſulphus* himſelf being compelled to put himſelf under the protection of the pope, who granted him a ſmall territory in *Campania di Roma*. *Robert* reſolving to purſue his enemy, marched with his army into *Campania*, and even ſeized
g ſome places belonging to the pope in the march of *Ancona* [u]. *Gregory*, provoked by theſe hoſtilities, immediately excommunicated him and prince *Richard*, with all their adherents, Robert Guiſcard *conquers* Salerno. A. D. 1074. *He is excommunicated by the pope.*

[s] Leo Oſt. l. iii. c. 16. Malater, l. ii. c. 43. Beatil. Hiſt. di Bari, l. ii. Gul. Apul. t. iii. [t] Leo Oſt. l. iii. c. 23. [u] Paul Diac. l. iii. c. 45.

and

and ordered a numerous army, which he had assembled for the assistance of the *Greek* emperor, to march against the *Normans*. *Robert* and *Richard*, finding themselves attacked both by spiritual and temporal arms, thought proper to retire with their troops from the church territories. *Robert* marched with his army and besieged *Benevento*, while *Richard* invested the city of *Naples*. *Robert*, however, finding his attempt fruitless, soon after retired. *Richard* continued before *Naples*, with great obstinacy, about two years, when having obtained absolution from the pope, he died during the siege, leaving his principality to his son *Jordanus*, whom, during his life-time, he had associated with himself in the government. a

Richard *prince of* Capua, *is succeeded by his son* Jordanus. A. D. 1078.

The new prince immediately drew upon himself the resentment of pope *Gregory*, by plundering a bishop who was going to *Rome*, and by robbing the monastery of *Cassino* of a considerable sum of money; but from *Leo Ostiensis* it appears, that he afterwards gave several precious gifts to the monastery, to which he likewise afforded his protection. The year before the death of *Richard*, the succession of the princes of *Benevento* failed in *Landulphus* VI. who died without leaving issue, and the title of that principality became extinct. *Gregory* VII. immediately laid claim to the city, in consequence of the exchange formerly made betwixt *Leo* IX. and the emperor *Henry*; but *Guiscard*, without regarding his pretensions, renewed the siege, though he thereby drew upon himself a repetition of the sentence of excommunication [w]. The pope, however, having made *Jordanus* prince of *Capua* his friend, prevailed upon him to raise the siege of *Naples*, and while *Guiscard* was absent in *Calabria*, to withdraw his auxiliary troops from before *Benevento*, and to level the works, and destroy the machines, made for carrying on the attacks. *Guiscard*, provoked by this behaviour of *Jordanus*, returned with an army from *Calabria*, reduced a great many cities of the duchy of *Benevento*, and marched to the river *Sarno*, with the intention of attacking the *Capuan* prince. The abbot *Desiderius*, however, prevented an engagement, and not only reconciled the two princes, but also accommodated all differences betwixt duke *Robert* and the pope, who had a conference near the *Garigliano*; when the duke, being absolved by *Gregory*, took the oath of fidelity to him, and received from him the investiture of *Puglia*, *Calabria*, and *Sicily*. *Gregory* also gave him permission to hold *Salerno*, *Amalfi*, and part of the march of *Ancona*, which he said he had unjustly seized; but the duke consented to resign all his pretensions to the city of *Benevento*, which was then united to the dominions of the *Roman* see. The uncommon condescension of the pope, in allowing the duke to retain *Salerno*, and part of the church territories, was probably owing to the difficulties in which he found himself involved, by his dispute with the emperor, about the right of investitures. *Henry* having been excommunicated and deposed by him, in return assembled a council at *Brixen*, or *Brescia*, in which *Gregory* was deposed, and the archbishop of *Ravenna* elected, by the name of *Clement* III. As a powerful party in *Italy*, both of ecclesiastics and barons, favoured the emperor's cause, *Gregory* found the necessity of having a formidable protector; therefore being reconciled to the *Normans* without much difficulty, he immediately published a letter, declaring his intention of marching against the antipope at *Ravenna*, with the princes *Robert* and *Jordanus*. b c d e

Gregory *is reconciled to the* Norman *princes, and gives them investiture.* A. D. 1080.

This expedition, however, never took place, and perhaps was never intended, as *Robert Guiscard* at the same time had another in view, in which he was more personally concerned. Some years before he had given one of his daughters, named *Helena*, in marriage to *Constantine*, the son of the *Greek* emperor *Michael Ducas*, who was afterwards dethroned by *Nicephorus Botoniates*, and together with his wife, son, and daughter-in-law, thrust into a monastery. This year *Michael*, or, according to the *Greek* writers, an impostor who called himself *Michael*, arrived in *Italy*, and begged the assistance of the pope and duke *Robert*. *Gregory* received him in an honourable manner, and wrote to the archbishops and bishops in *Puglia* and *Calabria*, desiring them to encourage the people to assist him in recovering his throne, and to give absolution of sins to all those who would engage in that expedition. *Robert* likewise espoused his cause with great eagerness, and declared, that he would conduct him to *Constantinople* at the head of an army. f

Having prepared every thing for the expedition, he was informed that the usurper *Nicephorus* was expelled by *Alexius Commenus*, who had been declared emperor by the army, and had taken *Helena* from the monastery, and treated her with great honour. *Robert* nevertheless, continued his design of invading *Greece*; and the following year, having declared *Roger* his eldest son, by his second wife *Sikelgaita*, heir of his dominions, and committed the government to his care, he embarked with his troops for the *Greek* territories, being accompanied by *Sikelgaita*, and his son *Boemundus*, whom he had by his first wife. The various incidents of this war are related by *Malaterra*, *William* of *Puglia*, and g

Robert Guiscard *invades* Greece. A. D. 1081.

[w] Baron. Annal. ad an. 1078. Leo Ost.

the

a the famous princeſs *Anna Comnena*, the daughter of the *Greek* emperor [y]: but here we ſhall only obſerve, that though *Alexius* was aſſiſted by a *Venetian* fleet, *Robert* made himſelf maſter of the iſland of *Corfu*, reduced *Durazzo*, conquered a great part of *Romania*, and by the ſucceſs of his arms, and approach to the neighbourhood *Conſtantinople*, ſtruck an univerſal terror among the *Greeks*.

In the mean time the emperor *Henry*, having defeated and killed his rival *Rodolphus*, marched with a powerful army into *Italy* againſt the pope; and that he might deprive him of the aſſiſtance of the duke of *Puglia*, he propoſed a marriage betwixt his ſon and the duke's daughter, and to grant him the march of *Ancona*. The treaty, however, was rejected by *Robert*, who ſtill continued faithful to *Gregory*. *Henry* was more
b ſucceſsful with *Jordanus*, prince of *Capua*, who eſpouſed his cauſe, and granted him ſuccours both in men and money. He beſieged *Rome* the three following ſummers, and at laſt made himſelf maſter of the city, except the caſtle of *St. Angelo*, whither the pope retired, and preſſed duke *Robert* to return to his aſſiſtance. *Robert*'s preſence in *Italy* was required on another account; for the inhabitants of *Puglia*, encouraged by the emperor's arrival at *Rome*, rebelled againſt duke *Roger*, in hopes of driving out their tyrannical maſters by the aſſiſtance of the imperial army. The duke therefore left the command of his army to his ſon *Boemund*, and the count of *Brienne*, and landing at *Otranto* with a ſmall body of his men, on board two ſhips, immediately attacked and diſperſed ſome of the rebels. He reduced *Troja* and *Aſcoli*, and entirely deſtroyed the city of *Cannæ*; by which
c means having quieted the commotions in *Apulia* (O), he marched againſt *Jordanus*, and beſieged *Averſa*. The city, however, making a vigorous defence, and the pope being reduced to great difficulties, he raiſed the ſiege, and proceeded to *Rome*. Before his arrival, *Henry* had left the city with his army; but the *Romans*, who were brought over to his intereſt, ſtill beſieged the pope in the caſtle of *St. Angelo*. *Guiſcard* ſurprized the city, and after ſeveral ſkirmiſhes in the ſtreets with the imperial party, he got poſſeſſion of the capitol, ſet the pope at liberty, and conducted him in triumph to the *Lateran* palace. Soon after, under pretence that the *Romans* were forming a conſpiracy againſt him, he ſet fire to the city, put a great many of the inhabitants to death, and obliged thoſe who were ſuſpected of diſaffection to the pope to give hoſtages for their good behaviour. *Gregory*, however,
d finding the imperial faction too powerful in *Rome*, thought proper to quit the city; and at the departure of *Guiſcard*, went with him to *Salerno*, where he continued till his death, which happened the year after.

*The emperor makes himſelf maſter of* Rome.

A. D. 1083.

Robert Guiſcard *delivers the pope.*

A. D. 1084.

*GUISCARD* in the mean time, made great preparations to return to *Greece* to ſecond his ſon *Boemund*, who, during his abſence, had gained a remarkable victory over *Alexius*. He embarked a large body of troops, and being accompanied with his ſon *Roger*, put to ſea in the end of autumn. *Alexius* being aſſiſted by the *Venetians*, endeavoured to oppoſe his paſſage, but was intirely defeated, with the loſs of a great many gallies. After *Guiſcard* landed, he was prevented that winter from undertaking any enterprize, by a contagious diſtemper which ſeized his army and carried off upwards of 10,000 men. *Boe-*
e *mund* was likewiſe ſeized with the diſtemper, and obliged to return to his native air in *Italy*; though ſome authors allege, that his illneſs was the effect of poiſon, adminiſtered to him by his ſtepmother *Sikelgaita*, who was afraid leſt, after his father's death, he ſhould ſeize on *Puglia* and *Calabria*, to the prejudice of her ſon *Roger* [z]. After the departure of *Boemund*, *Guiſcard* the following year ordered his ſon *Roger* to beſiege *Cephalonia*, which had revolted; but while he was intent on this expedition he was ſeized with a violent fever, and obliged to retire to *Caſopolis*, a ſmall caſtle in the iſland of *Corfu*, where he died in the month of *July*, in the 60th year of his age. The news of his death ſtruck his army with conſternation, and retreating immediately in a great panic, they embarked with great precipitation for *Italy*; thoſe that could not be taken on board ſurrendering themſelves priſoners to the *Greeks* [a]. *Sikelgaita* carried her huſband's corpſe with her to *Italy*; but the ſhip in which it was carried being wrecked, with many others, on the coaſts, the heart and bowels were obliged to be left at *Otranto*, but the body being a ſecond time embalmed, was interred at *Venoſa*.

*He returns to* Greece.

*His death.*

A. D. 1085

*His ſon* Roger *takes poſſeſſion of* Puglia *and* Calabria.

Such was the end of this ambitious conqueror, whoſe ſucceſsful prudence and valour raiſed him from a private gentleman to ſuch power and greatneſs as to become formidable

[y] Malater. l. iii. Anna Comn. l. iv. Gul. Apul. l. iv. [z] Oder. Vital. l. vii. [a] Gul. Apul. lib. ult.

(O) This rebellion in *Puglia* was probably raiſed by the emperor *Alexius*, as a means of obliging his formidable enemy to retire; for we find he exhorted *Henry* to attack his territories, and for that purpoſe ſent him 144,000 ſolidi of gold, and 100 pieces of ſcarlet (1).

(1) *Anna Comn. ut ſupra. Berthold. ad an* 1084. *Epiſt. Hen. t.* xii. *Spicil. p.* 228.

to both the eaſtern and weſtern emperor (P). Some authors allege, that duke *Robert* made a partition of his dominions by a will, leaving *Sicily* to his brother *Roger*, his conqueſts in the eaſt to *Boemund*, and all that he poſſeſſed in *Italy* to his ſecond ſon. But he either did not make a will, or his ſons were not contented with it; for immediately after his death, *Boemund* and *Roger* both pretended to the ſucceſſion, and each of them raiſed conſiderable factions in their favour. *Roger*, by the addreſs of his mother, ſecured the intereſt of his uncle count of *Sicily*, and immediately took poſſeſſion of the *Italian* dominions, obtaining likewiſe from the count ſeveral places in *Calabria*, which had been ſubject to him during the life of *Robert*. *Boemund*, before his father's death, had returned to *Greece*, where being informed that his brother *Roger* had uſurped the whole dominions in *Italy*, he returned with his army and landing at *Otranto*, immediately began hoſtilities againſt his brother. The war continued for near three years, during which time *Boemund* conquered ſeveral cities, but at length an accommodation was effected between the two brothers by *Urban* II. who, upon the death of *Victor* III. the ſucceſſor of *Gregory*, had been elected pope. By this agreement *Boemund* was left in poſſeſſion of the places he had conquered, and had beſides *Maida* and *Coſenza*, which laſt city was afterwards exchanged for *Bari*. The following year *Roger* and *Boemund* again waited upon the pope at *Melphis*, where, in the month of *September*, he celebrated a council, and confirmed the agreement formerly made betwixt them [b].

*He is reconciled to* Boemund *by the interceſſion of the pope.* A. D. 1088.

A FEW months after *Jordanus*, prince of *Capua*, died, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Richard* II. then a boy, who being ſoon after expelled from *Capua*, by the *Lombards* of *Campania*, retired to *Averſa* [c]. In the mean time the city of *Coſenza* revolting from *Roger*, he had recourſe to his uncle the count, by whoſe aſſiſtance, having reduced the rebels, he reſigned to him the half of *Palermo*, which had been reſerved by his father, ſo that each of them having quitted the territories which they held in each other's dominions, the two ſtates began to be governed by their ſeparate laws and cuſtoms. After the quelling of this revolt, duke *Roger* married *Adala*, the daughter of *Robert Friſius*, marquis of *Flanders*, and niece of *Philip*, king of *France*, by whom he had two ſons, *William* and *Lewis*. While they were both infants, he was ſeized with a fever at *Melphis*, which reduced him to ſuch extremity that he was given over by his phyſicians; and a rumour prevailed that he was dead. *Boemund*, who was then in *Calabria*, immediately aſſembled ſome troops, and marching into the dominions of his brother, obliged ſeveral cities to take the oath of allegiance to him, pretending, however, that he intended to aſſume the government only during the minority of his nephews. The duke was greatly alarmed with this proceeding, and ſent to his uncle for aſſiſtance, who ſoon obliged *Boemund* to retire. The brother being now ſenſible of his raſhneſs, and hearing that the duke was recovered, contrary to expectation, came to *Melphis*, to congratulate him; and having excuſed his proceeding, and reſtored all that he had ſeized. offered him his aſſiſtance to reduce ſome ci-

Richard II. *is expelled from* Capua. A. D. 1090.

*Duke* Roger *reduces* Roſſana. A. D. 1094.

[b] PEREGRIN. ad Lup. Protoſpat. an. 1089. ROMUALD. Salern. ap. Baron. [c] PEREGRIN in Stem. Princ. Norm.

(P) *Robert* left two ſons, and ſeveral daughters, by his two wives. He governed *Puglia* thirty years, and *Salerno* ten, in which city he fixed the ſeat of his government, as it was then become very famous by its extenſive traffick, great wealth, and numerous ſchools for the ſtudy of philoſophy and phyſic. It is called by *Romuald* the *Salernitan*, *Civitatem Medecinæ* by way of eminence (1). The foundation of the *Scholæ Salerni* is erroneouſly attributed by ſome to *Charlemagne*, who never was in poſſeſſion of that city. It is more probable, that they owed their origin to the *Arabs* and *Saracens*, who, about 300 years before this period, had begun to ſtudy the philoſophy of *Ariſtotle* with great ardour, and had tranſlated many *Greek* books into their own language. The city of *Salerno* being ſeated on the ſea coaſt, was greatly frequented by theſe oriental people, whoſe learning had been for ſome time in great requeſt. The reputation of the ſchools was particularly raiſed by one *Conſtantine*, born at *Carthage*, who after ſtudying 39 years in the eaſt, was perſecuted upon his return to his native country, and took refuge in *Salerno*, where he remained privately in the diſguiſe of a beggar, till he was diſcovered by the king of *Babylon*'s brother, who had come to pay a viſit to *Robert Guiſcard*, and had known him at *Babylon*. *Conſtantine*, after this diſcovery, was treated by *Robert* with great diſtinction, and continuing at *Salerno*, promoted the ſtudy of philoſophy and phyſic with great zeal. Afterwards he became a monk, and retiring to *Caſſino*, ſpent his time in compoſing many treatiſes of phyſic, and in tranſlating books from different languages (2). The monks of *Caſſino* likewiſe contributed to raiſe the reputation of the *Salernitan* ſchools. During the time of pope *John* VIII. the abbot *Baſſacio* publiſhed a treatiſe on the qualities of medicines (3); *Aſſano* and *Guarſa*, archbiſhops of *Salerno*, were expert in phyſic, and the noble *Salernitans* were fond of ſtudying that ſcience (4). *John de Procida*, who afterwards promoted the *Sicilian* veſpers, was a noble *Salernitan*, and celebrated phyſician (5). *Giannone* likewiſe mentions, that a treatiſe on phyſic was publiſhed in the year 1100, and dedicated by the whole *Salernitan* ſchool to *Robert*, a *Norman*, titular king of *England* (6). The firſt that gave laws to thoſe ſchools was *Roger* I. king of *Sicily*. They were afterwards favoured by *Frederic* II. who prohibited any one to profeſs phyſic, till he had obtained a licence from the phyſicians of *Salerno* or *Naples*. Other princes likewiſe conferred honours and privileges on theſe ſchools; and at laſt they were raiſed to be an univerſity, and had the privilege of conferring the degree of doctor.

(1) *Rom. Salern. ad an.* 1075. (2) *Chron. Caſſin. P. Diacon. l.* iii. *c.* 35. (3) *P. Diac. de vir illuſ. c.* xiii. (4) *Leo Oſt. l.* iii. *c.* 7. (5) *Giannone Hiſt. di Napol.* (6) *Idem ibid.*

ties

a ties that had revolted. Among theſe were *Roſſana* and *Amalfi*. *William de Grantarul*, who had married the duke's niece, had ſeized *Roſſana*; but being quickly reduced by the duke's forces, in conjunction with thoſe of *Boemund* and count *Roger*, he was obliged to fly with his wife to *Conſtantinople*. The count, however, ſoon after, on account of his affinity, was reconciled to him, and reſtored him all his territories, except the caſtle of *St. Maur* [d].

In the mean time he marched againſt the *Amalfitans*, who had deſtroyed the forts built in their city by *Robert Guiſcard*, and expelled all thoſe who favoured the *Normans*. The city was populous, and ſtrongly fortified; and the inhabitants were fond of liberty, which they had long enjoyed. The duke therefore, ſenſible that it would be difficult to b reduce them, inveſted the city with a powerful army, both by ſea and land. Beſides his own forces, his brother *Boemund* joined him with a large body of troops from *Calabria*, and his uncle *Roger* tranſported from *Sicily* an army of 20,000 *Saracens*, with an infinite number of other nations [e]. *and beſieges Amalfi, but without ſucceſs.* A. D. 1096.

The city was at laſt reduced to the greateſt extremity, when a very ſingular accident contributed to its preſervation. *Urban* II. by his pathetic diſcourſes the year before, in the council of *Clermont* in *France*, had raiſed a romantic and enthuſiaſtic ſpirit over all *Europe*, of undertaking an expedition into the *Holy Land*, for the recovery of *Jeruſalem*. During the ſiege, great numbers of the cruſards wandring in *Puglia* without a leader, *Boemund*, who remembered his former expeditions with his father in *Romania*, which he c was ſtill ambitious of conquering, immediately aſſumed the croſs; and, with great appearance of devotion and zeal, exhorted others to follow his example. He was ſo ſucceſsful, as to prevail on the beſt part of the allied army that was before the city to aſſume the croſs, and to make a vow not to attack any Chriſtians till after their return from the *Holy Land*. The duke being thus deprived of the flower of his troops, was obliged, to his great mortification, to abandon his enterprize, when at the point of ſucceſs [f].

*BOEMUND* ſoon after paſſed into *Greece* at the head of a formidable army, and was accompanied with his couſin the famous *Tancred*, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf greatly in that ſacred expedition [g]. Before his departure he reſigned all his dominions in *Italy* to his brother *Roger*, who the following year aſſiſted *Richard* II. in recovering the principality d of *Capua*. *Richard* owed his reſtoration chiefly to the power of the count of *Sicily*, whoſe protection and aſſiſtance he purchaſed by ſubmitting to become his vaſſal, and promiſing him the city of *Naples*, though it does not appear what right he had to diſpoſe of that city, which was not at this time in his poſſeſſion, but was ſtill governed by its own dukes, in the form of a republic. *Roger*, in the ſpring, tranſported a very formidable army from *Sicily*, with which he ravaged *Campania* and inveſted *Capua*, which after a ſiege of forty days was obliged to ſurrender, and ſubmit to *Richard* upon his own terms. After the reduction of the city, the duke and count returned to *Salerno*, where they were viſited by pope *Urban*, who, in conſideration of the many ſervices rendered by the count to the apoſtolic ſee, granted a bull, appointing him, and the ſon that ſhould ſucceed him, e his legates in *Sicily*; from whence the princes, who have ſince ſucceeded to that iſland, have claimed the right of being ſovereigns both in ſpirituals and temporals; and though the church of *Rome* has made great oppoſition to their claim, they have, nevertheleſs, ſtill retained this eminent prerogative *. Boemund *engages in the cruſade.* Richard II. *is reſtored to the principality of* Capua. A. D. 1097.

In the mean time *Boemund* having taken *Antioch*, uſurped the title of prince of that city, which dignity he likewiſe tranſmitted to poſterity. About ſix years after he arrived in *Italy*, and had a conference at *Rome* with pope *Paſchal* II. the ſucceſſor of *Urban*, after which he proceeded to *France*, to marry *Conſtantia*, the daughter of king *Philip* [h]. Before his arrival in *Italy*, his uncle, the great count *Roger*, died, in the 70th year of his age, and was burried in the city of *Melito* in *Calabria*. He left behind him two f young ſons by his laſt wife, and two daughters, who were married to two *Lombard* counts. *Simon*, his eldeſt ſon, ſurvived only a few months, and it ſeems uncertain whether he was ever in poſſeſſion of the county of *Sicily* [i]; ſo that *Roger* II. afterwards king, may juſtly be reckoned his immediate ſucceſſor. A few years after his ſucceſſion, *Robert*, brother of the prince of *Capua*, endeavoured to ſeize that principality. Prince *Richard*, however, held it to his death, which happened two years after, when it was ſeized by *Robert*, who held it twelve months under the title of procurator, after which time he aſſumed the title of prince, the *Capuans* acknowleging him as their ſovereign, as his brother had left no iſſue. Roger, *count of* Sicily, *is ſucceeded by his ſon* Roger II. A. D. 1110.

[d] Malater. l. iv. 22. [e] Lup. Protoſpat. ad. an. 1096. [f] Malater l. iv. c. 24. [g] Vide Baron. ad an. 1097. Giannone Hiſt. di Napol. l. x. c. 8. * Dupin Defenſe de la Mönarchie de Sicile, edit. Amſterdam an. 1716 [h] Willel. Tyr. de bel. ſacr. [i] Append. ad Hiſt. Malat. ap. Muiat. t. v. Romuald. Salern. Chron. Alex. Felicin Abbat Hiſt. Roger Reg. l. i. c. 2, 3.

Soon after *Henry* V. who had rebelled againſt his father, and ſtripped him by force of his imperial ornaments, entered *Italy* at the head of a formidable army, to receive the imperial crown, and finally determine the diſpute concerning inveſtitures. As he had inſiſted upon retaining that right as peremptorily as his late father had ever done, the pope began to be greatly apprehenſive of his deſigns, and immediately upon the news of his march came to *Capua*, and ſolicited the aſſiſtance of prince *Robert* and duke *Roger*, in defence of the apoſtolic ſee. Having obtained their promiſe of aſſiſtance he returned to *Rome*, and took an oath from the *Romans* to the ſame purpoſe. Notwithſtanding theſe precautions, the following year, in the month of *February*, he was ſeized in St. *Peter*'s church by the emperor, and kept a cloſe priſoner, and treated with great indignity for two months, till he conſented to confirm his claim of inveſtitures by a bull. *Robert*, prince of *Capua*, upon the news of his confinement, immediately ſent ſome troops towards *Rome* to his aſſiſtance; but the emperor by that time had left the city with his priſoner, and marched to the ſouth ſide of the *Tyber*; ſo that the *Normans* were obliged to return to *Capua*, having found all the nobles about *Ferentino* greatly in the emperor's intereſt. The pope was deprived of any aſſiſtance from *Puglia*, by the death of duke *Roger*, who, about the ſame time that he was ſeized at *Rome*, died at *Salerno*. This accident ſtruck the *Normans* with great conſternation, as the *Lombard* ſubjects ſeemed inclined to revolt; and they were conſcious they had incurred the reſentment of the emperor, who was at this time very formidable, had the pope in his power, and was ravaging the *Roman* territories in their neighbourhood. The *Normans* in *Puglia* and *Calabria* therefore, inſtead of marching to the relief of the pope, ſecured the fortified places in thoſe provinces for their own defence; and prince *Robert*, who was more expoſed to the emperor's reſentment, ſent ambaſſadors to him with offers of ſubmiſſion [k].

William *ſucceeds to the dukedom of* Puglia. A. D. 1111.

*HENRY*, after receiving the imperial crown, and obtaining the bull concerning inveſtitures from the pope, left *Italy*, without concerning himſelf with the affairs of the *Normans*, and had no ſooner paſſed the *Alps*, than the bull granted by *Paſchal* was annulled by ſeveral cardinals, who of themſelves had aſſembled at *Rome*. Duke *Roger* was ſucceeded by his only ſon *William*, who received the inveſtiture of *Puglia* and *Calabria* from pope *Paſchal* at *Cepperano* [l]. *Paſchal*, about four years after, was ſucceeded in the pontificate by *Gelaſius* II. born at *Gaeta*. The emperor was then in *Italy*, and the new pope refuſing to confirm the grant of inveſtitures made by *Paſchal*, *Henry* marched directly to *Rome*. The pope, being apprehenſive of the ſame treatment his predeceſſor had received, retired to his native city, where he was conſecrated, and granted the inveſtiture to duke *William*, and *Robert*, prince of *Capua*, who promiſed to aſſiſt him againſt the ſchiſmatics. *Henry*, in the mean time, appointed an antipope, who took the name of *Gregory* VIII, but being ſoon after informed that the *Normans* were conducting *Gelaſius* to *Rome*, he left the city and returned to *Germany*. Though *Gelaſius* ſoon after entered *Rome* with a conſiderable body of *Normans*, yet the imperial and antipapal party being more powerful than he expected, he was obliged a ſecond time to quit the city, and retired to *France*, where he died in the beginning of the following year in the monaſtery of *Cluny*. The cardinals who had attended him immediately elected *Guido*, archbiſhop of *Vienne*, who took the name of *Calixtus* II. At firſt there were ſome hopes of an accommodation betwixt him and the emperor, with regard to inveſtitures; but the propoſed conferences never taking effect, *Calixtus* returned the following year to *Rome*, where he was received with great reſpect. From thence, a few months after, he proceeded to *Benevento*, to deſire the aſſiſtance of duke *William* and the prince of *Capua* againſt the antipope, who was protected by the imperial garriſon at *Sutri*. *Calixtus* granted the inveſtiture to duke *William*; but before his arrival *Robert*, prince of *Capua*, died, and left his dominions to his ſon *Richard* III. who ſurviving him only two days, was ſucceeded by his uncle *Jordanus* II. who, according to the *Norman* cuſtom, was anointed with the holy oil on the 5th of *July* [m]. The pope, however, obtained a body of *Normans*, by whoſe aſſiſtance, the year following, he reduced *Sutri*, and ſeized the antipope, whom he impriſoned for life. He ſurvived this tranſaction about three years, and was ſucceeded by *Honorius* II. A few months after the emperor *Henry* V. dying, *Lotharius*, duke of *Saxony*, and *Conrad*, duke of *Suabia*, both pretended to be legally elected his ſucceſſor, and had recourſe to arms to defend their claims.

Jordanus *ſucceeds to the principality of* Capua. A. D. 1120.

During this civil war in *Germany*, *William*, duke of *Puglia*, died at *Salerno*, in the 17th year of his reign, without leaving any iſſue [n]. Some time before his death he left his dominions, by his will, to his uncle *Roger*, count of *Sicily*, who immediately, without conſulting the pope, arrived at *Salerno*, and, confirming to the *Salernitans* their ancient privileges, was conſecrated prince by *Alphanus*, biſhop of *Caput Aquenſe*. From whence he

[k] P. Diac. l. iv. c. 41, 42. [l] Idem l. iv. c. 49. [m] Falcon. Benevent. Chron. Chron. Cavenſ. [n] Rom. Salern. Falcon. Benevent. ad. an. 1127. P. Diac. l. iv. c. 96.

went

a went to *Reggio*, where he was proclaimed duke of *Puglia* and *Calabria*, and, after making a progreſs through the provinces, returned to *Sicily* °. *Roger* at firſt met with ſome oppoſition from the *Salernitans*, who however were ſoon prevailed upon to ſubmit; but he had another enemy, who was greatly offended that he had preſumed to intermeddle in the ſucceſſion of his nephew *William*. This was *Honorius* II. who alledged that *Roger*, by taking poſſeſſion of *Puglia* and *Calabria*, had violated the rights of the church, which, upon a very falſe foundation, pretended to the ſupreme dominion of theſe duchies. He therefore refuſed to grant him the inveſtiture, though he deſired it in the moſt reſpectful manner, and offered, in return, the cities of *Troja* and *Montefuſco*. *Roger* ſent ſeveral embaſſies to him at *Benevento*; however, he would not hearken to his propoſals, but, returning to *Ca-*
b *pua*, there held a convention compoſed of the prince of *Capua* and ſeveral barons of *Puglia*, whom he prevailed upon to enter into an aſſociation againſt *Roger*, in defence of the church. *Roger*, who had aſſumed the title of duke, ſtill continued to ſolicit an accommodation; but *Honorius* remained inflexible, declaring he would rather die than agree to his propoſals, and denounced a ſentence of excommunication againſt him and all his adherents.

Roger, *count of* Sicily *takes poſſeſſion of* Puglia A. D. 1127.

*The pope oppoſes his claim.*

The duke at laſt reſolved to defend his right by arms, and upon his return to *Sicily*, aſſembled a formidable army, which the following ſpring he tranſported into *Italy*, and quickly made himſelf maſter of *Tarento*, *Otranto*, *Brindiſi*, *Oria*, and ſeveral other places. *Honorius* in the mean time marched againſt him with the rebellious barons and their troops.
c Upon the approach of the papal army, *Roger* very prudently kept himſelf in his fortified camp, pretending that he declined an engagement from reſpect to the pope, but in hopes that his enemies, for want of unanimity and ſubſiſtence, would ſoon be obliged to diſperſe. The event juſtified his conduct; for many in the pope's camp were ſoon obliged to ſell their cloaths to purchaſe ſubſiſtence, which occaſioning a great deſertion, the pope, without the knowlege of the barons, ſent to *Roger*. offering him the inveſtiture of his nephew's dominions, if he would ſwear allegiance to the holy ſee. This negociation being diſcovered, the *Apulian* barons, in great indignation, immediately abandoned the pope, who returned to *Benevento*; and being followed by *Roger*, granted him the inveſtiture of *Puglia* and *Calabria*, in the neighbourhood of that city. Upon the news of this accommodation with
d the pope, many cities immediately ſubmitted to *Roger*. *Brindiſi*, however, revolted; and *Troja*, which had been moſt active in the rebellion, inſtead of acknowleging the duke, ſent and begged the protection of *Robert* II. prince of *Capua*, who about two years before had ſucceeded his father *Jordanus*. *Robert* refuſing their requeſt, they ſubmitted to *Rainulph*, count of *Avellino*; but *Roger*, by threatening to invade his country, drew him from the city, which he afterwards inveſted, and, obliging it to ſurrender, ſtruck ſuch a terror into the malecontents, that they all ſubmitted P.

*At laſt grants him the inveſtiture.* A. D. 1128.

As he had now united a great many ſtates in his own perſon, upon his return to *Sicily*, he was earneſtly preſſed by many of his friends to aſſume the title of king. He very willingly attended to this propoſal; and returning to *Salerno*, aſſembled the barons of *Puglia*
e in that city, who unanimouſly urging him to the ſame purpoſe, he publiſhed a proclamation, ordering all his nobles and barons to appear at *Palermo* at *Chriſtmas*. As the authority of the popes was at that time ſo great, that princes did not think they could aſſume the royal or any other title without their conſent, *Roger* therefore judged it neceſſary to have the approbation of the apoſtolic ſee. It happened very fortunately for him that a great ſchiſm had ariſen in the *Roman* church. *Innocent* II. and *Anaclet* II. in the beginning of the year, had been both elected on the ſame day by oppoſite factions. *Innocent* was firſt elected by the minority in a ſecret manner, but was obliged to quit *Rome*, and to retire to *France*, where he ſoon prevailed on the emperor and the king of *France* to acknowlege him. *Anaclet* was ſupported at *Rome* by powerful relations, and a great many cardinals. *Roger*, from
f what motive is uncertain, thought proper to declare for *Anaclet*, who was generally acknowleged in *Italy*. The antipope, in return for the protection of ſo powerful a prince, made no difficulty of granting him the royal title. He accordingly had a conference with *Roger*, in the month of *September*, at *Avellino*, where he ſettled the time and place of the coronation; and, returning to *Benevento*, cauſed the bull to be drawn up for that purpoſe,

Roger *aſſumes the title of king.* A. D. 1130.

° Romuald. Salern. Alex. Telesin. Abbat. Hiſt. ap. Murator. I. v. p. 616, 617. P Telesin. Abbat. Hiſt. ut ſupra. Falcon. Benevent. Chron. Romuald. Chron.

ſpecifying the rights and privileges of the kingdom. He then ſent cardinal *Comes* to *Palermo*, who, with great pomp and ceremony, crowned the king on the 25th of *December* [q] (Q). a

A FEW months after this ceremony, the new king inveſted the city of *Amalfi* both by ſea and land, and at length obliged it to ſurrender. After he had reduced this city, and had returned to *Salerno*, *Sergius*, duke of *Naples*, according to the abbot of *Teleſe*, came and ſubmitted voluntarily to his dominion. This ſubmiſſion, however, if there was really any ſuch, took no effect; for *Sergius*, the following year, aſſociated himſelf with a great many powerful barons, who revolted againſt the king. As *Roger* began to govern in a very arbitrary manner, and to diſcover every day more ambitious views, many of the *Puglians* fled to the emperor begging his protection, while others formed an aſſociation for their own defence. The *Beneventans*, finding that the king had corrupted their governor cardinal *Creſcentius*, and intended to make himſelf maſter of their city, expelled the cardinal, renounced their obedience to *Anaclet*, and acknowleged *Innocent*, who ſent one cardinal *Gerrard* as their governor. The count of *Avellino* likewiſe, though married to a ſiſter of the king, being ſtripped by him of part of his territories, immediately prevailed on *Robert*, prince of *Capua*, *Tancred*, count of *Converſano*, *Grimoald*, prince of *Bari*, with many other barons, to have recourſe to arms. Theſe malecontents, being aſſiſted by the *Neapolitans* and *Beneventans*, attacked the king near the river *Sarno*, where he was entirely defeated, and obliged to fly to *Salerno*, from whence, in the beginning of *December*, he returned to *Sicily* [r]. b

*A dangerous rebellion in* Puglia. A. D. 1132.

BEFORE his departure, the emperor *Lotharius* had arrived in *Italy*, and, after continuing ſome months in *Lombardy*, in the following ſpring marched towards *Rome*, to re-eſtabliſh *Innocent*, from whom he received the imperial crown in the *Lateran* church, as the church of *St. Peter* was ſtill in the poſſeſſion of *Anaclet*. The emperor's arrival gave great ſpirits to the *Apulian* rebels, many of whom reſorted to him at *Rome*, particularly *Robert*, prince of *Capua*, and count *Rainulphus* of *Avellino*. They were, however, diſappointed of aſſiſtance; for *Lotharius* had with him only about 2000 men, and the oppoſite faction being in poſſeſſion of all the places of ſtrength in *Rome*, he was quickly obliged to leave the city, and return to *Germany*. *Roger*, in the mean time, having returned to *Puglia* with a formidable army, chiefly compoſed of *Saracens*, reduced a great many of the revolted cities, and puniſhed the rebels with great ſeverity. The prince of *Capua*, who, with the count, had left *Rome* in order to oppoſe him, finding him too powerful, went to *Piſa* to aſk the aſſiſtance of that republic. Being ſeconded by the pope, who had conferred ſeveral privileges on the *Piſans*, he prevailed upon them to promiſe to ſend, in conjunction with the *Genoeſe* and the *Venetians*, a fleet of an hundred ſail againſt *Roger* in the following ſpring. During his abſence, the king had reduced almoſt all *Apulia*, and taken ſeveral of the chiefs of the rebels, ſome of whom he executed, and ſent others captive into *Sicily*. About the end of *October* he arrived at *Salerno*, with a great number of captives of all ages, and an immenſe quantity of booty in gold and ſilver, and valuable effects, which loaded twenty-three ſhips; and having ordered his army, during the winter, to ravage the territories of *Benevento* and *Capua*, he ſet ſail for *Sicily*, loſing, however, in his paſſage, almoſt all his ſhips by a violent ſtorm [s]. c d e

*The emperor re-eſtabliſhes* Innocent *at* Rome. A. D. 1133.

THE following *March* the prince of *Capua* returned to *Campania* with 1000 *Piſans* and a few ſhips; and, having collected 3000 pounds of ſilver from the churches of *Capua* and *Naples*, ſent the treaſure to *Piſa*, to forward the arrival of the reſt of the fleet. *Roger* about the ſame time arrived with ſixty gallies at *Salerno*; and, having landed his army, ſent the fleet to attack the coaſts of *Naples*. Though the fleet was not very ſucceſsful againſt the *Neapolitans*, yet *Roger*, having aſſembled his army at *Avellino*, unexpectedly laid ſiege to *Nocera*, and, having gained a party among the inhabitants, ſoon made himſelf maſter of the place, the rebel army in vain endeavouring to paſs the *Sarno* to draw him to an engagement. After the reducing of *Nocera*, he invaded the territories of *Rainulphus*, who, finding himſelf deſerted by his barons, was forced to ſubmit, and was pardoned and received f

*The rebels are aſſiſted by the* Piſans. A. D. 1134.

[q] Vide auct. ſup. citat. P. DIAC. l. iv. c. 97. [r] Vide BARON. annal. ad an. 1132. TELSLIN. Abbat. l. ii. [s] FALCON. Benevent. Chron. TELESIN. Abbat. ut ſupra.

(Q) *Roger* at this time not only obtained the inveſtiture of *Sicily*, *Puglia*, and *Calabria*, but likewiſe of the principality of *Capua*, and the dukedom of *Naples*, tho' prince *Robert* was preſent at his coronation, and helped to place the crown upon his head, and the dukedom of *Naples* was then governed by its own duke, and depended on the eaſtern empire. He did not, however, obtain the inveſtiture of the principality of *Salerno*, which ſtate, for ſome time paſt, was claimed by the popes themſelves, probably by ſome pretended gift of *Giſulphus* II. who was expelled by *Robert Guiſcard*, and took refuge with *Gregory* the ſeventh. The inveſtiture was given to *Roger*, his children, and their heirs, *jure perpetuo*; and the quit-rent agreed upon was 600 ſcyfati yearly (1).

(1) *Bulla Anaclet. ap. Baron.*

with

a with great kindneſs by *Roger*, who reſtored him his wife and ſon, and part of his territories. This reconciliation betwixt the king and his brother-in-law ſtruck a terror into the other rebels. Great part of their army diſperſed, and *Robert*, prince of *Capua*, returned immediately to *Piſa*, where he was received by *Innocent*, who had been obliged to leave *Rome* by the party of *Anaclet*, and earneſtly requeſted the emperor to return with an army to *Italy*, to oppoſe the *Sicilian* tyrant. *Roger* in the mean time reduced all *Campania*, and made himſelf maſter of *Capua*, where, according to the abbot of *Teleſe*, he received the ſubmiſſion of the duke of *Naples*. He afterwards took poſſeſſion of *Averſa*; and, having obliged the *Beneventans* to ſurrender at diſcretion, returned in a triumphant manner to *Salerno*, from whence, in the end of the year, he paſſed over to *Sicily*. *Anaclet*, in the mean time, ar-
b riving at *Benevento*, appointed new officers in the city, and puniſhed the authors of the revolt [t].

*ROGER*, upon his return to *Sicily*, fell dangerouſly ill; and, after he recovered, loſt his queen *Alberia*, by whoſe death he was ſo greatly afflicted, that for ſeveral weeks he did not appear in public, and was only ſeen by a few of his favourites. This occaſioned a report of his death, which gave freſh ſpirits to the malecontents on the continent, eſpecially as *Robert*, prince of *Capua*, in the ſpring, arrived at *Naples* with 8000 *Piſans*, and a formidable fleet. Count *Rainulphus*, prince *Robert*, and the duke of *Naples*, accordingly entered into a new aſſociation againſt the king; and *Robert* immediately marched with a numerous army towards *Capua*, to recover that city; but the place being ſecured by the
c prudence of the king's chancellor *Warinus*, he was obliged to retire. *Roger*, at length, arriving about the beginning of *June* at *Salerno*, quickly aſſembled a formidable army, with which he reduced *Averſa*. As the city had been forward in this laſt revolt, after allowing his army to pillage it, he ſet it on fire, and, marching to *Naples*, beſieged it for nine days, burning the ſuburbs, and ravaging all the neighbouring territory. While he retired with his troops on account of the heat, the *Piſan* fleet ſurpriſed and took *Amalfi*, which they intirely ſtripped of all its wealth: but, before they could reimbark, *Roger* arrived with part of his army, and obliged them to abandon almoſt all their plunder, and killed and took about 1500 of their men.

*The* Puglians *revolt a ſecond time.* A. D. 1135.

AFTER the departure of the *Piſans*, the king again inveſted *Naples*, which was the head
d quarters of the rebels; but, finding he was not able to make an impreſſion on the city, he cut down all their vines, and retiring, encamped in the neighbourhood of *Benevento*, where, in the preſence of his army, he gave the inveſtiture of the principality of *Capua* to his third ſon *Anfuſus*; not allowing him, however, to govern it independently of himſelf or his eldeſt ſon *Roger*, whom he had declared his ſucceſſor in the kingdom. As the rebels had then no army to oppoſe him, he made a progreſs through ſeveral cities that he had lately reduced; and appointing governors for the places of ſtrength in *Terra di Labor*, returned in the beginning of winter to *Sicily*. *Robert*, late prince of *Capua*, in the mean time had left *Naples*, returned to *Piſa*, and was ſoon after followed by *Sergius*, the duke, who was apprehenſive that the city would be beſiged in the next campaign, as the officers of *Roger* then kept
e it blocked up, and prevented any proviſions coming into it by land. Pope *Innocent*, who ſtill continued at *Piſa*, preſſed prince *Robert* to go into *Germany* to beg the aſſiſtance of the emperor, and ſent with him cardinal *Gerard*, late governor of *Benevento*.

Roger *gives the inveſtiture of* Capua *to his ſon* Anfuſus.

*LOTHARIUS*, who had been long intreated by many other exiles of *Puglia* to march againſt *Roger*, immediately promiſed to *Robert* to come with an army the following year to *Italy*. The prince returning with this news to *Piſa*, ſoon after ſailed from thence with five ſhips to the relief of *Naples*. The emperor accordingly, in the beginning of autumn, arrived with a powerful army in *Italy*; but, being detained by the affairs of *Lombardy*, could not proceed to *Apulia* till the year after, the city of *Naples*, in the mean time ſuffering the greateſt diſtreſs for want of proviſions. In the following *March*, *Lotharius* had a confe-
f rence with the pope at *Viterbo*, and granted him 3000 men, commanded by his ſon-in-law *Henry the Proud*, duke of *Bavaria*. *Innocent*, with his force, and a great number of malecontents who joined him, immediately recovered all *Campania*, reſtored prince *Robert* to the principality of *Capua*, reduced the monaſtery of *Caſſino*, and obliged the city of *Benevento* to ſurrender. *Lotharius* in the mean time had marched towards the *Adriatic*, and made himſelf maſter of *Siponto*, *Monte Gargano*, and *Bari*. He was there joined by the pope, with the other diviſion of his army, and marched in conjunction with his holineſs to *Melphis*, which quickly ſurrendered. Mean while the *Piſans* had arrived with a fleet of an hundred armed ſhips at *Naples*, and, having relieved that city, obliged the *Amalfitans* to ſubmit to
g the emperor, and took and plundered *Scala* and *Ravella* (R). All the cities of *Puglia* having

*Prince* Robert *recovers* Capua. A. D. 1137.

[t] Vide auct. ſup. citat.

(R) *Folcone* of *Benevento* relates, that the *Amalfitans* ſurrendered upon a capitulation; but, according to *Sigonius*, the *Piſans* took the city by ſurpriſe, and plundered it, and, what is remarkable, of all the booty, deſired only,

as

*The emperor conquers* Puglia.

ing now ſubmitted to the emperor, about the middle of *July* he inveſted the city of *Salerno*, a both by ſea and land, which, after ſome oppoſition, ſurrendered upon terms to the emperor, part of the garriſon retiring into the citadel. The *Piſans*, being greatly offended that they were not conſulted at the capitulation, with great difficulty were prevailed upon to continue with their fleet, which diſſenſion prevented the emperor from reducing the citadel. A greater diſſenſion, however, immediately followed betwixt the emperor and the pope, about the right of inveſtiture. *Lotharius* having propoſed, after his return with his army towards *Benevento*, to create a new duke of *Puglia*, was oppoſed with great vehemence by the pope, who alleged, that it was his prerogative to grant the inveſtiture of that dutchy. The diſpute continued for near thirty days with great animoſity; at length, leſt the common enemy ſhould take advantage of their diſſenſion, it was reſolved that the deciſion of their b claims ſhould be deferred, and that both of them ſhould give the inveſtiture together. Ac-

*Gives the inveſtiture of it to* Rainulphus;

cordingly *Rainulphus*, count of *Avellino*, was created duke of *Calabria* and *Puglia*, and in the preſence of the army received the ſtandard from the hands of the emperor and the pope, the upper part of which, however, was held by his holineſs [u].

*LOTHARIUS*, having thus diſpoſed of *Puglia*, returned with the pope to *Rome*, and from thence proceeded to *Lombardy*, where he was detained till the month of *December* in ſettling the diſputes betwixt ſome cities and nobles, and in a few weeks after died in his paſſage over the *Alps*. *Roger*, who had been waiting for his departure, was no ſooner informed that he had returned to *Lombardy*, than he arrived with an army at *Salerno*, where he was joyfully received by the inhabitants. Having immediately reduced *Nocera*, and the territory be- c longing to *Rainulphus*, he marched to *Capua*, which he took and plundered, not ſparing even the churches and nunneries. Upon the news of this ſucceſs, the *Beneventans*, and *Sergius*, duke of *Naples*, came and voluntarily ſubmitted to him; but *Rainulphus*, reſolving to hazard all to return to his new dignity, marched againſt him with a ſmall army, which he had raiſed from *Bari*, *Trani*, *Troja*, and *Melphis*. St. *Bernard*, abbot of *Claravalle*, then in high reputation, at the pope's requeſt endeavoured to effect an accommoda-

*who defeats* Roger.

tion; but his mediation being rejected, both parties came to an engagement on the 2d of *October*, when *Roger* was entirely defeated, with the loſs of all his baggage, and a great number of his men [w]. The king, however, did not appear diſcouraged with this great defeat; but, retiring to *Salerno*, made great preparations for recruiting his army, that he d might be again in a condition to take the field.

In order to amuſe his enemies, he ſeemed to hearken to the ſolicitations of St. *Bernard*, and agreed to a conference of three cardinals of either part, to examine into the merits of the election of *Innocent* and *Anaclet*. After the deputies had ſpent ſeveral days in diſputing at *Salerno*, *Roger* propoſed that their arguments ſhould be committed to writing, and that one cardinal of each party ſhould go with him to *Sicily*, to lay them before the *Sicilian* biſhops. This propoſal was accordingly agreed to; but *Anaclet* dying in the beginning of *January*, all further thoughts of a negociation were laid aſide. *Roger* by that time had reeſtabliſhed his affairs, while his competitor had ſpent the whole winter in ſome enterprizes of ſmall importance. To keep up the faction againſt *Innocent*, *Roger* perſuaded the ſchiſ- e matics at *Rome* to elect a ſucceſſor to *Anaclet*, and ſoon after landed with his army in *Italy*. *Rainulphus* in vain endeavoured to draw him to another engagement, for he cautiouſly ſhunned him during the whole campaign, by encamping on the mountains. Though he was continually followed by him, he was nevertheleſs ſo ſucceſsful as to reduce ſeveral towns, ſome of which he plundered and burnt, and, having obliged many of the rebels to ſubmit, he returned in the beginning of winter to *Sicily*.

*INNOCENT*, who had prevailed on the new antipope *Victor* to ſubmit, and had thereby put an end to the ſchiſm, endeavoured in the beginning of the campaign to march with an army to the aſſiſtance of *Rainulphus*; but after he had arrived at *Albano*, being prevented by ſickneſs, he returned to *Rome*, where, in a general council held in the month of *April*, f

[u] Falcon. Benevent. Chron. ad an. 1137. Petr. Diac. l. iv. c. 105, 106. Romuald. Salern. Chron. [w] Falcon. Benevent. Chron.

as their own ſhare, the pandects of *Juſtinian*, which had been brought by an *Amalfitan* merchant from the eaſt (1). *Angelus Politianus* believes this copy to be that which had been compiled by order of the emperor (2). However that be, 'tis certain that all other copies are taken from it, as being the moſt ancient. The *Piſans*, having obtained their requeſt from the emperor, carried the volumes to *Piſa*, and for near three centuries they were known by the name of the *Pandectæ Piſanæ*. But about the year 1416, *Piſa* being taken by the *Florentines*, they were tranſported from thence to *Florence*, where they are now preſerved in the library of the *Medici*, and known by the name of the *Pandectæ Florentinæ*. Some authors allege, that *Lotharius* ordained by an edict, that the pandects ſhould be publicly read and explained at *Bologna*, and pleaded in the tribunals; but *Corringius* and *Lindenbrogius* fully refute their opinion (3).

(1) *Sigon. in regn. Ital. l.* xi. *p.* 272. *Capecelatr. Hiſt. l.* i. *p.* 35. (2) *Polit. l.* x. *ep.* 14. (3) *Conring. de orig. jur. Germ. Lindenbrog. in Prolegom. in Cod. LL. antiq.*

a in the *Lateran* church, he denounced a ſentence of excommunication againſt *Roger*, who, though he is ſaid to have acknowledged him as pope after the reſignation of *Victor*, ſtill continued the war againſt him as a temporal prince [x]. *Innocent* probably ſoon repented of this proceeding; for *Rainulphus*, on whom he chiefly depended as the inſtrument of his reſentment againſt the king, died a few days after at *Troja*, being greatly lamented by all thoſe of his faction. *Roger* is ſaid to have expreſſed immoderate joy at his death; and, immediately after, landing at *Salerno*, aſſembled a numerous army, part of which he put under the command of his eldeſt ſon duke *Roger*, who quickly reduced all the cities of *Puglia* except *Bari*, which at that time conſiſted of 50,000 inhabitants, and had a garriſon of 400 horſe. The king, during the abſence of his ſon, reduced all the provinces of *Capi-*
b *tanata*, and other cities. He was, however, obliged to raiſe the ſiege of *Ariano*, which was garriſoned with 200 knights, and about 20,000 foot. Soon after, while he was encamped before *Troja*, he was informed that the pope had arrived with a powerful army as far as *St. Germano*, to the aſſiſtance of the rebels. *Roger* immediately ſent ambaſſadors to him, offering to treat of peace; and, marching with his army towards *St. Germano*, conferences were held for ſeveral days by the deputies of both ſides. The negociation, however broke off, becauſe *Roger* abſolutely refuſed to part with the principality of *Capua*; and the king, withdrawing his army, beſieged ſome caſtles belonging to the rebels in that neighbourhood. The pope likewiſe began hoſtilities againſt the king, who, taking the advantage of the ſecurity of his enemy, ſurpriſed him on his march, and made him priſoner. Though he
c treated him with the greateſt reſpect, yet he abſolutely refuſed to grant him his liberty, unleſs he would abſolve him from the ſentence of excommunication, and conclude a peace. *Innocent* without much difficulty conſented to his requeſt; and accordingly, four days after, on the 25th of *June*, abſolved him and all his adherents, and granted him the inveſtiture of the kingdom of *Sicily*, of the duchy of *Puglia*, and the principality of *Capua*, on condition of his ſwearing allegiance to the holy *Roman* ſee, and paying a yearly quit-rent of 600 ſcyfati.

Rainulphus *dies at* Troja. A. D. 1139.

Innocent *is taken priſoner by* Roger, *and confirms to him the title of king.*

After this reconciliation, *Roger* accompanied the pope to *Benevento*, where he received the ſubmiſſion of the *Neapolitans*, who choſe his eldeſt ſon for their duke; and having reſtored *Benevento* to the pope, he marched to *Troja*, which ſurrendering upon his approach,
d he proceeded to *Bari*. After a ſiege of two months, he obliged this city to ſubmit; and having ordered prince *Jaquintus*, with ten other chiefs, to be hanged, and the eyes of many others to be put out, he returned about the end of *October* with his army to *Salerno*, where having confiſcated the eſtates of the chief rebels whom he baniſhed from his dominions, he ſet ſail a few days after for *Palermo* [y]. Early the following ſpring, he ſent prince *Anfuſus* with an army to reduce the province in the neighbourhood of *Peſcara* on the coaſt of the *Adriatic*; and duke *Roger* ſoon after marching thither with a ſtrong reinforcement, many cities quickly ſurrendered. As the pope made great complaint of theſe hoſtilities, *Roger*, who ſoon after arrived from *Sicily*, recalled his two ſons, and ſent ambaſſadors to *Rome*, earneſtly deſiring a conference with *Innocent*; who excuſed himſelf, by urging the neceſſity
e of his affairs. The king then went to *Peſcara*; and having viſited the places conquered by his ſons, he returned to *Ariano*, where he aſſembled for the firſt time the eſtates of his kingdom, namely, by the barons and prelates; and among other things ordained, that none of his ſubjects ſhould receive any *Roman* money, but ſhould trade with what he then coined, more than one half of which conſiſted of braſs. This edict occaſioned an univerſal murmuring over all his ſtates in *Italy*; but they had ſuffered ſo much by their late revolt, and his authority was now ſo fully eſtabliſhed, that any oppoſition would only have involved them in greater miſery. From *Ariano Roger* proceeded to *Naples*, where he was received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy; and having confirmed to the inhabitants their ancient immunities, in the beginning of *October* he ſailed from *Salerno* to *Sicily*, leaving duke *Roger* in *Puglia*, and prince *Anfuſus* at *Capua* [z] (S).

[x] Falcon. Benevent. Chron. [y] Falcon. ut ſupra. [z] Idem ibid.

About

(S) It is a diſpute betwixt the *Sicilian* and *Neapolitan* writers, whether the provinces of *Italy* were at this time formed into a kingdom by themſelves, independent on the kingdom of *Sicily*. The *Sicilians* ſay, that the *Italian* provinces depended on *Palermo*, where the chief officers of the crown, who had the government of them, reſided, and that the words of the bull of *Anaclet* are, *Siciliam caput regni conſtituimus*. It appears likewiſe from the conſtitutions of *Frederic* II. that by the kingdom of *Sicily* he not only meant the iſland, but the *Italian* provinces; and *Clement* IV. in his bull of inveſtiture to *Charles* of *Anjou*, called the kingdom, *regnum Siciliæ citra & ultra Pharum*. *Gregory* XI. in the year 1363, having reconciled queen *Jean* of *Naples* and *Frederic* III. king of *Sicily*, in his bull calls *Naples the kingdom of* Sicily, and *Sicily Trinacria*. The two kingdoms being afterwards united in the perſon of *Alphonſus* I. he uſed the title of *Rex utriuſque Siciliæ*. It is alleged by the *Neapolitans*, that when *Roger* was reconciled to *Innocent*, no regard was paid to the bull of *Anaclet*; and from cotemporary writers it appears, that the duchy of *Puglia*, meaning all the *Italian* provinces ſubject to *Roger*, was erected into a kingdom independent on *Sicily*, and that he and his ſucceſſors took the title of kings of *Puglia* or *Italy*.

*The succeſſors of* Innocent *refuſe to acknowlege* Roger *as king.* A. D. 1143.

ABOUT three years after, *Roger* was threatened with a war by *Celeſtine* II. the ſucceſſor of *Innocent*, who refuſed to ratify the peace concluded betwixt his predeceſſor and the king. The ſhortneſs of his pontificate, which continued only ſix months, prevented an open rupture. But his ſucceſſor *Lucius* II. being of the ſame ſentiments, *Roger*, who was deſirous of continuing in a good correſpondence with the holy ſee, had a conference with him at the monaſtery of *Monte Caſſino*. The pope, by the advice of the cardinals, refuſing to grant his requeſt, and parting in an abrupt manner, the king immediately entered the ſtate of the church with an army, and took *Terracina*, and many other places in the *Campania di Roma*. *Roger* by this means prevailed on the pope to agree to an accommodation; which was accordingly effected, the king granting to *Lucius* a large ſum of money, and reſtoring all the conqueſts he had made from the dominions of the church; and, on the other hand, receiving from the pope, a grant of the ring, the ſandals, the ſceptre, the mitre, and the dalmatic, and that no perſon ſhould be ſent into his dominions as a legate without his deſire, from whence the kings of *Sicily* value themſelves, as being both lords in ſpirituals and temporals in their dominions [a]. In the mean time prince *Anfuſus* dying, *Roger* created his fourth ſon *William* prince of *Capua* and duke of *Naples*; and ſoon after held a general convention of his ſtates at *Capua*, where ſeveral new laws were made, and many law-ſuits compounded. *Roger*, having now eſtabliſhed peace in *Italy* upon a ſolid foundation, turned his thoughts to a foreign expedition, and the following year invaded *Africa* with a powerful fleet. He quickly made himſelf maſter of *Tripoli*, *Stace*, and *Caſſia*, and ſo harraſſed the king of *Tunis* in other parts of his dominions, that he conſented to become his tributary [b].

*He obtains privileges from* Lucius II. A. D. 1144.

*He ravages the coaſts of* Greece. A. D. 1148.

ABOUT the ſame time he likewiſe carried his victorious arms into *Greece*, to puniſh the perfidy of the *Greek* emperor *Emanuel*, who, in the beginning of his reign, had ſent ambaſſadors to *Sicily*, with the propoſal of an alliance by marriage; which propoſal was embraced by *Roger*, and ambaſſadors were ſent by him to *Conſtantinople* for that purpoſe. The emperor, having changed his mind, after amuſing the *Sicilian* ambaſſadors for ſome time, put them in priſon; which indignity greatly exaſperating the king, he immediately fitted out a formidable fleet, the command of which he gave to *George* of *Antioch*, his high admiral. The admiral, after taking the city of *Mutine*, attacked the iſland of *Corfu*, and, ſailing to the *Morea*, ravaged all the coaſts of that iſthmus, and committed hoſtilities in all places of the *Negropont* and *Bœotia*, from whence, beſides the rich booty, he carried off with him the chief workmen of the ſilk manufactures, and brought them to *Sicily* and *Puglia*, where before this time that art was unknown [c]. The following year the admiral again entered the *Archipelago*, and advanced in a triumphant manner as far as *Conſtantinople*, burning and plundering the ſuburbs of that capital, and in a bravado ſhooting golden arrows into the emperor's palace. Upon his return, he fell in with ſome *Grecian* ſhips, which he attacked and made himſelf maſter of, thereby ſetting at liberty *Lewis* VII. king of *France*, whom they had taken priſoner in his voyage from the *Holy Land* [d]. *Roger* received *Lewis*, upon his landing in *Italy*, with the greateſt honours; and about the ſame time granted aſſiſtance to pope *Eugenius* againſt the *Romans*, who for ſome years had renounced the papal authority, and endeavoured to reſtore the form of the ancient republic. As his eldeſt ſon *Roger* had died the year before, he about this time created his only ſurviving ſon *William* duke of *Puglia*; and, two years afterwards, he aſſociated him with himſelf in the kingdom, cauſing him to be crowned and anointed in *Palermo* by the archbiſhop of that city [e]. Having thus nominated a ſucceſſor, he laid aſide all thoughts of war, and reſiding at *Palermo*, ſpent the two remaining years of his life in erecting monuments of his munificence and piety, and endeavouring to convert the *Jews* and *Saracens* in his dominions to the Chriſtian religion. He died of a fever in the end of *February*, in the 59th year of his

Roger *aſſociates his ſon* William *in the government.* A. D. 1152.

*His death.* A. D. 1154.

[a] OTHO Friſing. de reb. geſt. Fred. II. lib. ii. cap. 27, 28. [b] Anon. Caſſin. an. 1145. SOLOM. DI LUCCA Chron. t. iii. Hiſp. illuſt. p. 375. [c] GIANNONE Hiſt. di Napol. [d] Appendix ad Sigebert [e] PEREGRIN. in Stem.

*Italy*. In the third volume of *Sicilia Sacra*, a charter begins with theſe words, after the invocation, *Rogerius Rex Apuliæ*. *Giannone* mentions a diploma, dated 1130, wherein we read, *Rogerius, Dei Gratia, Siciliæ, Apuliæ, & Calabriæ, Rex*; and, in the charter mentioned by *Falco* of *Benevento*, *Roger* ſtiles himſelf, *Dei Gratia, Siciliæ, Italiæ, Rex*. Another argument for the diſtinctneſs and independency of the two kingdoms, is drawn from the peculiarity of their laws; for in *Naples* no other laws prevailed than the *Lombard*, which never were uſed, or had authority, in *Sicily*, where the *Lombards* never had any footing. Both kingdoms likewiſe had ſeparately their ſupreme officers of the crown, which were introduced at this time by *Roger*, after the manner of *France*. Theſe, according to *Giannone*, were the high conſtable, the high admiral, the high chancellor, the lord chief juſtice, the high chamberlain, the great prothonotary, and the high ſteward (1).

(1) *Peregrin. ad Lup. Protoſpat. & Falcon. Giannone, Hiſt. di Napol. lib.* ii.

a reign (T). He was large and corpulent, had the face of a lion, and a very rough voice. He was wiſe, diſcreet, and provident, and depended more on prudent council than ſtrength. In amaſſing money he was very diligent, but in conferring benefits he was very ſparing. He was a great terror to the *Greeks* and *Saracens*, and was more dreaded than beloved by his own ſubjects. He was a great admirer of learned and brave men of whatever nation, many of whom upon his invitation, entered into his ſervice, and were raiſed by him to the firſt honours of his kingdom [f].

William *ſucceeds to the kingdom of* Sicily.

*WILLIAM*, upon the death of his father, aſſumed the whole adminiſtration of the government; and on the following *Eaſter* repeated the ceremony of his coronation, in the preſence of a numerous aſſembly of the prelates and barons of his kingdom. He quickly
b alienated the affections of his nobles, by baniſhing and impriſoning many of thoſe who had been eſteemed by his father, and by conferring the whole direction and management of his affairs upon *Majone di Bari*, a man of an obſcure birth (U) and deteſtable character, whom he had promoted to the dignity of high admiral. His wicked ambition ſoon diſturbed the peace of the kingdom, and occaſioned a civil war, which was alſo in ſome meaſure owing to a rupture betwixt pope *Adrian* and the king. *Adrian*, who in the end of *December* had ſucceeded to the pontificate, a few months after ſent cardinal *Henry* to the king at *Salerno*, with an apoſtolic letter; but having addreſſed his letter only to *William*, lord of *Sicily*, the king ordered the cardinal immediately to leave his kingdom without an audience, and com-
c manded the high chancellor and governor of *Puglia* to march with an army into the pope's territories. The chancellor accordingly ravaged the territory of *Benevento*; but not being able to make himſelf maſter of the city, he proceeded to *Campania di Roma*, where he took and burnt *Cepperano*, *Bacueco*, *Fruſinone*, *Arce*, and other neighbouring places, and in his return demoliſhed the walls of *Aquino*, *Pontecorvo*, and other places belonging to the monks of *Caſſino*.

*A rupture betwixt him and pope* Adrian. A. D. 1115.

THE pope, in reſentment for theſe hoſtilities, thundered a ſentence of excommunication againſt *William*, and excited the diſcontented nobles in *Apulia* openly to revolt. Though he was diſappointed of aſſiſtance from the emperor *Frederic Barbaroſſa*, who this year had entered *Italy*, and recovered the imperial crown, yet his intrigues in *Puglia* were very ſucceſsful; for
d many of the moſt powerful barons, being intirely diſaffected to the prince on account of the power and inſolence of *Majone*, ſwore allegiance to the pope as their ſovereign, who, about the end of *September*, had arrived at *St. Germano* with a conſiderable army. *Robert*, formerly prince of *Capua*, with the other exiles, taking advantage of theſe confuſions, again recovered their eſtates. *Robert*, by the pope's aſſiſtance, conquered all the principality of *Capua*, as far as *Naples* and *Salerno*; and *Robert*, count of *Loritello*, upon a rumour that *William* was poiſoned by *Majone*, pretended to the kingdom, and ſeized *Bari* and all the coaſt of the *Adriatic* [g]. Mean while the *Greek* emperor, who had entered into a league with *Frederic Barbaroſſa* againſt *William*, ſeized *Brindiſi*, and ſent a fleet to *Ancona* with a large ſum of money for the pope, offering to expel the king entirely from *Sicily*, on con-
e dition of being put in poſſeſſion of three maritime cities in *Puglia* [h]. During theſe diſturbances on the continent, *William* was ſhut up in his palace, and ſaw none of his ſubjects but *Majone*, and the archbiſhop of *Palermo*, who was privy to the deſigns of the admiral. The *Sicilians*, on this account, believing the king dead, took arms in ſeveral parts of the iſland. Though the king ſent an ambaſſador to them, they refuſed to deſiſt from their enterprize, but declared that they had only taken arms againſt the admiral and archbiſhop, who they aſſured him conſpired againſt his life. Their anſwer being reported to the king, he at laſt rouſed from his ſecurity, eſpecially as he was in hazard of his life by a violent ſedition of the inhabitants of *Palermo*. Though he did not believe the admiral guilty, yet he left his palace, and marched againſt the *Sicilian* rebels at *Butera*, who were obliged to capitulate,
f and were pardoned on condition that they baniſhed themſelves from his dominions.

*A great rebellion in* Puglia.

HAVING thus quieted *Sicily*, he tranſported his army to *Brindiſi*, and immediately ſent an embaſſy to the pope, to treat of an accommodation. *Adrian* ſeemed inclined to hearken to his propoſals, but, by means of ſome cardinals attached to the party of the emperor

William *recovers* Puglia. A. D. 1156.

[f] ROMUALD. Salern. Chron. Chron. Cavenſ. Chron. Foſſæ Novæ. ROMUALD. Chron. OTHO Friſing. l. ii. Chron. Anon. Caſſin.

[g] HUG. FALCAND. Hiſt. Sicul.

[h] OTHO Friſing. ut ſup.

(T) *Roger* married three wives. By his firſt wife *Alberia*, daughter of *Alphonſus*, king of *Spain*, he had five ſons, who all, excepting *William*, died before himſelf. By his ſecond wife *Sybilla*, ſiſter of the duke of *Burgundy*, he had no iſſue: and by his third wife, *Beatrice*, ſiſter of the count *di Reteſta*, he had a poſthumous daughter named *Conſtantia*, who, when ſhe was 30 years of age, was married to the emperor *Henry* VI (1). *Roger*, duke of *Puglia*, left two baſtard ſons, *Tancred* and *William*, who were kept priſoners by their uncle in the royal palace in *Palermo* (2).

(U) This was the ſon of an oil-merchant at *Bari*, and at firſt was only a notary in the court (3).

(1) *Peregrin. in Stem.* (2) *Hug. Falcand. Hiſt. Sicul.* (3) *Hug. Falcand. ut ſupra.*

*Frederic*,

*Frederic*, the conferences were broke off, and nothing concluded. The king, being diſappointed in his hopes of a peaceable accommodation, attacked *Brindiſi* with great vigour, which at length, in the month of *May*, he made himſelf maſter of, taking a great many *Greeks* and rebellious barons priſoners. Having likewiſe enriched himſelf by the booty and large ſums of money which the *Greeks* had brought thither, he marched to *Bari*, which, after allowing the inhabitants to retire with their effects, he entirely deſtroyed, becauſe they had demoliſhed the caſtle. Thus this once flouriſhing city, by this misfortune, was reduced to a few villages, in which condition it continued for a long time after [i]. The king then went to *Benevento*, whither the greateſt part of the rebels had repaired to the defence of the pope, who, ſoon finding himſelf cloſely preſſed by the beſiegers, thought proper, according to *William* of *Tyre*, to agree to a peace, without the leaſt regard from the barons, whom he had involved in the rebellion [k]; though, according to *Romuald* the *Salernitan*, and the author of the Chronicon of *Caſſino*, the pope prevailed on the king to allow them to depart the kingdom. By this peace the king was abſolved from the ſentence of excommunication, and obtained the inveſtiture of the kingdom of *Sicily*, of the duchy of *Puglia*, and of the principality of *Capua*, with all their dependencies, by three different ſtandards. The pope likwiſe granted him *Naples*, *Salerno*, and *Amalfi*, with their dependencies, and *Albo la Marcha*, on condition of paying for his laſt territory 500 ſyfati yearly, beſides the 600 for *Apulia*. At the ſame time many articles were ſettled and agreed to concerning eccleſiaſtical polity. All the clergy on the continent, ſubject to the king, were allowed to appeal to the ſee of *Rome*, which might alſo ſend legates thither, who nevertheleſs ſhould not be allowed to pillage the churches. Viſitations and conſecrations, and tranſlations from one church to another, were alſo admitted, and in *Sicily* the church of *Rome* was allowed the ſame privileges as in the other part of the king's dominions, excepting as to appeals, and the right of ſending legates [l]. After the concluſion of this peace, the king appointed *Simon*, the admiral's brother-in-law, governor of *Puglia*, and returned to *Palermo* with a great many priſoners, among whom was *Robert*, prince of *Capua*, who was betrayed by his vaſſal *Richard*, count of *Fondi*, and taken in his paſſage over the *Garigliano*, with his daughter and one of his ſons, the other ſon having fled to *Conſtantinople*. *Robert*, upon his arrival at *Palermo*, had his eyes put out, and ſoon after died in that city, being the laſt of the deſcendants of the counts of *Averſa*, who held the principality of *Capua*, which was then united to the kingdom of *Puglia* [m]. *William*, having now no enemy but the *Greek* emperor, fitted out a powerful fleet, the command of which the high admiral gave to his brother *Stephen*, who engaging the *Greeks* on the coaſt of the *Peloponneſe*, gained a moſt complete victory, and afterwards plundered ſeveral maritime cities belonging to the *Greeks*. *Emanuel*, ſtruck by theſe loſſes, at laſt agreed to a peace, which was concluded for 30 years; and the *Greek* priſoners being reſtored, he conſented to acknowlege *William* as king [n].

*Beſieges the pope in* Benevento,

*and obtains from him the inveſtiture of his ſtates.*

*The* Greek *emperor gives him the title of king.*

A. D. 1157.

*MAJONE* in the mean time continued to govern with his uſual inſolence; and, having formed a deſign upon the crown, he endeavoured to repreſent the king as a lunatic. He firſt adviſed him to publiſh cruel and tyrannical orders, and then by his own authority ſtopped the execution of them. He conferred the higheſt employments upon his own relations, flattered the clergy with hopes of preferment, was bountiful to the indigent, and very kind to the foreign adventurers who ſerved in the troops; ſo that his authority was already much more regarded than that of the king [o]. A few years after he allowed the *Sicilian* ſettlement on the coaſt of *Africa* to be taken by the *Moors*, by wilfully neglecting to aſſiſt the garriſon; at the ſame time publiſhing, that the enemy had made themſelves maſters of the city by the king's connivance. His perfidy, however, which had long been the ſubject of popular diſcontent, was plainly diſcovered upon the arrival of the *African* garriſon in *Sicily*. Other reports that prevailed at laſt excited the people openly to revolt. It was univerſally believed that *Majone* offered his aſſiſtance to *Alexander*, the ſucceſſor of *Adrian* IV. againſt the antipope *Victor*, and endeavoured to corrupt him by a large ſum of money, that he might transfer the crown from *William* to him, after the example of pope *Zachary*, who had conferred the crown of *France* on *Pepin*. As it was alſo known that he had corrupted the queen, and it was reported that he had already provided the enſigns of royalty, the city of *Melfi*, and many others of *Puglia*, immediately entered into an aſſociation not to receive any orders or officers that ſhould come from the court, until he ſhould be either put to death, or baniſhed. A large body of armed men went through all *Puglia*, obliging almoſt all the cities to enter into this aſſociation.

Majone *openly aſpires to the crown.*

A. D. 1160.

[i] Anon. Caſſin. ad an. 1156. Falcand. ut ſupra. Capecelater. Hiſt. l. ii. Inveges Hiſt. Palerm. l. iii. [k] Gul. Tyr. l. viii. [l] Baron. ad an. 1156. [m] Peregrin. in Stem. Falcand. ut ſupra. Romuald. Chron. [n] Jo. Cinnam. de reb. geſt. Jo. & Emman. Comn. lib. iv. Rom. Salern. [o] Falcand. ut ſupra.

*MAJONE*

a *MAJONE* endeavoured to pacify them by honourable embaſſies; but his firſt ambaſſa-
dor, the biſhop of *Mazzara*, encouraged them in their deſign, by giving them a fuller ac-
count of his villainy; and his ſecond ambaſſador, *Matthew Bonello*, a young nobleman,
whom the admiral deſigned for his ſon-in-law, was perſuaded by the chiefs of the aſſociation
to undertake his murder, in hopes of marrying the widow of the count of *Moliſe*, a natural
daughter of the late king, which match the admiral had hitherto oppoſed. *Bonello*, upon
his return to *Sicily*, was encouraged in his deſign by the archbiſhop of *Palermo*, who was then
lying on his death-bed, having been poiſoned by the admiral, in conſequence of a diſpute
betwixt them about the government of the king's children after his murder. Accordingly, *Is murdered by* Bonello;
having aſſembled ſome armed mén, he attacked the admiral at night, upon his return from
b the archbiſhop's palace, and murdered him with his own hand, after which he fled with his
followers, and fortified himſelf in one of his caſtles. The king at firſt expreſſed great re-
ſentment for the murder of his favourite: but finding, among *Majone*'s treaſure, the ſceptre,
the crown, and the other enſigns of royalty, he was at laſt convinced of his treaſon, puniſhed
ſeveral of his accomplices, and recalled *Bonello* to court, who was welcomed at *Palermo* by
the acclamations of the people.

THE king, however, a few months after, by the perſuaſion of ſeveral eunuchs and creatures
of the late admiral, began to conceive a diſguſt againſt *Bonello*, who, he was made believe,
aimed at the crown himſelf, and had murdered *Majone* on account of his fidelity to him.
*Bonello* being ſenſible that he had loſt the king's favour, and obſerving *Majone*'s friends *who forms an*
c again reſtored to confidence, complained of the king's ingratitude and fickleneſs to many *aſſociation to*
of the *Sicilian* barons, and entered into a conſpiracy with them to ſeize the king, and either *dethrone the*
to put him to death, or impriſon him for life, and proclaim his eldeſt ſon *Roger* king, then *king.*
a boy about nine years of age. The barons, hearing that a ſoldier had diſcovered their con- A. D. 1161.
ſpiracy, haſtened the execution of their deſign during the abſence of *Bonello*; and, having
made themſelves maſters of the palace, ſeized *William* without oppoſition, and proclaimed
young *Roger* king. The *Palermitans* in general at firſt approved of the king's impriſon-
ment; but, not ſeeing their favourite *Bonello* appear, they ſoon began to murmur againſt
the conſpirators, and on the third day attacked the palace with ſuch fury, that the barons
were obliged to ſet the king at liberty, and fly to the caſtle of *Bonello*. During the tumult,
d prince *Roger*, happening to look out at a window of the palace, was ſhot with an arrow in a
ſlight manner, but died ſoon after, being kicked in the breaſt, as it was ſaid, by his father,
who was enraged that he had been preferred to him. *William*, having granted ſome immu-
nities to the inhabitants of *Palermo*, as a reward for their fidelity, marched againſt the con-
ſpirators, many of whom, at the interceſſion of *Bonello*, who profeſſed an ignorance of the
plot, were pardoned, and others of them allowed to go into voluntary baniſhment. A new
inſurrection ſoon after breaking out in *Sicily*, *William* was perſuaded to impriſon *Bonello*, and Bonello *is im-*
then marched againſt the rebels at *Butera*. As *Bonello* had his eyes put out, and the ſinews *priſoned, and*
of his ancles cut, he did not long ſurvive his impriſonment. The king in the mean time, *dies.*
after ſpending the whole ſummer before *Butera*, was content to get poſſeſſion of the town, by
e allowing the rebels to depart the kingdom, as he himſelf was deſirous of tranſporting his
army into *Puglia* againſt the rebellious barons of that duchy, who, ſince the admiral's death,
ſtill continued in arms, although he had ſent the hiſtorian *Romuald*, archbiſhop of *Salerno*,
to them, with an offer of pardon [p]. Having taken and intirely deſtroyed *Butera*, *William* William *re-*
returned with his army to *Palermo*, and the following ſpring, tranſporting his troops to *Ca-* *duces all* Pu-
*labria*, took by ſtorm the ſtrong city of *Taverna*, and ſoon after made himſelf maſter of *Ta-* glia.
*rento*; which ſucceſs ſtruck ſuch a terror into the rebels, that they immediately evacuated A. D. 1162.
all their conqueſts, and marched towards the church territories. *William*, after executing a
great many priſoners at *Tarento*, purſued the rebel army as far as *S. Germano*, obliging all
the towns that favoured them to purchaſe their pardon, by paying large contributions. He
f then marched with his army to *Salerno*; but as he was offended with the inhabitants, he
would not enter the city, but having exacted a large contribution from them, he ſailed for
*Palermo*.

As he was very fond of a lazy voluptuous life, upon his return to *Sicily*, he ordered his *Reſigns all the*
domeſtics not to acquaint him with any bad news, and reſigned all care of the adminiſtration *care of the go-*
of the government to *Henry*, biſhop of *Syracuſe*, an *Engliſhman*, *Matthew* of *Salerno*, a notary, *vernment.*
and *Peter*, an eunuch and *Saracen*. Theſe two laſt miſerably oppreſſed the *Sicilians* by vexa-
tious ſuits, and raiſed immenſe fortunes, by proſecuting a great many, under pretence of the
late rebellions; the biſhop of *Syracuſe* in the mean time in vain making remonſtrances
againſt their proceedings to the king, though, according to *Falcand*, the kingdom ſuffered
g more from theſe domeſtic robbers, than it would have done from the ravages of a foreign

[p] ROMUALD. Salern. an 1161.

enemy [q]. *William*, towards the end of his reign, deſired to imitate his father's magnificence, and begun a fine palace at *Palermo*, which, however, he did not live to ſee completed, being cut off by a dyſentery in the forty-ſixth year of his age, and the ſixteenth of his reign. A few months before his death, pope *Alexander* arriving from *France* at *Meſſina*, he ordered five of his gallies to conduct him and his retinue to *Rome*; and when he was on his death-bed, *John* of *Saliſbury* informs us, that he ſent him a preſent of 40,000 *l.* ſterling, to aſſiſt him in oppoſing the faction of the antipope [r]. At the ſame time, according to *Falcand*, he appointed his eldeſt ſon *William* as heir of his kingdom, declared his queen bailly or regent during his minority, and ordered his youngeſt ſon *Henry* to be content with the principality of *Capua* (W). On account of his indolence, avarice, and cruelty, he got the ſurname of *Wicked* from his ſubjects, his whole reign having been one continued courſe of tyranny and oppreſſion. He was of a noble and graceful aſpect, tall and corpulent, and very kind to his favourites. He was naturally inſolent, and very fond of vain applauſe. However, he ſhewed great reverence for the clergy, was very devout, and regularly attended divine ſervice [s].

*Dies at* alermo. A. D. 1166.

THE queen concealed the death of her huſband a few days, being apprehenſive of a popular commotion in *Palermo*: but many of the *Sicilian* barons, whom ſhe had ſent for, arriving at the palace, ſhe then publiſhed his death, which was ſolemnly lamented by the citizens for three days, during which time the women, noble matrons, and *Saracens*, went clad in ſack-cloth, howling through the ſtreets, to the tolling of the bells. This public mourning being concluded, *William*, then about twelve years of age, was conducted thro' the city on horſeback, and ſolemnly crowned in the cathedral church, by *Romuald*, archbiſhop of *Salerno*. The queen, to reconcile the people to her adminiſtration, immediately ordered all priſoners to be ſet at liberty, recalled the exiles, whom ſhe reſtored to their former eſtates, made ſeveral donations of lands to the churches, counts, barons, and knights, and entirely remitted the impoſition, which, under the title of redemption, had been laid upon the cities of *Puglia* by the late king. Though by theſe means the king's dominions, during the firſt years of his reign, remained in a ſtate of tranquility, yet great factions and quarrels diſturbed the court, which were chiefly occaſioned by the intrigues of cardinal *John* of *Naples*, the pope's legate in *Puglia*, who viſited *Sicily* ſo often, that one of the courtiers ſaid to him by way of reproof, that he imagined it was only twenty miles betwixt *Palermo* and *Rome* [t].

William II. *ſucceeds to the throne.*

*WILLIAM*, in the ſecond year of his reign, hearing that the pope was beſieged by the emperor *Frederic* in *Rome*, ſent two gallies thither with a large ſum of money to his aſſiſtance. *Alexander* received the money with great thankfulneſs, but deſiring ſtill to continue in *Rome*, ſent back the gallies. A few years after he received an embaſſy from the emperor *Emanuel*, to treat of a marriage betwixt him and his daughter *Zura Maria*. The alliance was accordingly concluded, and ratified both by the emperor and the king; and the time being fixed for conducting the young princeſs by ſea to *Puglia*, king *William* went to *Tarento* with his brother the prince *Henry*. The emperor, however, ſlighting his oath and promiſe, neglected to ſend the bride; ſo that the king, after continuing ſome time at *Tarento*, ſent his brother, who was taken ill, to *Sicily*, and went himſelf to *Capua*, and not long after ſailed to *Palermo*. Before his arrival in *Sicily*, his brother prince *Henry* died, in the thirteenth year of his age, and was interred in the ſepulchre of his grandfather *Roger*, from whence the body was tranſported ſome time after to the church of *Monreale*, built and endowed by *William* near *Palermo* [u] (X).

*He aſſiſts the pope againſt the emperor.* A. D. 1167.

THE king, about the ſame time, fitted out a formidable fleet, and ſent it under the command of *Walter di Moac* to *Alexandria*, to aſſiſt the Chriſtians againſt the Saladin of *Egypt* [w]. Soon after, the emperor *Frederic*, who was ſtill engaged in a ruinous war in *Lombardy*, and refuſed to acknowlege pope *Alexander*, offered his daughter in marriage to *William*, and propoſed to conclude a perpetual peace and alliance with him, in hopes by his aſſiſtance to humble the pope, and oblige the aſſociated cities to ſubmit to his deſpotic government. *William*, from his regard to the pope, and the good of the church, rejected this alliance; and ſoon after, by the advice of *Alexander*, ſent an embaſſy to *Henry* II. of *England*, to demand his

[q] FALCAND. Hiſt. Sicul. [r] BARON. ad an. 1166. [s] ROMUALD. Salern. [t] FALCAND. ut ſupra.
[u] GIANNONE Hiſt. di Napol. [w] CAPECELAT. l. iii.

(W) He married *Margaret*, daughter of *Garcia* king of *Navarre*, by whom he had four ſons, *Roger*, *William*, *Robert*, and *Henry*; two of whom, namely, *Roger* and *Robert*, died before himſelf (1).

(X) In this *Henry* ended the *Norman* princes of *Capua*, which principality was poſſeſſed by them 114 years, reckoning from *Richard* count of *Averſa*, in the year 1058. Though the kings of *Naples* kept up the name of this principality for 300 years after, yet the dynaſty, or government, was entirely aboliſhed; for they who afterwards poſſeſſed *Capua* were not to be compared to the *Norman* princes, either in dignity or dominion (2).

(1) *Peregrin. in Stem.* (2) *Peregrin. ut ſupra.*

daughter

daughter *Jean*. *Henry*, by the advice of his barons in parliament, consented to the match, and the princess being conducted by many *English* noblemen to the city of *St. Giles* in *France*, from thence sailed to *Palermo*, where the marriage being solemnized, she was crowned queen of *Sicily* [x]. *He marries the daughter of the king of* England. A. D. 1176.

The emperor *Frederic* in the mean time being highly offended that the king had rejected his offered alliance, ordered his chancellor, *Christian*, archbishop of *Mentz*, to march with the army he commanded in the neighbourhood of *Ancona*, and invade the kingdom of *Naples*. The chancellor's attempts, however, to invade the king's territories, were ineffectual; for being opposed by the *Puglians*, under the command of *Tancred* count of *Lecce*, *Roger* count of *Andria*, and many other barons, he was obliged to retire, after he had advanced as far as the village of *Celle*. *Frederic*, about the same time, being entirely defeated by the confederate army of the *Lombards* at *Lignano*, began seriously to think of an accommodation with the pope, who agreeing to a congress at *Bologna*, desired king *William* to send his deputies thither, as he was resolved not to agree to a peace unless he was likewise included. The king accordingly appointed the historian *Romuald*, archbishop of *Salerno*, and *Roger*, count of *Andria*, as his ambassadors, who, together with the pope and his retinue, embarked on board eleven gallies at *Vesti*, and arrived about the eighteenth of *March*, at *Venice*, whither the congress was transferred, at the desire of the emperor. The negociations continued for several months; at length, in the month of *August*, *Frederic* concluded a perpetual peace with the church, a truce for six years with the associated cities of *Lombardy*, and a peace for fifteen years with king *William*, who solemnly ratified the treaty in the beginning of the following year [y]. *Concludes a peace with the emperor*; A. D. 1177.

The remaining transactions of *William*'s reign are buried in great obscurity. About three years after we find, by the chronicon of *Monte Cassino*, that he concluded a peace for ten years with the king of *Morocco* [z]. And about four years after, that he sent count *Tancred* with a great fleet and army to invade *Greece*, in resentment for the barbarities which the usurper *Andronicus* had committed against the *Latins* at *Constantinople*. The *Sicilians* took and pillaged *Durazzo*, *Salonchi*, and many other places, where they exercised great cruelty against the *Greeks*; and, in contempt of their religion, plundered and polluted their churches, which from that time raised an irreconcileable enmity betwixt the two people. The *Constantinopolitans*, enraged at their losses and disgrace, turned their resentment against *Andronicus*, whom they put to a most cruel death; and *Isaacius Angelus* seizing the empire, a powerful army immediately assembled under him, defeated the *Sicilians*, and retaliated the injuries they had suffered from them [a].

The king about the same time received an embassy from the emperor *Frederic*, who demanded his aunt *Constantia* for his eldest son, *Henry* king of the *Romans*. As *William*, tho' he had been nine years married, had yet no issue, and *Constantia* was the apparent heir of the crown, the match was opposed by many people in *Sicily*; but the king being at last persuaded by the archbishop of *Palermo*, gave his consent; and having obliged all the counts of the kingdom to swear, that, if he should die without heirs, they would continue faithful subjects to her and her husband, he sent her, accompanied with a great train of counts and barons, to *Rieti*. The emperor's ambassadors conducting her from thence to *Milan*, the marriage, which afterwards proved very fatal to *Sicily*, was celebrated the following *January*, in the gardens of *St. Ambrose*, with great splendor and magnificence (Y). *William* survived this marriage not quite four years, but died, without issue, at *Palermo*, in the thirty-sixth year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his reign [b]. As he had a great regard for the laws and justice, and governed with great moderation, he was surnamed *William* the *Good*. *Richard* of *S. Germano* begins his chronicle with his elogium. According to him, *William* was endowed with all royal virtues, was the delight of his people, and the protector of strangers, the poor, and oppressed. During his reign there was peace and security through all *and gives his aunt* Constantia *in marriage to his son* Henry. A. D. 1185. *His death*. A. D. 1189.

[x] Romuald. Salern. Hoveden's Annals of England. an. 1181. [a] Nicet. Hist. Chron. Cassin. an 1185. [y] Romuald. Salern. Chron. [z] Chron. Cassin. [b] Richard, Chron. apud Murator, t. vii. Pellegrin. in Stem. Chron. Cassin.

(Y) Some latter historians have related that *Constantia* was a nun, at this time upwards of fifty years of age, and that the pope granted a dispensation of her vows: but these fabulous stories deserve no credit, as they are contradictory to the accounts of cotemporary historians. *Geoffry* of *Viterbo*, an eye-witness, says, she was born after the death of her father *Roger*, and consequently she was, when married, only in the thirty-second year of her age (1). *Falcand* and *Richard* of *S. Germane* say, that she was brought up in the royal palace, and not in a monastery (2). *Arnold* of *Lubeck*, who gives a particular account of the marriage, makes no mention of her having been a nun. *Romuald*, *William Neubrigensis*, the appendix to the abbot of *Usperg*, and pope *Innocent*, in his letters, are quite silent as to that fact; and so far were the popes from granting a dispensation, that they condemned the match, and afterwards gave the investiture to *Tancred* (3).

(1) *Godefrid. Pantheon. apud Murator, t.* vii. *Chron. l.* iii. *c.* 14. *Baron. Annal. Giannono ut supra.* (2) *Falcand, ut supra. Richad Chron.* (3) *Arnold.*

his

his dominions; the traveller not being afraid of robbers, nor the sea-faring man of a pirates [c].

THE death of king *William* was followed by a most calamitous civil war. Many of the chief nobles who were allied to the blood royal aspired to the crown: but the two principal factions were those of the chancellor and the archbishop of *Palermo*. The archbishop and his party declared for *Constantia*, whose marriage with *Henry* he had promoted from his resentment to the chancellor, who had been a means of exempting the new church of *Monreale* from his jurisdiction. The chancellor, knowing the aversion of the *Sicilians* to the dominion of the *Germans*, and the great popularity of *Tancred* count of *Lecce*, bastard son of duke *Roger*, king *Roger*'s eldest son, declared him king; and sending for him to *Palermo*, crowned him with his own hands, in the month of *January*, having obtained the approba- b
tion of *Clement* III. who thinking it for the interest of the holy see that *Sicily* should not be united to the empire, very readily granted the investiture of the kingdom to the count [d]. *Tancred* immediately was almost universally acknowleged in *Sicily*, and reduced five chiefs of the *Saracens*, who, during the interregnum, had raised an insurrection in *Palermo*, from whence, however, they had been expelled by the Christians. Mean while *Roger*, count of *Andria*, who during the reign of the late king had been high justiciary and governor of *Puglia*, highly disgusted that *Tancred* was preferred to him, refused to acknowlege him as king, and writing to *Henry* to come into *Italy*, assembled an army in order to support the pretensions of *Constantia*. *Henry* immediately sent the marshal of the empire, with a consi- c
derable body of forces, to *Italy*; but before their arrival, *Tancred*, by means of *Richard* count of *Cerra*, whose sister he had married, reduced all *Puglia* and *Terra di Lavoro*, and obliged the abbot of *Monte Cassino* to take an oath of allegiance. *Richard*, having received large sums of money from *Tancred*, and having got possession of the magazines in *Puglia*, raised a large army, and made an attempt upon *Capua* and *Aversa*: but the *German* army joining the count of *Andria*, he was obliged to retire, and stand on the defensive. He was, in his turn, besieged in the city of *Ariano*; but the excessive heats, and scarcity of provisions, occasioning a great sickness among the *Germans*, the marshal, to prevent the total ruin of his army, raised the siege, and returned to *Germany*. *Roger*, count of *Andria*, still continued the war; and having fortified the castle of *St. Agatha*, retired to *Ascoli*, in hopes of a new reinforcement from *Henry*. He was, however, soon after murdered by *Richard*, d
who had prevailed upon him to come out of the city to a conference. After his death *Richard* again marched against *Capua*, which imprudently surrendered, when *Henry*, who by the death of his father in *Asia* was now emperor, had entered *Italy* with a powerful army.

Tancred *count of* Lecce *is declared king.* A. D. 1190.

Henry *sends an army to* Puglia *to support his claim to the crown.*

DURING these transactions on the continent, *Tancred* received with great hospitality the kings of *England* and *France*, who had arrived with two formidable fleets at *Messina*, in their way to the *Holy Land*. *Tancred*, at the intercession of *Richard* of *England*, was reconciled to his sister, the widow of the late king *William*, and afterwards concluded a treaty for a marriage betwixt the king of *England*'s nephew and one of his daughters, giving *Richard* at that time 20,000 ounces of gold as his daughter's portion; which money the *English* king promised to restore, if the marriage should never take effect [f]. A few months after, *Tancred* e
passed over into *Puglia*, and having called a parliament of his barons at *Thermula*, went from thence to *Abruzzo*. Having defeated count *Rainald*, and reduced that province, he marched from thence to *Brindisi*, where he celebrated a marriage betwixt his eldest son *Roger*, and *Irene*, sometimes called *Urania*, daughter of the emperor of *Constantinople*. After the celebration of the marriage he caused his son *Roger* to be crowned king of *Silicy*, and then returned in a triumphant manner to *Palermo*.

Tancred *reduces* Puglia; A. D. 1191.

THE emperor *Henry* in the mean time arriving at *Rome*, received the imperial crown from *Celestine* III. in the month of *April*, and then marched with his army towards *Puglia*. Having taken the strong castle of *Acre* by storm, he struck such a terror into the whole province, that, as he advanced all the cities submitted to him till he arrived at *Naples*, whither *Richard* f
count of *Cerra* had retired with his army. As the city was strongly fortified, and open to the sea, it baffled all the emperor's attempts; who being seized with an epidemical sickness, which had carried off great part of his army, was at last obliged to raise the siege, which had continued near four months. At his departure he left the empress *Constantia* in *Salerno*; and placing garrisons in *Capua*, *Acre*, and *Sorella*, and taking the abbot of *Cassino*, and several citizens of *S. Germano*, as hostages, he returned to *Germany*. *Henry* was no sooner gone than the count of *Cerra* again took the field, reduced *Capua*, *Atino*, *Aversa*, *Teano*, and *S. Germano*. But he could not prevail with the dean of *Monte Cassino* to declare for *Tancred*, though he was excommunicated by the pope, and the monastery laid under an interdict. The dean, instead of acknowleging *Tancred*, exerted himself with great spirit in behalf of g

*which afterwards submits to the emperor.*

[c] RICHARD Chron. ut supra. [d] GUL. NEUBRIGENS. Chron. Cassin. RICHARD Chron. [f] ROGER Annal. Angl. an. 1190.

a the emperor. Having concerted measures with *Diepold*, the governor of the castle of *Arce*, in *January* he retook the city of *S. Germano*, and all the other places belonging to his monastery. He likewise attacked many other cities, with various success; while the officers of *Tancred* in their turn invaded those places that held for the emperor. *Tancred*, in the mean time, at the intreaty of the pope, sent back the empress *Constantia* to her husband; and as count *Berthold* had arrived in *Puglia* with a strong reinforcement of *Germans* and *Florentines*, to support the imperial party, the following year he himself went over thither to stop their progress. He quickly assembled a powerful army, but was dissuaded by his officers from venturing an engagement with *Berthold*; who, though inferior to him in number, had marched towards him in hopes of a general battle. *Berthold* was obliged to retire to the
b county of *Molise*, for want of provisions, where he was killed by a stone thrown from a castle. *Tancred*, in the mean time, took the castles of *St. Agatha*, *Caserta*, and *Forsa*, and soon after went over to *Sicily*, where he died in the end of this year, or, according to some authors, in the beginning of the following. His death is attributed to grief for the loss of his eldest son *Roger*, whom he survived only a few weeks, leaving the kingdom to his youngest son *William*, then a minor [g]. *Tancred dies.* A. D. 1193.

THE emperor *Henry* hearing of the death of *Tancred* and *Roger*, immediately made great preparations for an expedition to *Sicily*. About the month of *June* he arrived with a great army at *Genoa*; and having wheedled the *Genoese* and *Pisans* by large promises to fit out a fleet of upwards of an hundred sail, he proceeded to *Campania*, where he arrived about the
c end of *August*, and was received by the abbot of *S. Germano* and many *Puglian* barons. The *Genoese* and *Pisan* fleets in the mean time took possession of *Gaeta* and *Naples*, upon a capitulation. He himself, after visiting *Monte Cassino*, and reducing almost all the cities of *Puglia*, proceeded to *Salerno*, which he took by storm. In resentment for the captivity of the empress, he allowed his army to pillage the city, ordered the walls to be destroyed, executed a great many of the inhabitants, and banished others. Having left this noble city almost wholly desolate, he then marched thro' *Calabria*, and passing the *Faro*, landed at *Messina*. The submission of the *Puglians*, and the formidable appearance of his fleet, struck a terror into the *Sicilians*, so that without any difficulty *Henry* made himself master of the whole island. As the queen *Sibilla* had retired with her children into an impregnable castle, the emperor,
d not willing to lose time in a siege that perhaps would prove fruitless, prevailed upon her to submit voluntarily, by promising her, with the most solemn oaths, the county of *Lecce* for herself, and the principality of *Tarento* for her son. *The emperor returns to* Puglia. A. D. 1194.

*HENRY* having thus entirely reduced the kingdoms of *Puglia* and *Sicily*, and got his competitor into his power, in order to establish his authority, most imprudently had recourse to perfidy, cruelty, and rigour. A few days after the submission of king *William*, having convened on *Christmas-day* a general assembly in the royal palace at *Palermo*, he pretended to have discovered a conspiracy formed against him by *Sibilla* and the friends of the late king *Tancred*. On this pretence he immediately imprisoned the queen, her son, and two daughters; and also the archbishop of *Salerno*, the bishops of *Trani* and *Ostuni*, with many other
e prelates and barons. He caused many of them to be hanged, some to be burned, and the eyes of others to be put out. The unfortunate *William* was castrated, and his brother and two sisters carried prisoners to *Germany*, with many of the nobles of the kingdom, whose estates *Henry* conferred upon those of his own party. Having likewise stript the royal palace of all its treasure and rich furniture, he set out on his return to *Germany*, leaving the exhausted and ruined kingdom to the administration of *Constantia*, who had come that year into *Italy*; and in her journey through the march of *Ancona* was delivered of a son, named *Frederic Roger* [h]. *Having conquered* Sicily *he treats his new subjects with great cruelty.* A. D. 1195. *He returns to* Germany. A. D. 1196.

*HENRY*, to establish his authority in *Italy* without any regard to the pope, created his brother *Philip*, who had married *Irene*, the widow of the late king *Roger*, duke of *Tus-*
f *cany*; and of the estates of *Mathilda*. He conferred the title of duke of *Ravenna* and marquis of *Ancona* on *Marcoaldus*, one of his generals, created *Conrad*, surnamed *Musca in Cervello*, duke of *Spoleto*, and left *Diepold* governor of *Puglia*. He however, neglected to fulfil his engagements to the *Genoese*, and paying no regard to their deputation to him at *Pavia*, in the beginning of the following year left *Italy* [i]. Upon his arrival in *Germany* he sent the bishop of *Worms*, as his lieutenant, to *Italy*, who ordered the walls of *Naples* and *Capua* to be entirely destroyed [k].

As the emperor found himself universally condemned for his behaviour to *Richard Cœur de Lion* king of *England*, whom he had unjustly detained in his return from the *Holy Land*,

[g] Chron. Cassin. RICHARD Chron. SIGON. in regn. Ital. Chron. Fossæ Novæ. [h] Idem ibid. Chron. Cavens. ap. MURATOR. t. vii. ARNOLD LUBEC. Chron. l. iv. c. 20. [i] SIGON. de regn. Ital. MEIBOM. rer. Germ. Script. t. iii. p. 139. [k] RICHARD Chron.

and as a great ſpirit appeared at this time in *Germany*, of undertaking a new cruſade, he likewiſe aſſumed the croſs, in hopes thereby of recovering his reputation. However, according to *Arnold* of *Lubec*, he had another deſign in view, and intended by means of the cruſards to extirpate the *Normans* entirely from *Puglia* and *Sicily*. Accordingly, one diviſion of the cruſards parting for the *Holy Land*, by the way of *Hungary*, and another taking ſhipping at *Hamburg* and *Frieſland*, *Henry*, in the beginning of *November*, marched into *Italy*, at the head of a third army, conſiſting of about 60,000 men. Upon his arrival at *Capua* he called a general aſſembly of the barons, and condemned *Richard* count of *Cerra*, who ſome time before had been made priſoner by *Diepold*. *Richard* after being tied to a horſe's tail, and dragged through the ſtreets of *Capua*, was hung up by the feet, and after he had been two days in torment, was at laſt put to death by means of a heavy ſtone hung to his neck by the emperor's buffoon [l]. *Henry* then creatod *Diepold* count of *Cerra*, ſent his brother *Otho* to beſige *Roca Secca*, where ſome *Norman* barons had fortified themſelves, and having laid a tax upon all the kingdom, in the beginning of *January* tranſported his army into *Sicily*.

*He paſſes again into* Sicily; A. D. 1197.

HE immediately ſent an ambaſſador to *Conſtantinople*, ordering the emperor *Alexius Angelus* to reſtore all the coaſts of *Greece*, from *Epidaurus* to *Salonichi*, which had been conquered by king *William*, or to pay for thoſe territories a tribute of ſixteen talents of pure gold [m]. In the mean time he exerciſed all manner of cruelties againſt the *Sicilian* nobles. He ordered crowns to be nailed to the heads of thoſe nobles who had conferred the crown on *Tancred*, not ſparing even their children, who were put to death by various tortures; and upon a ſuſpicion of treaſon he caſtrated the high admiral *Margaritone*, and cauſed his eyes to be put out, though he had formerly for his ſervices created him duke of *Durazzo*, and prince of *Tarento*. *Conſtantia*, affected by the barbarity exerciſed by her huſband againſt her countrymen, was prevailed upon to enter into a conſpiracy againſt him; and while he was beſieging a caſtle, ſhe went to *Palermo* ſeized the treaſure, and openly declared againſt him; which encouraging the *Sicilians*, they ſurpriſed a great many *Germans*, and put them to death. The emperor immediately fled to a ſtrong caſtle; but being ſurrounded by the *Sicilians*, he ſubmitted to the terms of a capitulation preſcribed by the empreſs, and recovered his liberty, on condition of immediately ſending off his army to the *Holy Land*. The army accordingly embarked, and ſailed from *Sicily* on the firſt of *September*, under the command of *Conrad* biſhop of *Hildeſheim*, chancellor of the empire. *Henry*, who remained behind, fell ſick and died on the twenty-eighth of the ſame month, according to ſome authors of poiſon, which was given him by the empreſs [n], though ſome attribute his death to his exceſſive exerciſe of hunting [o].

*where he is beſieged by* Conſtantia.

*His death.*

As *Henry* died excommunicated, on account of the money he had extorted from the king of *England*, *Conſtantia* ſent the archbiſhop of *Meſſina* to *Rome*, to beg of the pope liberty to bury his body in holy ground; and, at the ſame time, demanded from *Celeſtine* the uſual inveſtiture for her infant ſon *Frederic*. The pope upon receiving a thouſand marks of ſilver for himſelf, and as much for the cardinals, granted the inveſtiture to *Frederic*, after *Conſtantia* had ſworn that he was her lawful ſon by her late huſband *Henry*; but he refuſed to allow the emperor's corpſe to be interred in holy ground, till all matters ſhould be accommodated with the king of *England*. The difference being at laſt adjuſted with king *Richard*, the corpſe was buried; and a few weeks after, *Celeſtine* was ſucceeded in the pontifical chair by *Innocent* III.

Conſtantia *orders the* Germans *to quit her dominions.* A. D. 1198.

MEAN while *Conſtantia* ordered *Marcoaldus*, and all the *Germans*, to quit her dominions. As he was greatly deteſted on account of his cruelty and rapaciouſneſs, ſhe granted him a ſafe-conduct, and deſired two cardinals that were in *Puglia*, and the count of *Celano*, to protect him from the enraged natives. *Marcoaldus* having left *Caſtellano* and *Bailies*, in the county of *Moliſe*, which he had obtained from the emperor, on the death of *Muſca* in *Cervello*, proceeded from thence to the march of *Ancona*, where he was immediately excommunicated by pope *Innocent*, who being a man of great abilities, and in the vigour of life, reſolved to begin his pontificate with the recovery of the territories of *Mathilda*, which had been uſurped by the three late emperors, and given as fiefs to their friends. *Philip*, the late emperor's brother, who poſſeſſed great part of *Tuſcany*, and *Conrad*, who had been created duke of *Spoleto*, were likewiſe excommunicated. Theſe two immediately reſigned all the territories claimed by the church; *Conrad* from a principle of religion, but *Philip*, from policy, that he might procure the favour of the pope in his conteſt for the imperial crown againſt *Otho* of *Brunſwick*. *Marcoaldus*, however, finding that the inhabitants of *Romaniola* and the march of *Ancona* had an averſion to the *Roman* government, deſpiſed

[l] Idem ibid. Chron. Foſſæ Nov. [m] Vide BARON. & NICET. Hiſt. [n] ROGER. HOVEDEN. Annal. Angl. RICHARD Chron. [o] SIGON. ut ſupra.

the

a the fulmination; and aſſembling an army, reſolved to maintain the poſſeſſion of his territories by force.

*CONSTANTIA*, in the mean time, ſent for her infant ſon *Frederic* from *Ancona* to *Sicily*, and earneſtly ſolicited the pope to grant him the inveſtiture. *Innocent*, who was wholly bent on enlarging the papal authority, both in ſpirituals and temporals, abſolutely refuſed to grant her demand, unleſs the four articles formerly ſtipulated with king *William* I. concerning the right of elections, legations, appeals, and councils were annulled. *Conſtantia* being perſuaded to agree to his demands, at length obtained the inveſtiture; but dying a few weeks after, on the 27th of *November*, moſt imprudently by her laſt will left the care and guardianſhip of her ſon and kingdom to *Innocent*, which deed gave an opportu- *Her death.*
b nity to the popes of encroaching upon the prerogatives of the kingdom, and was the foundation of their pretended claim of being adminiſtrators during the minority of the kings, although they were not appointed guardians by the preceding prince p.

*Obtains the inveſtiture for her ſon.*

*INNOCENT* gladly accepted of the guardianſhip, and immediately began to exerciſe it by ſending a cardinal legate to *Sicily*, to take the government of the kingdom, and to adminiſter the oath of fidelity to the prelates and barons in the name of the pope, as governor and guardian. The chancellor of *Sicily*, however, with a great party, refuſed to take the oath preſcribed by the legate, who, finding his authority oppoſed, ſoon after returned to *Rome* q. A great party in *Puglia* likewiſe diſreliſhed the adminiſtration of the pope, and invited *Marcoaldus* to aſſume the government, who, being defeated in *Romaniola* by the *Bo-*
c *logneſe* and papal troops, marched with all his *Germans* to the county of *Moliſe*; and pretending that the emperor had left him as guardian of his ſon, and governor of the kingdom, began to attack thoſe that adhered to *Innocent*. Having, in the beginning of the A. D. 1199.
following year, burnt ſeveral caſtles belonging to the monaſtery of *Caſſino*, in order to prevail with the abbot to acknowlege him as governor, *Innocent* ſent two cardinals, with a conſiderable body of forces, to the defence of the monaſtery. *Marcoaldus*, however, being joined by *Diepoldus*, and other *Germans*, to whom *Henry* had given eſtates and baronies in *Puglia* and *Sicily*, took *St. Germano*, which he pillaged and burnt, exerciſing likewiſe great cruelty upon the miſerable inhabitants. He then beſieged the monaſtery of *Caſſino*, whither the two cardinals, and many of the principal inhabitants of *St. Germano*, had retired.
d But as his camp was much incommoded upon the hill by ſhowers of hail and ſnow, he agreed to raiſe the ſiege, upon receiving a conſiderable ſum of money from the abbot; and marching with his army againſt *Avellino*, obliged that city to purchaſe its ſecurity by the payment of a large contribution. Notwithſtanding all the endeavours of the pope, he continued for more than a year his hoſtilities againſt the nobles of the oppoſite faction, many of whom condeſcended to buy their peace by baſe ſubmiſſions. *Richard* count of *Fondi* particularly gave his daughter in marriage to *Sigisfrid*, the brother of *Diepold*, whoſe daughter was likewiſe married to *William* count of *Caſerta*. *Innocent*, in the mean time, excommunicated *Marcoaldus* and his adherents, ſent money to the counts of *Puglia* to raiſe ſoldiers againſt him, ordered all the prelates of the kingdom to curſe him and his followers every
e *Sunday* and holy-day, and even propoſed to cauſe a cruſade to be publiſhed againſt him.

*Pope* Innocent *acts as regent of the kingdom of* Sicily.

*Is oppoſed by* Marcoaldus;

*MARCOALDUS*, being ſenſible that the ſpirit and activity of the pope was the greateſt interruption to his ambitious deſigns, endeavoured, by ſeveral embaſſies and great promiſes, to make him his friend. By means of *Conrad* archbiſhop of *Mentz*, who about this time arrived at *Puglia* from the *Holy Land*, he propoſed to the pope, that if he would only not oppoſe him in his intended conqueſt of *Sicily*, he would immediately give him 20,000 ounces of gold, and after he had eſtabliſhed himſelf in *Palermo*, he would pay him other 20,000 ounces, would ſwear allegiance to him as his ſovereign, would double the yearly tribute, and would allow the apoſtolic ſee greater prerogatives than it had ever yet enjoyed in *Sicily* r; adding, that the pope ought not to make any ſcruple to agree to his propoſal, be-
f cauſe he was guardian of the young *Frederic*, as he was ready to prove that boy a ſuppoſitious child, and not the ſon of the late emperor and empreſs. *Innocent* paying no regard to theſe propoſals, and not allowing the birth of the prince to be called in queſtion, becauſe his predeceſſor had declared himſelf ſatisfied with the oath of *Conſtantia*, *Marcoaldus* had recourſe to another expedient; and pretending a great deſire to be reſtored to the communion of the church, prevailed with the pope to ſend three cardinals to treat with him at *Veroli*. Though nothing was concluded at the conference, yet *Marcoaldus*, having treated the cardinals with great reſpect, upon their departure immediately publiſhed by letters through the kingdom, and in *Germany*, that he was reconciled to the pope, who had appointed him governor of the kingdom, and had ſent two cardinals to exhort the *Pugli-*
g *ans* to ſubmit to him.

*who aſpires to the crown;*

p Spond. Annal. ad. an. 1198. Giannone ut ſupra. q Giannone ibid. r Vita Innocent. ap. Murator. t. iii. p. 491.

THIS impoſture, however, being ſoon diſcovered by the letters of *Innocent*, which gave a particular account of the tranſactions at *Veroli*, *Marcoaldus* reſolved not to waſte more time in *Puglia*, but to make an attempt upon the capital. Accordingly, having left *Diepoldus* with his two brothers *Otho* and *Sigisfrid*, *Conrad* of *Sorella*, *Otho* of *Laviano*, *Frederic* of *Malento*, and many other *Germans*, to ſupport his party in *Puglia*, he embarked with a conſiderable army, at *Salerno* for *Sicily*. The guardians and preceptors of the young prince immediately wrote to the pope for aſſiſtance, who ſent them 200 horſe under the command of *James* his couſin and marſhal, who was accompanied with a cardinal legate, and with the archbiſhops of *Tarento* and *Naples*. Theſe troops, in their march through *Calabria*, defeated *Frederic* of *Malento*; and afterwards paſſing the *Faro*, landed at *Meſſina*, while *Diepoldus* with his *Germans* made a ſecond incurſion into the territories of *Caſſino*, and ravaged ſeveral places in that neighbourhood. a b

*and paſſes over into* Sicily.

A. D. 1200.

DURING theſe tranſactions, *Sabilla*, the widow of the late king *Tancred*, arrived at *Rome*. After the death of the emperor *Henry*, ſhe eſcaped from her impriſonment to *France*, where her eldeſt daughter *Albinia* had married *Walter* count of *Brenna*, a *French* nobleman. As the young king *William* died in priſon, the count of *Brenna* demanded of the pope the principality of *Tarento* and county of *Lecce*, in right of his wife *Albinia*, according to the ſtipulation made with the emperor *Henry*. *Innocent* was greatly embarraſſed with this demand; being apprehenſive, that, if the count met with a refuſal, he would join the *Germans*; and dreading likewiſe, that, if he ſhould acquire any power and authority in *Puglia*, he would revenge the injuries his wife and her friends had ſuffered from *Henry* upon his ſon *Frederic*. At laſt he conſented to his requeſt; and having taken an oath from him in a public conſiſtory, that, on no pretence, he would do any prejudice to *Frederic*, or diſturb the kingdom, he wrote to the governors of the king in *Sicily*, informing them of what he had done. *Walter*, the chancellor of the kingdom, and biſhop of *Troja*, was greatly alarmed with the proceeding of the pope. As he and all his party had been the greateſt enemies of *Tancred*, he dreaded the reſentment of the count of *Brenna*; and therefore, aſſembling the people of *Meſſina*, he condemned the grant in a vehement diſcourſe, cenſuring the pope with great freedom, as uſurping a power which he had no right to. The count, however, having ſecured the favour of the pope, reſolved to proſecute his deſign; and for that purpoſe returned to *France*, to raiſe a body of troops. c d

Walter *count of* Brenna *claims the principality of* Tarento.

*MARCOALDUS*, in the mean time, having prevailed with the *Saracens* in *Sicily* to eſpouſe his cauſe, reduced a great many cities and caſtles, and at laſt inveſted *Palermo*. The papal army immediately marched to the relief of the place; and being joined by the loyal party, under the command of the chancellor, and ſeveral other biſhops, encamped before the city. *Marcoaldus*, upon their arrival, raiſed the ſiege; and to gain time till he ſhould be joined by ſome reinforcements, endeavoured to amuſe them by a negociation for peace, which the chancellor and the archbiſhops of *Meſſina*, *Monreale*, and *Ceffalu*, had even agreed to: but the majority of the army declaring with great warmth againſt an accommodation, the conferences were broke off, and four days after a battle enſued, in which *Marcoaldus* was entirely defeated with the loſs of his camp and all his baggage. As the victory was chiefly owing to the valour and conduct of the marſhal *James*, the governors of the young king conferred upon him the county of *Andria*. However, from a mean jealouſy, they ſoon after began to deny his ſoldiers common neceſſaries; ſo that, many of them falling ſick and dying, the marſhal was obliged, about the end of *Auguſt*, to return to *Puglia*[s], where, during his expedition in *Sicily*, *Diepoldus* had gained a victory over the count of *Celano* near *Venafro*[t]. e

Marcoaldus *is intirely defeated in* Sicily.

ABOUT the ſame time a new difference happened betwixt the pope and the chancellor, who, upon the death of the archbiſhop of *Palermo*, had got himſelf elected his ſucceſſor, and obtained the confirmation of the legate without the knowlege of the pope. *Innocent* reprimanded his legate very ſeverely, but at the ſame time offered to allow the chancellor to retain the archbiſhopric under the title of procurator, or miniſter. The chancellor rejected that favour with diſdain, and both ſpoke and wrote againſt the pope with great bitterneſs and malice, particularly with regard to his grant in favour of the count of *Brenna*. The count mean while had arrived at *Rome* with a ſmall body of *Frenchmen*, on which account his intended enterprize became the ſubject of public ridicule. The pope, however, writing to the counts, barons, and caſtellans of *Puglia*, in his favour, and giving him 500 ounces of gold to levy more troops, he boldly entered *Terra di Lavora*, and was received by the inhabitants of *Teano*, where he was joined by the abbot of *Caſſino* with a good number of men, and *Richard* archbiſhop of *Capua*. From thence he marched to *Capua*; and having reduced the citadel, on the 10th of *June* he engaged and intirely f g

A. D. 1201.

*The count of* Brenna *conquers a great part of* Puglia.

[s] Vide auct. ſup. citat. [t] RICHARDI Chron.

defeated

a defeated *Diepoldus*. He then entered into an alliance with the count of *Celano*; and having assisted him in reducing the county of *Molise*, he marched without opposition to *Puglia*, where *Melphis*, *Veroli*, *Monte Piloso*, and several other cities, put themselves under his protection. He likewise, in the beginning of the following year, reduced the castle of *Lecce*; A. D. 1202. and also *Matera*, *Otranto*, *Brindisi*, and many other cities of the principality of *Tarento*.

His surprising progress greatly alarmed the chancellor, who, notwithstanding the mandates of the pope, had assumed a most despotic authority. He disposed, in a most absolute manner, of the whole revenues of the kingdom, raised a powerful faction to countenance all his proceedings, by conferring counties, baronies, the government of cities and castles, and other offices and dignities, upon his creatures; and sending for his brother *Gen-*
b *tile*, count of *Manopello*, appointed him one of the king's council, and is said to have designed to have raised him to the throne. As a means to check the progress of the count of *Brenna*, he, with his brother *Gentile*, concluded a peace and alliance with *Marcoaldus*, who was still excommunicated; and *Gentile*'s son having married a niece of *Marcoaldus*, it was agreed betwixt them that the whole administration should be divided betwixt *Marcoaldus* and the chancellor; the one to govern in *Sicily*, and the other in *Puglia*. This convention, however, never took effect; for both parties suspecting each other's treachery, renewed their former enmity, and publickly reproached each other with their villainy. The chancellor, in the mean time, who had dissipated the revenues of *Sicily*, trusted the care of the king and palace to his brother; went over into *Puglia*, where he raised large sums by ex-
c tortion and exactions, robbing the churches of all their wealth and plate, not sparing even the shrines and images. As he still continued to rail against the pope, and endeavoured to raise an association against the count of *Brenna*, *Innocent* at length, provoked by his proceedings, thundered a sentence of excommunication against him, and deposed him from both his churches, which he conferred on other prelates.

*The chancellor makes peace with* Marcoaldus, *in order to oppose the count.*

*He is excommunicated by the pope.*

In consequence of this anathema, the chancellor immediately lost all credit with the people, who treated him with contempt and insult; so that he was fain to join himself to *Diepoldus*, who still commanded an army to oppose the count of *Brenna*. *Innocent* soon after, having written a long letter to the young king, justifying his transactions with regard to the count of *Brenna*, sent a cardinal legate into *Puglia*, charging the counts and barons to
d join him and the count against *Diepoldus*. The chancellor, hearing of the arrival of the legate, came to him, and begged to be restored to the communion of the church; but the legate insisting upon his agreeing not to oppose the count, he broke out into blasphemous expressions, and returned to *Diepoldus*, who soon after marched against the count, and surprised him in the neighbourhood of the famous *Cannæ*. Though the count was greatly inferior to him in numbers, yet he attacked him with such fury, that he gained a most complete victory, and took a great number of prisoners of note, among whom were the two brothers of *Diepoldus*, the chancellor's cousin, and the archbishop of *Salerno*.

*The count defeats* Diepoldus.

*GENTILE*, in the mean time, who had been left governor of *Sicily*, again renewed his friendship with *Marcoaldus* and was persuaded by him to resign the whole administration to
e him, and to retire to *Messina*. *Marcoaldus* immediately made his authority be acknowleged almost over the whole island, and endeavoured, by large offers to the pope and the count of *Brenna*, to persuade the count to renounce his claim. It was generally supposed that he would then have put the young king to death and usurped the kingdom, if it had not been for his apprehensions of the count, who looked upon him as heir apparent of the crown. All his schemes, however, were interrupted by death, which happened to him towards the end of the year.

Marcoaldus *dies.* A. D. 1203.

Upon the death of *Marcoaldus*, *William Capparo*, or *Capparore*, a *German*, immediately seized the palace and the king, and assumed the title of governor of *Sicily*, and guardian of the king. The greatest part, however, of the followers of *Marcoaldus* refused to obey
f him, and formed a party in opposition to him. The chancellor, thinking this a fit opportunity of recovering his former authority, made a new offer of implicit submission to the holy see; and obtaining absolution from *Innocent*, passed over into *Sicily*, declared against *Capparo*, reassumed the office of high chancellor, and wrote to the pope, pressing him to send a legate into the island to overawe the different factions. *Innocent* immediately sent his nephew cardinal *Gerardo* thither, who, upon his arrival, received the submission of *Capparo*, and granted him absolution. He could not, however, reconcile *Capparo* to the chancellor; and *Capparo* still retaining his power and authority, and neglecting to fulfil his promises, *Gerardo*
g left *Palermo*, and retired to *Messina*.

*The chancellor recovers his authority.*

*INNOCENT*, in the mean time, sent his cousin the marshal to the assistance of the count of *Brenna*, appointing them both high justiciaries of *Puglia* and *Terra de Lavore*. Towards the end of the campaign, it being reported that the pope was dead at *Anagni*, whither the count and the marshal had gone to visit him, several cities, particularly *Matera*, *Brindisi*,

A. D. 1204. and *Otranto*, revolted from the count; ſome of them maſſacring, and others expelling, his garriſons. *Innocent*, however, ſoon after recovering from a ſevere illneſs, that had occaſioned the report of his death, they returned to *Puglia*, and reduced ſeveral caſtles; but were not able to recover the above-mentioned cities. The marſhal reduced *Adria*, and took the title of count of that city; and *James* count of *Tricarico*, and *Roger* count of *Chieti*, joining him and the count of *Brenna* with their forces, they ſo harraſſed the *Germans*, that they were obliged to deſert the field, and ſhut themſelves up in their forts. The count of *Brenna*, however, becoming too ſecure and confident from the great ſucceſs of his arms, was ſurpriſed the following ſummer [u] by *Diepoldus*, whom he was beſieging in *Sarno*. The *Germans*, being informed of the great ſecurity of the beſiegers, ſallied out upon them at break of day; and, having forced their camp, attacked the count, who, after defending himſelf for a long time, and receiving a great many wounds, was at laſt taken priſoner and carried into the city, where he died a few days after, leaving his wife *Albinia* big with child [w]. She was ſoon after delivered of a ſon, named *Walter*, and then married to the count of *Tricarico*. a b

*The count of* Brenna *is attacked by ſurprize, and dies of his wounds.*

A. D. 1205.

Diepoldus *is reconciled to the pope.*

THE unfortunate death of the count of *Brenna* ſo animated the oppoſite faction, that *Innocent* was obliged to conclude a peace with *Diepoldus*. Upon his ſwearing ſolemnly to ſubmit to the mandates of the holy ſee in every thing for which he had been excommunicated, to acknowledge the pope as regent of the king and kingdom, and not to favour the pretenſions of *Philip* duke of *Suabia* to the prejudice of *Frederic*, he abſolved him and all his followers from the ſentence of excommunication, and the year following received him very graciouſly at *Rome* [x]. *Diepoldus*, after ſeveral conferences with the pope, who continued him in command, returned to *Salerno*, from whence, in the month of *November*, he ſailed over to *Palermo*. Soon after his arrival, he prevailed with *Capparo* to deliver the king to the chancellor and the legate, and to promiſe likewiſe to deliver the palace. Having conducted the young king to *Palermo*, he invited the chancellor and legate to an entertainment; but a rumour ariſing, that he intended to ſeize them, they ſurpriſed him and his ſon, and impriſoned them both. He ſoon after eſcaped from priſon, and returned to *Salerno*; from whence, going to *Terra di Lavore*, he aſſembled an army, and in the month of *May* gained a victory over the *Neapolitans*, and took their general, *Goffredo di Monteſuſculo*, priſoner [y]. *Goffredro* and the *Neapolitans*, according to a certain author [z], about two months before, had taken and intirely deſtroyed the city and caſtle of *Cuma*, which for ſome years had become a receptacle for pirates and *German* deſerters, who infeſted both ſea and land, and plundered all parties without diſtinction. *Diepoldus* had perhaps privately favoured the inhabitants of *Cuma*, or received an inſult from the *Neapolitans*; for the authors who mention his victory give no reaſon for the hoſtilities: however, from this time the church of *Cuma*, with all its revenues, and prerogatives, was annexed to the ſee of *Naples* [a]. A A. D. 1206. c d

*CUMA*, however, was not the only neſt of robbers; for *Conrad di Morlei*, who was in poſſeſſion of *Sora*, *Sorella*, *Rocca d'Arce*, and ſeveral other places near the *Garigliano*, ravaged all the country round with great barbarity, and made frequent incurſions into the *Campania di Roma*. The pope, having in vain admoniſhed him for a long time, at length ordered the cardinal legate of *Campania* to attack him. He, being aſſiſted by the pope's brother *Richard*, and *Roffred* abbot of *Caſſino*, whom the inhabitants of *Sora* had privately admitted into their city, in the beginning of *January* took *Sora*, *Blanello*, a fort that overlooks the city, and *Sorella*, whither *Conrad* had retired. An accommodation was then agreed to, whereby *Conrad*, upon receiving a thouſand ounces of gold and twenty horſes, promiſed to deliver up *Rocca d'Arce*, with all the places he poſſeſſed upon the confines of the kingdom. This ſervice was ſo agreeable to the king, that he immediately granted the inveſtiture of all theſe places to the pope's brother *Richard* and his heirs, with the title of count of *Sora* [b]. e

A. D. 1208.

*The pope's brother is created count of* Sora.

GREAT diſturbances, in the mean time, happened in *Sicily*. The chancellor continued at open enmity with *Capparo*, who ſtill remained in poſſeſſion of the palace, and had again got the king in his power. The *Saracens* in the mountains, encouraged by theſe diſſenſions, openly renounced their allegiance to the king, and began hoſtilities againſt the Chriſtians. To put a ſtop to theſe diſorders, *Innocent*, a few weeks after the accommodation with *Conrad di Marlei*, went, attended with a great many cardinals and prelates, to *Palermo* [c]. After ſome conferences with the king, to whom he propoſed an alliance with *Conſtantia*, the ſiſter of the king of *Arragon*, he left *Sicily*, and on the 23d of *June* arrived at *St. Germano*, where he aſſembled the counts and barons of *Puglia*, with the deputies of the cities, and prevailed with them to enter into an aſſociation for the defence of the king, to furniſh him with 200 f

[u] PEREGRIN. ad Anon. Caſſin. an. 1205. [w] Vita Innocent ap. MURATOR. t. iii. RICHARDI Chron. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Chron. Caſſin. an. 1207. RICHARD Chron. [z] Vide GIANNONE Hiſt. di Nap. l. xv. ſect. 1. [a] CHIOCCAREL. de Archiep. Neap. [b] Vita Innocent ut ſupra. Chron. Caſſin. RICHARD Chron. [c] GIANNONE ut ſupra,

horſe

a horſe at their own charge, and to refer all their private quarrels to the determination of the two chief juſticiaries; namely, the count of *Celano* and the count of *Fondi* [d].

*INNOCENT* after this ſeems not to have intermeddled in an authoritative manner in the adminiſtration of the kingdom; *Frederic*, though only thirteen years of age, being declared major, as a moſt probable means of putting an end to thoſe factions, which had involved the nation in ſo many calamities for ten years [e]. The pope, however, ſtill continued his negotiations for the marriage of the king with *Conſtantia*, which was at laſt concluded, and celebrated the following ſpring at *Palermo* with great pomp and magnificence [f]. Mean while the two juſticiaries in *Puglia*, by their mutual animoſities, ſtill kept alive the diſturbances in that province. A few months after the convention held at *St. Germano*, the count

b of *Fondi*, by the aſſiſtance of *Diepoldus*, had expelled the count of *Celano* from *Capua*, being even aſſiſted by the *Capuans*, who had an averſion to his government on account of their hatred to his ſon, who was their archbiſhop. The count of *Celano*, however, a few months after, by means of the archbiſhop his ſon, recovered the city of *Capua*, obliged the count of *Fondi* to retire, and entered into a good correſpondence with *Diepoldus*, who was then governor of *Salerno*.

Frederic *aſſumes the adminiſtration, and marries the ſiſter of the king of* Arragon.

A. D. 1209.

DURING theſe diſturbances, *Otho* IV. who, by the death of his competitor *Philip* of *Suabia*, had ſucceeded to the *German* empire, entered *Italy* with a powerful army, and received the imperial crown from the pope in the church of *St. Peter* on the 2d of *October*. As *Innocent* had been his conſtant friend during his ten years ſtruggle for the empire, *Otho*

c made very large promiſes to him in behalf of the *Roman* ſee; but after his coronation, whether from ambition, or perceiving his engagements to the empire and the holy ſee were inconſiſtent, he declared his intention of maintaining the imperial rights in *Italy*; and marching from *Rome*, immediately ſeized ſeveral cities in *Tuſcany* belonging to the eſtates of *Mathilda* [g]. He likewiſe laid claim to *Puglia*, in conſequence probably of the conqueſt of the emperor *Lotharius*; for the pretenſions of the *German* emperors to this province could not be founded on the conqueſt of *Charlemagne*, who we have ſeen never was able to reduce the duchy of *Benevento*. *Otho* was invited to invade *Puglia* by the count of *Celano* and *Diepoldus*, who, in the end of the following year conducted him to *Capua*, when, according to *Richard* of *St. Germano*, he created *Diepoldus* duke of *Spoleto*. All the country, from

d *Sora* to *Capua*, immediately ſubmitted to him except *Aquino*. Almoſt all the cities of *Puglia* likewiſe ſurrendered to him without oppoſition. The *Neapolitans*, from their hatred to the *Averſans*, opened their gates to him, and preſſed him to beſiege *Averſa*, which city, however, contrary to their expectation, ſurrendered upon a capitulation, and agreed to pay him a large ſum of money.

Otho IV. *is crowned emperor;*

*and invades* Puglia.

THE pope, who was greatly provoked with theſe proceedings of *Otho*, endeavoured by ſeveral embaſſies to perſuade him to deſiſt from his hoſtilities; but finding his remonſtrances had no effect, in the end of this year he denounced a ſentence of excommunication againſt him and all his adherents, abſolved all his ſubjects from their allegiance to him, and wrote to the princes of *Germany*, exhorting them to elect another emperor. *Otho*, who was per-

e ſuaded that he was only aſſerting the juſt rights of the empire, paid no regard to this ſentence. Many of the princes of *Germany*, however, at the perſuaſion of the pope's legates and prelates, renounced their allegiance to the emperor; and on the 15th of *December* the king of *Bohemia*, the dukes of *Auſtria*, *Bavaria*, the landgrave of *Thuringia*, and the archbiſhops of *Mentz* and *Triers*, elected the young *Frederic* king of *Sicily*, who had been declared heir to the empire when an infant, even before the death of his father *Henry* VI. *Frederic* willingly accepted of the imperial dignity, contrary to the perſuaſions of *Conſtantia* and the *Sicilian* barons; and leaving his queen, and her infant ſon *Henry*, at *Palermo*, embarked for *Gaeta*, from whence he ſailed to *Rome*. After ſome conferences with the pope, he again embarked, and arrived at *Genoa* on the 1ſt of *May*; from whence he was eſcorted

f through *Lombardy* by the inhabitants of *Padua*, *Cremona*, and *Mantua*, who protected him againſt the *Milaneſe*, and other partizans of *Otho*. The revolt in *Germany* in favour of *Frederic* obliged *Otho* to leave *Italy*; but the wealth of the king of *Sicily*, and the excommunication of the pope, had ſuch an influence, that he ſoon found himſelf intirely abandoned. In the ſecond year of the war, almoſt all *Germany* acknowleged *Frederic* as emperor, who was accordingly crowned at *Aix la Chapelle* by the archbiſhop of *Mentz*, having, before his coronation, promiſed by an oath to allow the elections to churches to be made canonically; not to oppoſe appeals to the apoſtolic ſee; not to ſeize the effects of deceaſed prelates, nor the revenues of vacant churches; to defend and maintain the ſuperiority of the *Roman* ſee over both *Sicilies*, and the iſlands of *Corſica* and *Sardinia*; and to reſtore all the territories claim-

g ed by the popes in *Italy* [h]. *Frederic*, about two years afterwards, was again crowned at *Aix*

*He is excommunicated by the pope.* A. D. 1210.

Frederic *king of* Sicily *is elected emperor.*

[d] Vit. Innocent. RICHARD & Caſſin. Chron. [e] Vit. Innocent. [f] Chron. RICHARD, & Caſſin. [g] Apolog. pro Othone ap. MEIBON. t. iii. p. 120. [h] Vid. SPOND. Annal. ad an. 1213.

*la Chapelle* by the pope's legate, when, with a great many ſecular and eccleſiaſtical princes, a
he took a vow of going to the aſſiſtance of the Chriſtians in the *Holy Land*; and, as a teſti-
mony of his gratitude to the pope, granted the county of *Fondi* to the *Roman* ſee in perpe-
tuity [i]. His election was alſo confirmed in the famous *Lateran* council, and not many
months after he loſt his guardian and patron pope *Innocent*, who died the following year
at *Perugia* [k].

*FREDERIC*, about the ſame time, ſent for his young ſon *Henry* to *Germany*, and ſoon
after received a letter from *Honorius* III. the ſucceſſor of *Innocent*, who, during his minority,
had been his tutor four years in *Palermo*. *Honorius* exhorted the emperor to continue in his
obedience to the holy ſee, and deſired him to reſign the kingdom of *Sicily*, to be diſpoſed of
Honorius *deſires him to reſign the kingdom of* Sicily. A. D. 1217. by the apoſtolic ſee, that it might appear that it depended upon the church, and not upon b
the empire. *Frederic* anſwered this extraordinary letter in terms of honour and reſpect;
and to remove all grounds of jealouſy, offered, upon receiving the imperial crown at *Rome*,
to declare his ſon *Henry* king of *Sicily* [l]. The year following, his rival *Otho* dying at
*Hartzburg*, *Frederic* cauſed an aſſembly of all the princes and prelates of the empire to be
convened in *Mentz*, to regulate the affairs of *Germany*, as he was determined, as ſoon as
poſſible, to return to *Italy* to receive the imperial crown. While he was aſſembling his
army for that purpoſe, he ſent for his queen *Conſtantia* to *Germany*, and ordered the count
of *St. Severino* to ſeize and impriſon his father-in-law *Diepoldus*, who was endeavouring to
raiſe diſturbances in *Puglia*.

AFTER *Conſtantia* had continued upwards of a year in *Germany*, *Frederic* ſet out on his ex- c
pedition to *Italy*, and at *St. Leo*, in the duchy of *Urbino*, was met by the pope's legate, where
he ſwore to preſerve the rights of the church, and to yield the kingdoms of *Sicily* and *Pu-
glia* to his ſon *Henry*; and likewiſe confirmed his donation of the county of *Fondi* to the
*He is crowned at* Rome. A. D. 1220. apoſtolic ſee [m]. He then proceeded to *Rome*, where, on the 22d of *November*, he received
the imperial crown from the hands of the pope, and renewed his vow of an expedition to the
*Holy Land*, which he promiſed to undertake whenever his holineſs ſhould think proper.
After his coronation, *Frederic* ſent his chancellor, the archbiſhop of *Spire*, with full power
to *Lombardy*, to prevail with *Milan*, and ſome other cities, which, from their averſion to the
family of *Barbaroſſa*, had eſpouſed the cauſe of *Otho*, to acknowlege him as emperor. Many
of theſe cities had long diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the diſputes betwixt the emperors and d
popes, by their attachment to the latter; and though *Frederic* had hitherto ſhewn ſo much
condeſcenſion to the pope, yet *Honorius* is accuſed at this time of privately preventing the
emperor's orders from being received and executed by the *Guelph* faction, in order to de-
preſs, or at leaſt balance, his power.

THE emperor, however, not ſeeming to mind the pope's proceeding, left *Rome*, and
went to *St. Germano*, where he was received with great honour and reſpect by the abbot of
*Holds a parliament at* Capua; *Monte Caſſino*. From thence he went to *Capua*, where he called a general parliament, in
which he publiſhed ſeveral new regulations, which are contained in twenty chapters [n]. He
particularly ordered all the forts and caſtles lately built by the barons to be demoliſhed;
and by the advice of *Andrea Bonello*, a famous lawyer, and his attorney-general, he eſta- e
bliſhed a new tribunal in *Capua*, called *Corte Capuana*. He commanded the barons, the
corporations of the cities and towns, and all other perſons, to produce the grants and pri-
vileges of their caſtles, and other things which they held of him and his predeceſſors, to be
inſpected by this court, whether they were valid, or had been illegally granted in time of
troubles; declaring, that thoſe who did not produce their charters, ſhould forfeit their
grants and privileges. In conſequence of this order, ſeveral grants, that had been ſurrep-
titiouſly obtained, were revoked, and others were afterwards reckoned invalid, for not being
produced in time, which occaſioned a general murmuring through the nation, and prompt-
A. D. 1221. ed many of the prelates and barons to refuſe obedience to the king's orders. *Frederic*, after f
diſmiſſing the parliament, went, in the beginning of the following year, to *Seſſa*, where
he revoked the grant of the county of *Sora*, which for ſome years had been in poſ-
ſeſſion of *Richard*, the late pope's brother. He afterwards went to *Bojano*, where by
*baniſhes ſeveral prelates and barons*; force he compelled the count of *Moliſe*, and ſome other barons, to ſubmit to his new re-
gulations. He likewiſe ſet *Diepoldus* at liberty, upon receiving ſome towns which were in
poſſeſſion of his brother *Sifrid*; and afterwards, making a progreſs through *Puglia* and *Ca-
labria*, he expelled many refractory and rebellious prelates and barons, who retired to *Rome*
under the protection of the pope.

*and holds another parliament at* Meſſina. UPON his arrival at *Meſſina*, *Frederic* called a parliament of *Sicilian* barons, in which he
publiſhed ſeveral regulations; and, as a ſubſidy for the Chriſtians in the *Holy Land* and in g
*Egypt*, ordered the twentieth part of all eccleſiaſtical revenues, and the tythes of ſecular

[i] Idem ad an. 1215. [k] RICHARD, Chron. ut. ſupra. [l] SPOND. Annal. ad an. 1216. [m] Vide auct. ſup citat. GIANNONE. [n] RICHARD, Chron.

poſſeſſions,

a poſſeſſions, to be raiſed; which money, with forty-three gallies, he ſent under the command of *Walter de Palear*, the chancellor, and the count of *Malta*, to *Dalmiata*, which was then beſieged by the ſultan of *Egypt*. He himſelf, in the mean time, was engaged in reducing the *Saracens* in *Sicily*, on which account he excuſed himſelf from going in perſon to the *Holy Land*, though he was continually urged and ſollicited by the pope to fulfil his vow. *Honorius*, being greatly jealous of the emperor's power, was very deſirous that he ſhould leave *Europe*. He therefore inveighed bitterly againſt him for delaying his expedition, and, at the ſame time, accuſed him of oppreſſing the church, and violating the eccleſiaſtical liberty, by taxing the clergy, expelling prelates, and ſubſtituting others in their place. *Frederic*, in his own juſtification, alledged, that, from the time of *Charlemagne*, it had been b lawful for the emperors to give the inveſtiture of biſhoprics; that all princes might expel diſaffected prelates out of their dominions; and that, as king of *Sicily*, he had enjoyed the prerogative of giving inveſtitures to prelates, and of confirming their election by his aſſent, which right he was reſolved not to part with, though *Innocent* III. had violated it during his minority [o].

*Differences betwixt him and the pope.*

*FREDERIC*, however, to give ſome ſome ſatisfaction to the pope, who upon the news of the loſs of *Damiata* renewed his complaints againſt him, publiſhed ſome ſevere edicts againſt heretics, made a formal renunciation of the eſtates of *Mathilda* into the hands of the apoſtolic nuncio, and conferred the kingdom of *Sicily* upon his ſon *Henry* [p]. Notwith- A. D. 1222.
ſtanding theſe conceſſions, the miſunderſtanding betwixt him and the pope ſtill increaſed. As c he continued to raiſe the twentieth penny upon the eccleſiaſtics, and turned out ſeveral prelates in *Sicily* and *Puglia*, whoſe fidelity he ſuſpected, *Honorius* made loud complaints againſt him, and even threatened him with excommunication and depoſition. *Frederic*, to appeaſe the pope, impriſoned the count of *Malta*, and ſtripped him of all his lands and offices, the chancellor having fled to *Venice*, where, as there is no farther mention made of him, it is probable he died in exile. The king likewiſe, to prevent a rupture, left *Sicily*, and had a conference for fifteen days with the pope, who, in the month of *February*, had come to *Veroli*. He publiſhed an edict in that city in favour of the eccleſiaſtical liberty; and having obtained leave to put off his ſacred expedition ſome time longer, a general conference was appointed to be held, in the month of *November*, at *Verona*, to which all Chriſtian princes were d invited. *Frederic* then, taking leave of the pope, returned to *Paglia*; and having ordered the count of *Acerra* to beſiege the rock of *Magenul*, held by the count of *Celano*, he haſted over into *Sicily* to oppoſe *Mirabet* the *Saracen* prince, who ſtill continued his incurſions againſt the Chriſtians [q]. While *Frederic* was employed in defeating the infidels, his queen *Conſtantia* died in the city of *Catania*; and the count of *Celano* eſcaping from *Magenul*, ſurprized the imperial garriſon in *Celano*, and having over-run all the county of the *Marſi*, plundered *Civita*, and burned *Paternum*. The count of *Acerra* immediately beſieged *Celano*; but afterwards truſting the ſiege to the *Neapolitans* and *Cajetans*, he again inveſted *Magenul* which at length ſurrendered.

*The queen* Conſtantia *dies in* Sicily.

THE emperor in the mean time, had intirely reduced the *Saracens*; and returning to e *Puglia*, propoſed another conference with the pope, which was prevented on account of the ſickneſs of his holineſs. A few months afterwards, however, the conference, which ſhould have been held at *Verona*, was transferred to *Ferentino*, where in the beginning of the following year, *Frederic*, at the ſolicitation of the pope, *John de Brenna* titular king of *Jeruſalem*, *Hermannus Salza* grand maſter of the *Teutonic* order, and ſeveral others, renewed his engagements of going to the *Holy Land* within two years. As a motive to intereſt him in that expedition, the pope negociated a marriage betwixt him and *Jolanta*, or *Violanta*, the only daughter of *John de Brenna*, who, in right of her mother, was heireſs of the crown of *Jeruſalem* (Z). The emperor, who had been ſome months a widower, willingly agreed to the match, upon condition that *John de Brenna*, as a portion for his daughter, ſhould immediately reſign his rights to the kingdom of *Jeruſalem*. As to the poſſeſſion of the kingdom, that was afterwards to be diſputed with the ſoltan, who, about thirty years before, had recovered the whole from the Chriſtians excepting a few places on the ſea-coaſt.

*A marriage is concluded betwixt* Frederic *and the daughter of the king of* Jeruſalem. A. D. 1223.

UPON the concluſion of the conference, the young bride was immediately ſent for from *Ptolemais*; and *Frederic*, returning to *Puglia*, made great preparations by ſea and land for the conqueſt of his new kingdom. Mean while, by the mediation of the pope, he allowed the count of *Celano* to depart the kingdom; and having got poſſeſſion of all his cities and caſtles, he ordered *Celano* to be intirely deſtroyed. He likewiſe ordered forts to be

[o] FAZZEL. dec. 2. l. viii. c. 2. [p] SPOND. annal [q] RICHARD. Chron.

(Z) This *John de Brenna* was brother of *Walter*, who married the eldeſt daughter of *Tancred* king of *Sicily*:

built in *Gaeta*, *Naples*, *Aversa*, and *Fogia*, and returning to *Sicily* against the *Saracens*, who had again revolted, he conquered a great part of them, whom he transported to the continent, and allowed them to settle in *Lucera* and its neighbourhood. As the others had fled to the mountains, he sent for several *Puglian* barons to come to his assistance; but upon their arrival in *Sicily*, he ordered them to be imprisoned, and their lands upon the continent seized. These barons, however, the following year, at the intercession of the pope, and upon leaving their sons as hostages, were set at liberty, and went to *Rome*. *Frederic*, about the same time, sent the late inhabitants of *Celano* to *Malta*, exempted the clergy of *Puglia* from all taxes and impositions, and being greatly delighted with the situation of *Naples*, resolved to make it the chief place of his residence. For this purpose he enlarged and embellished the city, and this year erected the private schools, which had long flourished there, into an university (A).

Frederic *embellishes* Naples. A. D. 1224.

As the war still continued with the *Saracens* in *Sicily*, he renewed the taxes upon his subjects; but, to avoid disputes with the pope, he raised 300 ounces of gold from the lands of the monastery of *Cassino*, under the name of a loan. Soon after the titular king of *Jerusalem* arriving at *Capua* with his young queen, the sister of *Castile*, he sent him and the patriarch of *Jerusalem* to the pope to ask a prolongation of the time for his expedition to the *Holy Land*, urging the necessity of his continuance in *Italy*, on account of the rebellion of the *Saracens*, and the mutinous spirit of the *Lombards*, who, at the instigation of the inhabitants of *Milan* and *Bologna*, threatened a general revolt. His ambassadors receiving a favourable answer from the pope, in the end of *July*, he went to *S. Germano*, where he entered into new engagements to the pope's legates; and being absolved by them from the vow he had made at *Veroli*, he promised, under pain of excommunication, to go to *Palestine* within two years, counting from the month of *August*. The emperor soon after caused another loan to be raised from the clergy, by which he received 1300 ounces of gold from the monastery of *Cassino*; and, at the same time, refused to admit five prelates, whom the pope, without his knowlege, had nominated to some vacant benefices in *Puglia*. A few weeks after, the empress *Jolanta*, or *Jole*, arriving at *Brindisi*, *Frederic* solemnized his marriage with great pomp and magnificence; and in the beginning of the following year, he ordered his barons and knights to assemble at *Pescara*, and to accompany him to the diet of *Cremona*, having written to his son *Henry* king of the *Romans*, to pass the *Alps* with an army, and join him in *Lombardy*.

*and marries* Jolanta. A. D. 1225.

*HENRY*, who the year before had married a daughter of the duke of *Austria*, was prevented from advancing into *Italy* by the *Lombards*, who had seized the passes of the *Alps*; and *Frederic* upon his arrival at *Cremona* found no deputies from the cities of *Milan*, *Verona*, *Placenza*, *Vercelli*, *Lodi*, *Alexandria*, *Treviso*, *Padua*, *Vicenza*, *Turin*, *Novara*, *Mantua*, *Brescia*, *Bologna*, and *Faenza*, which cities, in the month of *March*, had entered into a new association for twenty-five years, in defence of their liberties [r]. The emperor, in resentment, put the associated cities to the ban of the empire, and having prevailed with the pope's legate to lay them under an interdict, he returned with his army to *Puglia*, and in his march had a conference with the pope at *Reate*. Tho' the pope and the emperor, during the whole summer, had been upon bad terms of correspondence, on account of the five prelates, who were kept out of the possession of their churches, and because *Frederic* had not only levied money upon the clergy, but had published an edict, ordering monks and priests guilty of homicide and other enormous crimes to be punished by the secular magistrate, yet at this conference they were again reconciled. *Frederic* consented to admit the prelates nominated by the pope, and *Honorius*, who was suspected of having promoted the association of the cities of *Lombardy*, promised to act as mediator betwixt them and the emperor.

*The cities of* Lombardy *enter into an association against him.* A. D. 1226.

[r] Richard. Chron. Sigon. de regn. Ital.

(A) *Richard* of *S. Germano* tells us that the emperor dispatched letters, in behalf of the university of *Naples* through all the kingdoms of *Puglia* and *Sicily*. Some other letters concerning this university are extant in the six books of letters written by the famous *Peter delle Vigne* his secretary. By these letters it appears he prohibited all other schools in the kingdom, except Grammar schools. He invited able professors in all falculties from remote parts, and appointed them large salaries. He prohibited any person born in the cities of *Lombardy*, that had rebelled against him, from being received into the university; granted to the doctors and masters jurisdiction and power to take cognizance of the civil causes of the scholars; commanded all the governors of the provinces within their jurisdictions to go and study at *Naples*; and declared that he would take the scholars under his particular care and protection: that both in their journey to and stay in *Naples*, they should not be molested in their persons or goods; that they should have the best lodgings in that city at easy rates; that money should be lent them for their necessary occasions; and that they should be furnished with provisions at the same price with the *Neapolitan* citizens.

As the king likewise established his high court in this city, it immediately began to be much frequented, and to be distinguished above all other cities of the kingdom (1).

(1) *Richard. Chron ap. Murat. Petr. de Vign. l.* iii. *epist* 10, 11, 12, & 13.

An

a An accommodation was accordingly concluded with the *Lombard* cities, by which *Frederic* engaged to forgive all paſt injuries, and revoke all edicts to their prejudice, on condition that they ſhould ſend 400 knights to the *Holy Land*, and live in friendſhip with the imperial cities.

*HONORIUS* ſurvived this tranſaction a ſhort time, and died in *March* following. His ſucceſſor, *Gregory* IX. immediately after his election reminded the emperor of his vow. As infinite numbers of cruſards at this time were arriving in *Italy*, *Frederic* appeared as earneſt for the expedition as the pope; and in the month of *Auguſt* embarked at *Brindiſi*. However, three days after he had ſet ſail, returning to *Italy*, under pretence of ſickneſs, he was ſolemnly excommunicated by the pope at *Anagni*, on the twenty-ninth of *September*. *Gre-*
b *gory* excommunicated him a ſecond time at *Rome*, on the ſeventeenth of *November*, interdicted his kingdom, and informed all the Chriſtians princes, by letters, of what he had done. *Frederic*, who had gone to the baths of *Pazzuolo*, and had ſent ſeveral ambaſſadors to the pope to plead the excuſe of his illneſs, finding that *Gregory* would not accept of his vindication, wrote to all the Chriſtian princes, in his own juſtification, and complained of the unjuſt proceeding of the pope. He likewiſe ordered all the juſtices of *Sicily* and *Puglia* to oblige the prieſts and monks in their provinces to celebrate divine ſervice as uſual; and afterwards holding a general meeting of the barons of the kingdom at *Capua*, he required from them a tax of eight ounces of gold, for every fief they held, and a ſoldier for every eight fiefs, to be ready againſt the month of *May*, when he intended to ſail
c for the *Holy Land*.

*He omits his voyage to the* Holy Land; A. D. 1227.

*and is excommunicated by the pope.*

*FREDERIC*, in reſentment for the pope's proceeding, by the influence of his money, raiſed a ſtrong faction in *Rome*, which the following ſpring obliged *Gregory* to quit the city, and to retire to *Perugia*. He likewiſe ſent an army into the duchy of *Spoleto*, and the march of *Ancona*; and notwithſtanding the rigorous prohibition of the pope, raiſed a large ſum of money from the clergy in his dominions. In the mean time the empreſs *Jolanta*, after being delivered of a ſon, who was named *Conrad*, died at *Andria*. Soon after her death, *Frederic* held a parliament at *Barletta*, and having regulated the ſucceſſion of his kingdom, in caſe of his death, and appointed *Rainald*, duke of *Spoleto*, regent during his abſence, on the eleventh of *Auguſt* he ſailed from *Otranto* with twenty gallies and a great
d number of tranſports for the *Holy Land*.

Jolanta *dies.* A. D. 1228.

Frederic *proceeds to the* Holy Land.

*GREGORY* was highly exaſperated upon hearing that *Frederic* had preſumed to depart for the *Holy Land*, before he had made his peace with the church, and regarding his own private reſentment more than the advancement of the public cauſe, he, in great indignation, wrote to the patriarch of *Jeruſalem* and the maſter of the holy ſepulchre, to have no communication with the emperor, and to give him no aſſiſtance [s]. He likewiſe excited the aſſociated cities of *Lombardy* to violate the late pacification, and to attack thoſe of the imperial faction; and in order to force the imperialiſts to evacuate the march of *Ancona*, he aſſembled a large army, which in the beginning of *January* he ſent againſt the kingdom under the command of his legate *Pandulph*, and the exiled barons, *Roger* count of *Fondi*
e and *Thomas* count of *Celano*. The army, which was diſtinguiſhed by the name of *the militia of Chriſt*, quickly reduced ſeveral ſtrong caſtles on the frontiers. The ſoldiers, inſtead of a croſs, wore two keys upon their cloaths; and having but an inconſiderable army to oppoſe them, made themſelves maſters of many cities and towns; and in imitation of the *Saracens* of the imperial army, who the year before had committed great outrages in the march of *Ancona*, they burnt ſeveral places, and pillaged the inhabitants.

*The pope invades* Puglia. A. D. 1229.

*FREDERIC* in the mean time finding it impoſſible to act with vigour againſt the ſoltan, becauſe the cruſards refuſed to obey him, and being informed that the papal army had conquered a great part of his dominions in *Italy*, concluded a peace with the ſoltan for ten years, and in the end of *May* returned with two gallies to *Brindiſi*. Upon his arrival he
f immediately propoſed an accommodation to the pope, and wrote to all his faithful ſubjects, promiſing to march directly to their aſſiſtance. His propoſal being rejected, he immediately began his march for *Terra di Lavoro*, and having many *German* cruſards in his army who had followed him to *Italy*, in leſs than three months he recovered almoſt all his dominions, with little or no oppoſition. His quick progreſs alarming the pope, he at laſt conſented to treat of peace; and the negociations being begun in the end of *November*, a ceſſation of hoſtilities in ſome meaſure took place. The principal negotiators were the archbiſhop of *Reggio* and the maſter of the *Teutonic* order, who, after ſeveral journies betwixt the emperor and the pope, compoſed certain articles for the treaty, which *Frederic* would by no means agree to, as the church pretended to retain *Gaeta* and *S. Agatha*. On this account
g the peace was retarded ſeveral weeks; however, that article being left in ſuſpence, the em-

Frederic *returns to* Italy; A. D. 1230.

[s] Giannone ut ſupra.

peror

*and concludes a peace with the pope;*

peror at length, by the perſuaſion of *Walo*, or *Qualdo*, a Dominican, accepted on the a
treaty, and on the twenty-ſecond of *July* ſwore in the church of *S. Germano* to ſatisfy the
pope in all the points for which he had been excommunicated. A few weeks after, he
was ſolemnly abſolved from the ſentence of excommunication by the biſhop of *Sabinæ*;
and on the firſt of *September* entered *Anagni*, where he had ſeveral conferences, for three
days, with the pope, who entertained him with great kindneſs, and invited him to dine at
the ſame table with himſelf (B).

*FREDERIC* having made a peace with *Gregory*, the following year publiſhed a volume
of laws for the government of his hereditary dominions; which conſtitutions for a long
time after were held in great eſteem. About the ſame time he ſent a ſmall reinforcement
of troops to the *Holy Land*; ordered a ſtrict inquiſition to be made after a ſect of heretics b
called *Patareni*, who held private conventicles, and were very numerous over all *Italy*,
particularly in *Naples*; and ſeized all the poſſeſſions of the knights templars and hoſpitallers
in his kingdom for his own uſe[t]. As the pacification betwixt him and the pope had not
reſtored tranquility to *Lombardy*, but the two oppoſite factions ſtill continued their hoſtili-
ties againſt each other with great animoſity, he prevailed on the pope to ſend two legates
thither, to perſuade the rebellious *Guelf* cities to return to their obedience. He likewiſe ap-

*who endeavours to reconcile the aſſociated cities of* Lombardy *to the emperor.*
A. D. 1232.

pointed a general diet to be held ſoon after at *Ravenna*, whither he went attended only with
his courtiers, to give no ſuſpicion to the *Lombards*; and having written to his ſon *Henry*
to come to the diet, celebrated his *Chriſtmas* with great magnificence. Though the pope
ſeemed to intereſt himſelf for the repoſe of *Italy*, yet the negociations of his legates were c
ineffectual; for the aſſociatied cities not only neglected to appear at *Ravenna*, but aſſembling
an army, oppoſed the paſſage of his ſon *Henry*, and attacked the cities of the imperial
party. *Frederic*, on this account, laying aſide all thoughts of peace, went from *Ravenna*
to *Venice*, and from thence to *Aquileia*, where, in a conference with his ſon *Henry* and the
*German* nobles, he ſettled a plan for the operations of the war[u].

From *Aquileia* he returned by ſea in the month of *April*, to *Puglia*, and ſuſpecting, from
the diſpoſition of the *Lombards*, that the peace with the pope would not be of long conti-
nuance, he cauſed all the cities on the borders of *Campania* to be ſtrongly fortified. In the
mean time the city of *Meſſina* in *Sicily* revolted, on account of the oppreſſion of the chief
juſticiary, and his army in *Paleſtine* was defeated by *John de Baruch*, who likewiſe made d
himſelf maſter of *Acon*. As a means to prevent the progreſs of the infidels in *Aſia*, *Fre-
deric* wrote to the pope, deſiring him to order the maſters of the knights templars and hoſ-
pitallers to aſſume the chief command in *Paleſtine*, promiſing to reſtore all the poſſeſſions of
theſe two orders that he had lately ſeized[w]. To quiet the diſorders in *Sicily*, he went over

Frederic *puniſhes ſome rebels in* Sicily.
A. D. 1233.

thither in the month of *April*; and after puniſhing the chiefs of the ſedition in *Meſſina* with
death, he reduced the caſtle whither the rebels had retired, which he intirely deſtroyed. In
the mean time he cauſed the caſtles in *Frani*, *Bari*, *Naples*, and *Brindiſi*, to be fortified; ſent
a governor to the city of *Gaeta*, which at laſt conſented to take the oath of allegiance to
him and his ſon *Conrad*; and as the *Saracens* of *Lucera* had ſerved him with great fidelity in
his war with the pope, he ordered that city to be enlarged and fortified, and even connived
at ſeveral outrages which the infidels committed, ſo far as to allow them to pull down a
church, and carry off the materials, on which account he received a threatning letter from
*Gregory*[x]. During his reſidence at *Meſſina* he publiſhed ſeveral edicts, one particularly ap-
pointing ſeven fairs to be held every year in different parts of his kingdom; namely, at
*Sulmo*, *Capua*, *Lucera*, *Bari*, *Tarento*, *Coſenza*, and *Reggio*, prohibiting any merchandize to
be expoſed to ſale in that province where the fair was held, while the fair laſted. He alſo
ordered general courts and aſſizes to be held twice a year in different provinces of the king-
dom, when it ſhould be lawful for any one to lay his complaints againſt the judges or any
other magiſtrate, before the king's deputy.

Having ſettled the affairs of *Sicily*, he returned in the month of *February* to *Italy*, where f
he applied himſelf to re-eſtabliſh the univerſity of *Naples*, the flouriſhing ſtate of which
had been greatly interrupted by his war with the pope. About the ſame time *Gregory*

[t] Richard. Chron. [u] Sigon. ut ſupra. Spond. Annal. [w] Richard. Chron. Bos. Hiſt. Hoſpital. lib. xvii. [x] Spond. Annal.

(B) By this treaty the emperor granted a general indemnity to all thoſe who had adhered to the church, promiſed ro reſtore all places of the church patrimony which he had ſeized, to make good all the loſſes of the monaſteries, churches, and barons, that had adhered to the pope, to recal the baniſhed prelates, to make no infringement on the immunity of eccleſiaſtics, and to pay according to *Bzovius* 120,000 ounces of gold, or, according to others, 12,000 ducats to the pope. *Richard* of *St. Germano* makes no mention of the payment of any money, but relates, that arbitrators were to be appointed within a year, to regulate the form and manner of reſtoring *St. Agatha* and *Gaeta*, with the honour of the church (1).

(1) *Richard. Chron.*

being

a being expelled by the *Romans*, who had aſſembled a moſt numerous army, and attacked ſome cities in the pope's intereſt, *Frederic* marched in perſon to his aſſiſtance; and having left a garriſon in *Viterbo*, inveſted the city of *Raſpampano*, which was held by the rebels. Two months after, however, he raiſed the ſiege, and returned in *September* with great part of his army to *Puglia*, being accuſed by ſome writers of having entered into a private correſpondence with the rebels [y]. Great numbers of *Germans*, nevertheleſs, continuing in the pay of *Gregory*, a few weeks after they ſurpriſed the *Roman* army, and gaining a complete victory obliged the rebels to ſubmit.

*He aſſiſts the pope againſt the* Romans.

*FREDERIC* in the mean time hearing of the rebellion of his eldeſt ſon *Henry*, went the following ſpring with his ſon *Conrad* into *Germany*. Having quickly obliged his ſon to b ſubmit and aſk his pardon, he carried him priſoner to *Worms*; where in the month of *July* he married *Iſabel* the daughter of the king of *England*. Soon after he ſent *Henry* priſoner into *Puglia*; and having cauſed *Conrad* to be elected king of *Germany*, and to be crowned in *Cologn*, he returned with him to *Italy*, and preſented him to the pope at *Rieti*, where he endeavoured to perſuade *Gregory* to aſſiſt him againſt the aſſociated cities of *Lombardy*. The pope's views were very different from thoſe of the emperor. He therefore diſſuaded him from bringing a *German* army into *Italy*, by promiſing to uſe his utmoſt endeavours for an accommodation, at the ſame time reminding him that the truce with the ſoltan was near expired, and that he intended another general cruſade to the *Holy Land*. *Frederic*, not ſatisfied with this diſcourſe, returned immediately to *Germany*, and in the beginning of the fol- c lowing year publiſhed a letter, appointing a general diet to be held in the month of *July* at *Parma*. Having aſſembled a formidable army at *Augsburgh*, in the month of *June* he paſſed the *Alps*, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the confederate army, and arrived at *Verona*; from whence he proceeded to *Cremona*. He then held the diet at *Parma*, and the confederates ſtill refuſing to ſubmit, it was reſolved to proſecute the war againſt them with vigour. After diſmiſſing the aſſembly, the imperialiſts ravaged the territories belonging to the allies; and on the firſt of *November* took *Vicenza*, which was pillaged and burnt. *Frederic* duke of *Auſtria* in the mean time raiſing a rebellion in *Germany*, the emperor repaſſed the *Alps*, and having reduced the duke, returned the following autumn to *Italy*; when being joined by 10,000 *Saracens*, he gained a complete victory over the allies at *Cortenuovo*; in conſe- d quence of which all the aſſociated cities ſurrendered to him, except *Milan*, *Bologna*, *Alexandria*, and *Breſcia* [z].

*Reduces his rebellious ſon* Henry *in* Germany. A. D. 1235.

*Returns to* Lombardy *with an army.* A. D. 1236.

THE emperor after this victory returned in a triumphant manner to *Cremona*. The war, however, ſtill continued; for *Gregory*, who had long been jealous of the emperor's power, now openly attached himſelf to the aſſociated cities, and the following year ſent legates to the king of *Arragon*, inviting him to come to the relief of *Italy*, offering him 150,000 imperial pounds, and to declare him lord of *Lombardy*, if he would engage in the war againſt *Frederic*. This embaſſy to the king of *Arragon* proving ineffectual, and *Frederic* growing ſtill more formidable in *Italy*, *Gregory* the year after denounced a ſentence of excommunication and depoſition againſt him on *Holy Thurſday*, under pretence that he had violated the e rights of the church, by giving the iſland of *Sardinia*, with the title of king, to his natural ſon *Henry* or *Hentius*, though that iſland was known to be a fief of the ſee of *Rome* [a]. *Frederic* immediately wrote to the princes of *Europe* in his own juſtification, and publiſhed ſeveral other letters againſt the pope, whom he accuſed of many crimes. At the ſame time he renewed the war in *Lombardy* with greater fury, and recalling *Hentius* from *Sardinia*, ordered him to invade the march of *Ancona*. After ravaging the march of *Treviſo* and the *Milaneſe*, he left ſtrong garriſons in *Lombardy*, and marched in the beginning of the year towards *Rome*; but being prevented by the *Romans* from making himſelf maſter of the city, he ravaged their territory, and proceeded to *Puglia*.

*He is excommunicated by the pope.* A. D. 1239.

BOTH parties ſtill continued to reproach each other with great bitterneſs in their public manifeſtoes; but *Gregory* not receiving that aſſiſtance from the kings of *France* and *England* which he expected, publiſhed letters for convoking a general council the following *Eaſter* A. D. 1240. at *Rome*, as the moſt proper means for procuring a peace. *Frederic*, who had ordered *Benevento* to be beſieged, and was then inveſting *Faenza*, conſented to the calling of a council, and agreed to a truce with the pope till the concluſion of that aſſembly [b]; but refuſed to grant a ceſſation of arms to the confederates. A few weeks after, however, he thought proper to revoke his aſſent, and declared publicly by letters, that he would not grant his ſafe-conduct to any biſhops coming to the council, but would treat them as his enemies. This threatning he effectually fulfilled the following year, by taking three cardinal legates, and a great number of *French* and *Engliſh* archbiſhops and biſhops priſoners, who were going

[y] BLOND. Dec. 7. l. ii. PLATIN. in Greg. IX. [z] SIGON. in regn. Ital. Epiſt. PETR. de Vin. RICHARD, Chron. [a] SIGON. [b] Idem ibid. MATH. PARIS.

on board thirty *Genoese* gallies to *Rome*. About the same time he made himself master of *Faenza*, and likewise reduced *Benevento*, the fortifications of which he ordered to be entirely destroyed. Not contented with taxing the ecclesiastics, he seized on the treasure of all the churches of his kingdom, expelled all foreign monks, and ordered those that should be found carrying letters from the pope into his dominions, to be put to death. After taking *Faenza*, he ravaged the territories of *Fano*, *Assisi*, and *Pesaro*, took possession of *Spoleto* and *Narni*, and at the desire of cardinal *Colonna*, who had revolted from the pope, he again advanced towards *Rome*, putting a garrison in *Tivoli*, and seizing several castles in the neighbourhood of the city. a

*The death of* Gregory *and of the empress.* A. D. 1242.

His enemy *Gregory* in the mean time was so affected with the captivity of the prelates, and the bad success of the war, that he died at *Rome* on the twenty-first of *August*, being near an hundred years of age. His successor *Celestin* IV. survived his election only eighteen days. A few weeks after his death, the empress *Isabel* died at *Foggia*; and about two months after, *Frederic* lost his eldest son *Henry*, who, according to *Richard* of *S. Germano*, died in prison; but according to *Boccace*, he threw himself over a bridge, while he was on his journey to see his father, not knowing that he had sent for him with the intention of being reconciled to him. The cardinals at *Rome*, in the mean time, from mutual ambition, delayed the election of a pope, throwing the blame on *Frederic*, who still detained two legates prisoners. The emperor would not allow the justness of their excuse; and being in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, pressed them earnestly, by several letters, to proceed to the election, and as they assumed the supreme administration of ecclesiastical affairs, sent the master of the *Teutonic* order, and another ambassador, to them, to treat of peace. The cardinals paying no regard to his proposals, he ravaged the territory of *Rome*, while his army in the march of *Ancona* took *Ascoli*, and the army from *Naples* ravaged the territory of *Rieti*. At last he consented to set the legates at liberty; but the cardinals still delaying the election, he assembled an army the following spring, and in the month of *May* invested the city of *Rome*, ravaged its territory, and destroyed the country seats and estates belonging to the cardinals, who, alarmed with their particular losses, intreated him to withdraw his army, and promised to proceed immediately to the election. They accordingly on the twenty-fourth of *June* chose *Innocent* IV. a *Genoese*, who immediately after his election received an embassy from the emperor to treat of peace. b

Innocent IV. *is elected*; A. D. 1243.

By the pope's answer to *Frederic*'s ambassadors, it was generally expected that a peace would soon be concluded; however, after *Innocent* had published his preliminary articles, the hopes of a negotiation vanished, as the emperor refused absolutely to agree to them. By this behaviour, having lost a great many of his friends, and disgusted several cities, which deserted his party, and declared for the church, the following year he again renewed his proposals for peace; and on *Holy Thursday* his ambassadors swore in his name, that he would refer himself entirely to the judgment of the pope, as to all the injuries that he had done to the church and the clergy. Reflecting, however, soon after, upon the extensiveness of this concession, and that he thereby put himself wholly under the power of the pope, he refused to be bound by the oath of his plenipotentiaries, and endeavoured to surprise and seize *Innocent*, who being informed of his design, left *Rome*, and went by sea to *Genoa*, from whence, in the end of the year, he went through *Savoy* to *Lyons*, where he appointed a general council to be held the following year, at *Midsummer* [c]. The council was very numerous, and *Thaddeus de Sessa*, one of the emperor's deputies, justified his master with great spirit and resolution (C). Nevertheless, *Innocent*, in the end of the third session, with great formality denounced a sentence of excommunication and deposition against *Frederic*, and ordered the electors of the empire to proceed to a new election, declaring that he reserved to himself the disposal of the kingdom of *Sicily*. *Thaddeus* appealed from this sentence to a future council and future pope; and *Frederic*, who was then at *Turin*, immediately wrote to the kings of *England* and *France*, proving the injustice of the sentence, offering at the same time to refer his dispute with the pope to the arbitration of *St. Lewis* and the peers of *France*. c d e f

*who excommunicates and deposes the emperor*; A. D. 1245.

Tho' the pope, by his letters, had published the sentence to all the world, *Frederic*, nevertheless, was still acknowleged as emperor by the Christian princes. A small party in *Germany*, indeed, the following year elected the landgrave of *Thuringia* as emperor, who

[c] Idem ibid.

(C) The other deputy was the famous *Peter de Vineis*, who by his silence in the council lost the emperor's affections; and being soon after accused of a plot against him, had his eyes put out, and was deprived of all his wealth and honours. *Peter*, not able to support this misfortune, put himself to a violent death. Some write that he died innocent, and that the courtiers envying his greatness made the emperor believe, that at the instigation of the pope he had formed a conspiracy against him (1).

(1) *Math. Paris. Sigon. Giannone, ut supra.*

was

a was killed the year after; and, by the intrigues of two cardinals, whom the pope ſent into *Puglia*, ſeveral barons had revolted, and taken poſſeſſion of *Capaccio*, and other caſtles in that kingdom. *Frederic*, on that account, left his ſon *Hentius* in *Lombardy*, and marched into *Puglia*. The barons, who had conſpired againſt him, had formerly been his moſt intimate friends; but being corrupted, as it was alleged, by the pope, they had formed a conſpiracy in the ſpring of aſſaſſinating him at *Groſſeto*, on the coaſt of *Tuſcany*. Their plot, however, being diſcovered, many of them were immediately ſeized, and others of them fled to their aſſociates in *Puglia*. Though they made a vigorous defence againſt the emperor's forces, yet about the end of *July* they were forced to ſubmit; when many of them were put to moſt cruel deaths, and even their relations, within the fourth or fifth degree, b were puniſhed as traitors [d]. *Frederic* immediately publiſhed an account of the conſpiracy, which he attributed to the intrigues of the pope [e]; and in return, according to *Matthew Paris*, hired two aſſaſſins to murder *Innocent*.

*and encourages a conſpiracy againſt his life.* A. D. 1246.

Having quieted the inſurrection in *Puglia*, he returned the following year to *Piſa*, and went afterwards to *Turin*, with the deſign of proceeding to *Lyons*, to be reconciled to the pope, according to *Sigonius* and *Collenutius* [f]. But according to *Matthew Paris*, *Blondus*, *Nauclerus*, and other *Italian* and *German* authors, he intended to attack the pope, as the duke of *Burgundy*, and many *French* nobles, had then entered into an aſſociation in defence of their privileges, againſt the pope and clergy [g]. He had hardly arrived at the foot of the *Alps*, when being informed that the *Guelph* exiles had recovered *Parma*, he immediately re- c turned to beſiege that important place. Before his arrival, the confederates, ſenſible of its importance, had repaired its fortifications, and ſtrengthened it with a numerous garriſon. The emperor inveſted the place about the middle of *Auguſt*, with an army of upwards of 60,000 men, and being fully bent upon ruining the beſieged, he fortified his camp like a city, and gave it the name of *Victoria*. The following year, however, on the eighteenth of *February*, his new city was ſurpriſed and taken by the beſieged, who having killed or taken priſoners the greateſt part of his army, enriched themſelves with the immenſe booty.

Parma *is ſurpriſed by the* Guelphs.

The affairs of *Frederic* after this defeat quickly declined, for the papiſts and confederates were every day ſtrengthened by new allies; his competitor in *Germany*, *William* count of *Holland*, took *Aix la Chapelle* from his ſon *Conrad*, where, on the firſt of *November*, he re- d ceived the imperial crown; and the following year, in the month of *May*, his ſon *Hentius* was entirely defeated and taken priſoner by the *Bologneſe*, who after the victory reduced ſeveral cities and caſtles of *Lombardy* and *Romagna*, particularly the city of *Modena*. In order to repair theſe loſſes, *Frederic* the following year made great preparations for attacking the *Bologneſe*. He called over a large body of *Saracens* from *Barbary*, and laid a heavy poll-tax upon his ſubjects, which they were obliged to pay under pain of being ſent to the gallies. He was prevented, however, from executing his intended expedition by death, which happened to him on the thirteenth of *December*, at *Fiorentino*, a caſtle near *Lucera* [h]. According to *Cuſpinianus* and others, it was ſuppoſed that he was poiſoned by his natural ſon *Manfred*; who being afraid leſt he ſhould recover, ſmothered him with a bolſter in the night time [i]. Upon his e death-bed he profeſſed his ſorrow for his breach with the church, and the injuries he had done to the eccleſiaſtics; having made a penitential confeſſion to the archbiſhop of *Palermo*, he received from him abſolution and the viaticum [k]; and, according to *Matthew Paris*, before his death aſſumed the habit of a Ciſtertian monk [l].

*The affairs of the emperor decline.*

*He dies in* Puglia. A. D. 1250.

*FREDERIC* by his laſt will left his eldeſt ſon *Conrad* heir of the empire, and of all his other dominions, particularly of the kingdom of the *Two Sicilies*. If he ſhould die without iſſue, *Henry* his other ſon was to ſucceed; in caſe of whoſe death, *Manfred* his baſtard ſon was declared heir; who in the mean time was to enjoy the principality of *Tarento*, with the counties of *Monteſcaglioſo*, *Trecarico*, *Gravina*, and *Monte St. Angelo*, with all the cities, towns, caſtles, *&c.* belonging to them. The duchies of *Auſtria* and *Stiria*, with 10,000 f ounces of gold, were given to *Frederic*, his grandſon by his deceaſed ſon *Henry*. During the abſence of *Conrad* from the kingdom of the *Two Sicilies*, *Manfred* was declared bailie or regent, with ſupreme power, and till the ſucceſſion ſhould be open for *Henry*, he was to enjoy the kingdom of *Jeruſalem* [m].

Conrad *ſucceeds as ſovereign to all his dominions.*

Upon the death of *Frederic*, *Conrad* being abſent in *Germany*, *Manfred* immediately aſſumed the adminiſtration of the government. Being informed that the pope had ſent emiſſaries into the kingdom, deſiring all the cities and barons to give their allegiance to the holy ſee, he ſent his brother *Henry* to govern *Calabria* and *Sicily*, and going himſelf towards *Na-*

[d] Math. Paris. hoc. an. Collenut. Hiſt. Neap. l. iv. [e] Petr. de Vin. l. ii. epiſt. 10, 20, 51. 52. l. iii. 18, 62, &c. [f] Sigon. ut ſupra. Collenut. ibid. Petr. de Vin. l. ii. epiſt. 49. [g] Math. Paris, hoc an. Blond. dec. 2. l. vii. Naucler. Gener. 42. Fazel. dec. 2. l. viii. [h] Spinell. Ephemerid. Neap. apud Murator. t. vii. p. 1068. [i] Cuspinian. de Cæſar. Villani. Richard, &c. [k] Albert. Studenſ. [l] Math. Paris, ut ſupra. See the hiſtory of the German empire. [m] Teſtam. Fred. apud Giannone.

*ples*, desired them to acknowlege *Conrad* [n]. The *Neapolitans* expressly declared, that they were tired of the war, and would acknowlege no king that did not come with the papal benediction and investiture. They were followed by the *Capuans*, some other cities, and many barons of the kingdom; so that immediately several parties appeared in arms for the pope, under the banner of the church. *Manfred*, however, making a progress through the kingdom, with a large body of *Saracens*, confirmed many cities in their allegiance to *Conrad*, took *Nola* and *Aversa*, ravaged the territories of *Capua*, and left *Saracen* garrisons in the cities of the *Principato* and *Basilicata*. a

*A great party in* Puglia *declare for the pope.* A. D. 1251.

A few months after, the emperor *Conrad* arrived with a powerful army at *Verona*. Having continued some time in *Lombardy*, and held a diet of the cities in his interest in the neighbourhood of *Mantua*, he embarked with his army on board a *Venetian* fleet at *Friuli*, and in the end of the year arrived at the ancient city of *Siponto* in *Puglia*, where he was met by his brother *Manfred*, whom he received in the most affectionate manner [o]. Soon after, however, he began to be jealous of his great abilities and authority; and in order to lessen his power he published an edict, revoking all the grants made by the last will of his father, or since his death, and persuaded *Manfred*, as an example to other barons, to resign the city of *Brindisi*, and the counties of *Monte St. Angelo*, *Gravina*, *Trecarico*, and *Montescaglioso*. He likewise impoverished the principality of *Tarento* by a heavy tax, turned out the justiciary appointed by *Manfred*, and allowed the prince the supreme jurisdiction in the principality only in civil cases. *Manfred*, pretending not to perceive his design, submitted to these edicts without opposition, and with the same zeal as formerly assisted his brother in reducing the counts of *Aquino*, who had declared for the pope. The *Germans* and *Saracens* acting in conjunction, quickly reduced the rebels in those parts; and having taken and burnt *Aquino*, *Sessa*, *St. Germano*, and several other castles in the neighbourhood, they proceeded to *Capua*, which immediately surrendered without resistance. After the submission of *Capua*, *Conrad* marched against *Naples*, and according to *Spinello*, a cotemporary writer, invested the city on the first of *December*. As the pope a few weeks after sent a nuncio to him, to intercede for the *Neapolitans*, *Conrad*, in contempt, desired him to concern himself with those who wore shaven crowns; and to encourage the *Germans* and *Saracens* to act with vigour, he promised three months pay extraordinary to that nation that should first enter the city. His army being reinforced by a great many *Puglian* barons, and the *Neapolitans* being disappointed of assistance from the pope, he at last made himself master of the city, in the end of *September*; and contrary to the capitulation, allowed it to be plundered by his soldiers, and ordered the fortifications to be entirely destroyed. After he had continued two months in the city, punishing the rebellious citizens with great severity, he appointed a parliament to be held the following year at *Melphis*, and went to *Burletta*, where he received the submission of the barons of *Terra di Bari*. b

Conrad *arrives with a* German *army in* Puglia; c

*and makes himself master of* Naples. A. D. 1252. d

Mean while *Innocent*, who upon the death of *Frederic* had immediately returned to *Italy*, used his utmost endeavours to suppress the *Gibelline* faction, and oppose the pretensions of *Conrad*, both in *Germany* and *Italy*. He again excommunicated him and his adherents, ordered a crusade to be preached against him, in favour of *William* count of *Holland*, with greater indulgences than that for the *Holy Land*; and, persuaded that it would be impossible to unite the kingdom of the *Two Sicilies* to the possessions of the church, he resolved to oppose a powerful prince to him, and offered the investiture of the kingdom to *Richard* earl of *Cornwall*, brother to the king of *England*. His offer being rejected, he entered into a negotiation with the count of *Anjou*, brother of St. *Lewis*, who was then in the *Holy Land*; but though the count had ambitiously offered his service to the pope, he was prevented by his relations from concluding the treaty [p]. e

*The pope offers the kingdom to the earl of* Cornwall. A. D. 1253.

During these intrigues of the pope, *Conrad*, in the month of *February*, held a parliament at *Melphis*, when an edict was published for raising 30,000 ounces of gold, which the subjects submitted to pay rather than be oppressed with quartering the *Germans* and *Saracens* [q]. Whilst he continued at *Melphis*, he was visited by his brother *Henry*, then about twelve years of age, who died soon after, not without suspicion of being poisoned by his means [r]. Upon the death of *Henry*, who was the son of the empress *Isabel*, sister of the king of *England*, his uncle *Henry* III. entered into a negotiation with the pope, that if he would absolve him from his vow of a crusade, and confer *Sicily* on his son *Edmund*, he would employ all the forces of *England* against *Conrad*, whom he looked upon as the murderer of his nephew [s]. This second negotiation, however, had no effect; and *Conrad* in the mean time took and destroyed *Ascoli*, *Garegnone*, *Celenza*, and *Bitunto*; and if the prince of *Tarento* had not interposed, would have ravaged all *Calabria*, *Basilicata*, and *Principato* [t]. Having forced the *Puglians* f

Conrad *reduces* Puglia. A. D. 1254.

[n] Nicolai de Jamsilla. Chron. apud Murator. t. viii. [o] Idem ibid. Chron. Veron. ibid. Spinell. Ephemer. ut supra. [p] Vita Innocent. apud Murator. t. iii. p. 592. [q] Spinell. ut supra. [r] Math. Paris. [s] Vita Innocent. ut supra. [t] Spinell. ut supra.

a to ſubmit by his ſeverity and cruelty, in the end of the year he ſent ambaſſadors to *Rome*, with a propoſal for an accommodation with the pope; which was rejected by *Innocent*, who ſoon after renewed the ſentence of excommunication againſt him. *Conrad* ſurvived this fulmination but a few months, and died of a fever near *Lavello*, on the 21ſt of *May*, in the twenty-ſixth year of his age. *Villani*, and ſeveral other hiſtorians ſay, that he was poiſoned by his brother *Manfred*; but *Spinello* and *Nicolas de Jamſilla*, cotemporary writers, are entirely ſilent as to that particular.

*His death.*

*CONRAD* by his laſt will left his infant ſon *Conradin* or *Conrad*, then in *Germany*, his heir; and during his minority appointed *Berthold de Honebruch* regent of the kingdom, deſiring him to uſe all poſſible means to procure for the young prince the favour of the apo-
b ſtolic ſee. *Manfred*, before the emperor's death, declined the office of regent, which he obſerved was coveted by *Berthold*, who, though a man of ſmall abilities, was ſupported by the intereſt of all the *Germans*. The new regent immediately ſent ambaſſadors to the pope, deſiring the protection of the apoſtolic ſee for the young prince. *Innocent* imagining this embaſſy was owing rather to the weakneſs of the party than to the will of the deceaſed king, anſwered peremptorily that he would be maſter of the kingdom, which by the ſentence of depoſition pronounced againſt *Frederic* at the council of *Lyons* had devolved to the church; but that *Conradin* nevertheleſs, when he came of age, ſhould be heard as to his pretenſions to that fief [u]. As *Innocent* at the ſame time made great preparations for invading the kingdom, to which he was encouraged by many exiled barons, and other male-contents,
c *Berthold* in great terror reſigned the regency to *Manfred*, who at firſt made great difficulty of accepting of it; but being much intreated, and *Berthold*, with the *Germans*, and all the loyal party, taking the oath of fidelity to *Conrad*, and to him as regent, with this expreſs clauſe, that if *Conrad* were dead, or ſhould die without children, they would acknowlege him as king, he conſented to aſſume the adminiſtration, and immediately prepared to oppoſe *Innocent*. But as he received little or no aſſiſtance from *Berthold*, was excommunicated by the pope, and a general ſpirit prevailed both among *Sicilians* and *Puglians* of becoming ſubjects to the church, he thought it moſt prudent to make no oppoſition to the pope's army, and even invited *Innocent* to aſſume the guardianſhip of the young prince, and to enter the kingdom, without, however, doing prejudice to the rights of *Conrad* or of
d himſelf.

*His infant ſon* Conradin *is declared heir.*

*INNOCENT*, upon his arrival at *Naples*, paid no regard to this ſtipulation, but immediately publiſhed briefs, ordering all the barons and deputies of the cities in the kingdom to come to him, and take the oath of allegiance to the church [w]. *Manfred*, however, ſtill continued with him for ſome time; but at laſt, under pretence of going to meet the marquis of *Honebruch*, who was coming with ſome *Germans* from *Puglia*, he left the pope, and having on his journey killed *Bunello di Anglone*, who was way-laying him, and had obtained the inveſtiture of part of his principality from *Innocent*, he fled to *Lucera*, where, on the ſecond of *November*, he was received with great honour by the *Saracens*. He immediately began to aſſemble ſome troops; and great numbers of *Germans* flocking to him from all
e parts of *Puglia*, and even from the marquis *Berthold*, and from the army of the pope's legate, in a few weeks he found himſelf at the head of a ſmall army, with which he attacked and defeated the papal forces in *Foggia*, and ſtruck ſuch a terror into the legate, who was then at *Troja*, that he abandoned that city in great confuſion. *Innocent* dying at *Naples* a few days after, on the eighth of *December*, the papal party was thereby thrown into great confuſion; which *Manfred* taking the advantage of, reduced *Rapollo*, *Bari*, *Trani*, *Melphis*, and all *Puglia*, excepting ſome cities of *Terra d'Otranto*, which ſtill held out for the church.

*The pope claims the kingdom as a fief devolved to the church.*

Manfred *attacks and diſperſes part of his army.*

AT the intreaty of his friends he conſented, in the beginning of the following year, to ſend ambaſſadors to *Alexander* IV. the ſucceſſor of *Innocent*, to treat of peace. The conferences, however, had no effect; and *Alexander* giving the command of his army to car-
f dinal *Octavian*, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a general in the wars in *Lombardy*, and retiring to *Anagni*, denounced a ſentence of excommunication againſt *Manfred*, who, in the mean time, was reducing the cities on the coaſt of *Otranto*, and endeavouring to quell a revolt in *Calabria*, occaſioned by *Peter Roſſo*, who had been governor of *Calabria* and *Sicily* ſeveral years, but had lately been expelled by the *Sicilians*, on account of his inſolence and oppreſſion. *Peter*, who had hitherto refuſed to acknowlege *Manfred* as regent, now entirely abandoned the king's party: and in order to recover his former power, began to treat with the pope about putting *Calabria* into his hands. *Manfred* being informed of his deſign, ſent ſome troops to ſecure *Calabria*, and marched with his army from the ſiege of *Oria* towards *Melphis*, to oppoſe *Octavian*, before whoſe army he continued encamped ſeveral weeks, endea-
g vouring in vain to draw him to a general engagement. Though his army was greatly in-

A. D. 1255. *He is excommunicated by* Alexander IV.

[u] NICOLAI DE JAMSILL. Chron. ubi ſupra. [w] SPINELL. ut ſupra.

ferior to that of the pope, yet he prevented the legate from advancing in the kingdom; but at length agreeing to a truce for a ſhort time, *Octavian*, while the prince had withdrawn his army, ſurpriſed *Foggia*. *Manfred* immediately returned and inveſted the city, which was quickly reduced to ſo great diſtreſs, that *Octavian* conſented to a peace, which was accordingly concluded on theſe conditions; that *Manfred* ſhould poſſeſs the kingdom for himſelf and his nephew *Conradin*, except *Terra di Lavoro*, which was to be yielded to the pope; but if *Alexander* rejected the treaty, it ſhould be lawful for *Manfred* ſtill to claim that province [x]. a

After the concluſion of this treaty, *Manfred*, at the deſire of the legate, allowed all the baniſhed barons to return to the kingdom and enjoy their eſtates. *Alexander*, however, refuſed to ratify the treaty of his legate, and ſent the biſhop of *Bologna* to *England*, who upon large promiſes of aſſiſtance from *Henry*, gave the inveſtiture of the kingdom to his ſon *Edmund* [y]. *Manfred* in the mean time, having obtained the quiet poſſeſſion of the kingdom, held a parliament the following *February* at *Barletta*, when he conferred the principality of *Salerno* on his uncle *Gualvano Lancia*, gave the county of *Squillace* to another uncle, and condemned the marquis of *Berthold*, and his brothers, to perpetual impriſonment, on account of a conſpiracy they had formed againſt him, after they had been reſtored to their eſtates. The parliament being diſſolved, *Manfred* marched towards *Naples*, to recover *Terra di Lavoro*. The *Neapolitans* hearing of his approach, ſent meſſengers to him, inviting him to their city, and upon his arrival received him with great pomp and acclamations. The prince behaved to them with great generoſity, pardoned all thoſe who for ſeveral years paſt had been enemies to the houſe of *Suabia*, repaired the public edifices at his own expence, and conferred honours and places on many of the chief men of the city. He immediately after made himſelf maſter of all *Terra di Lavoro*, from whence he marched to *Capitanata*, and then to *Brindiſi*. Having quelled a ſedition in this city, he took and deſtroyed *Ariano*, and then paſſed over to *Sicily*, which iſland, by means of one of his uncles, had been prevailed upon to declare for *Conrad*. b c

A. D. 1256.

After *Manfred* had continued ſeveral months at *Palermo*, a report was publiſhed, that *Conradin* was dead in *Germany*. This report, though falſe, prevailing over all the kingdom, the *Puglian* barons and prelates immediately repaired to *Palermo*, and unanimouſly elected *Manfred* king, who was accordingly crowned on the 11th of *Auguſt*, in the cathedral church of that city. This is the account of *Nicholas de Jamſilla*, a cotemporary writer; but *Villani*, and the authors of the *Guelf* faction, ſay, that *Manfred*, having failed in ſeveral attempts to cauſe his nephew to be poiſoned, employed pretended meſſengers to bring the falſe news of his death. However this be, immediately after his coronation he conferred offices and preſents on the barons, and advanced many of them to the honour of knighthood. Upon his return to *Puglia*, finding all the provinces in perfect tranquillity, he held a parliament in *Barletta*, where he created ſeveral knights and gave the inveſtiture to ſome counts. Soon after he held another parliament at *Foggia*, when he promoted many others to honours, and releaſed himſelf from the fatigues of war by magnificent feaſts, games, and illuminations. d e

Manfred *paſſes over to* Palermo, *where he is crowned*; A. D. 1258.

*Sends troops to* Lombardy *to the aſſiſtance of the* Gibellines, A. D. 1259.

As he had now repulſed the papal army, and intirely quieted the kingdom, which ſeemed to acquieſce with pleaſure under his government, as he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his clemency, generoſity, and love of juſtice, he reſolved to turn the ſeat of war into the territories of his enemy; and for that purpoſe, the following year, ſent a great part of his army to *Lombardy* and the march of *Ancona*, to ſupport the *Gibelline* faction, of which he openly declared himſelf the protector, appointing the marquis *Pallavicini* his vicar in *Lombardy*, *Jordanus di Anglono*, count of *S. Severino*, in *Tuſcany*, and *Percival d'Orio* in *Ancona*. *Alexander*, in the mean time, inceſſantly urged the king of *England* to ſend an army into *Italy*; but finding it impoſſible to engage *England* to eſpouſe his quarrel, and being greatly galled with the proſperity of *Manfred*, he again excommunicated him, declared him a ſacrilegious uſurper of the rights of the church, and depoſed him from all his honours. He interdicted all the cities and caſtles that ſhould receive him, or acknowlege him as king, and excommunicated and depoſed all thoſe prelates that had aſſiſted at his coronation. Theſe thunderbolts, however, were not in the leaſt regarded, either by *Manfred* or his ſubjects. *Manfred* now lived at eaſe, and in great ſplendor, applying himſelf to embelliſh his kingdom, and diverting himſelf in the maritime cities of *Puglia*, particularly at *Barletta*, where he received an embaſſy from the duke of *Bavaria*, and *Margaret*, the mother of *Conradin*. The *German* ambaſſadors informed him that *Conradin* was ſtill alive, deſired him to lay aſide the title of king, and to puniſh thoſe who invented the news of the young prince's death. *Manfred* received the ambaſſadors with great honour, and told them, that he himſelf had made a conqueſt of the kingdom from two popes, after it had been intirely loſt as to *Con-* f g

[x] Nicol. de Jamsill. ut ſupra. [y] Mat. Paris.

*rad*;

a *rad*; that to resign the title of king would be only strengthening the pope's party, as the *Puglians* had an aversion to the government of the *Germans*; that the queen ought to send young *Conrad* to be educated in *Italy*, and that upon his death he would leave the kingdom to him. *Manfred* dismissed the ambassadors with rich presents for *Conradin* and the duke of *Bavaria*; and soon after he received a visit from his relation the despota of *Morea*, who in the beginning of the following year went to *Rome*, to offer his medation for a peace betwixt the pope and *Manfred*. *Alexander*, finding the power and authority of *Manfred* daily increasing, offered a peace, on condition that he would restore the exiles to their estates, and dismiss the *Saracens*; which terms were rejected with disdain by the king, who even brought over other *Saracens* from *Barbary*, whom, in the month of *July*, he sent to ravage
b the *Campania di Roma*[z]. He began not only to be respected in *Italy*, but by foreign princes. *James*, king of *Arragon*, notwithstanding the opposition of the pope, entered into an alliance with him, and concluded a marriage betwixt his son *Peter* and *Constantia* his eldest daughter. *Manfred* married another of his daughters to the marquis of *Montferrat*, and, as a perpetual memorial of his name, founded a new city at the foot of *Monte Gargano*, on the *Adriatic* coast, which he called *Manfredonia*, ordering *Siponto*, on account of its unhealthy situation, to be destroyed, and its inhabitants to repair thither. About the same time his authority in *Italy* was more fully established, by a most complete victory which his forces in *Tuscany* gained over the *Florentine Guelphs*, in consequence of which the city of *Florence*, then remarkably rich and affluent, took the oath of allegiance to him.

*who gain a signal victory in* Tuscany.

c THE continual prosperity of *Manfred* greatly chagrined *Alexander*, who died the following year, in the month of *May*, at *Viterbo*. His successor *Urban* IV. was a native of *France*, a man of great abilities, and a zealous promoter of the pretensions of the court of *Rome*, consequently a bitter enemy to *Manfred* and the *Gibellines*. Soon after his promotion, he solicited the king of *Arragon* to break off the match already concluded betwixt his son and *Manfred*'s eldest daughter. His endeavours, however, were fruitless; for as *Manfred* had no male issue, the king of *Arragon* hoped by the marriage to unite *Sicily* to his dominions; and sending his gallies to *Naples*, he conducted the bride to *Montpellier*, where, about the middle of *May*, the marriage was celebrated with great magnificence. *Urban*, in the mean time, was exerting himself to ruin *Manfred*. He summoned him to appear at the court of
d *Rome*, to answer for his many crimes. Though this citation was not notified to him, but only affixed to the doors of the churches of *Civita Vecchia*, where the pope then was, *Manfred*, nevertheless, sent ambassadors to the pope to justify his conduct, and to ask a safe conduct for himself. *Urban*, without granting the demand of his ambassadors, or paying any regard to what they alleged in his vindication, solemnly excommunicated him, and published a general crusade against him; in consequence of which, a large body of *French* crusards entered *Italy*, and joining the *Guelphs*, defeated the marquis *Pallavicina* in *Lombardy*. *Manfred*, to oppose their entering into the kingdom, advanced with his army to *Campania di Roma*, from whence, however, he soon retreated beyond the *Garigliano*, to shun an engagement with the *French*, who were prevented from advancing by an insurrection at *Rome*,
e whither they were recalled by the pope. Upon their retreating, *Manfred* repassed the *Garigliano* with the *Saracens*, to the assistance of the rebellious *Romans*, which obliged the pope to fly to *Civita Vecchia*, and the crusards not receiving their pay, returned discontented to *France*[a].

Urban IV. *publishes a crusade against* Manfred; A. D. 1262.

*URBAN*, in the mean time, had made an offer of the crown of *Sicily* to St. *Lewis* for one of his sons: but that conscientious prince refused to invade the right of another. Upon this refusal, the pope ordered his legate to enter into a negociation with St. *Lewis*'s brother, *Charles*, count of *Anjou*, who in right of his wife was in possession of *Provence*, *Languedoc*, and great part of *Piedmont*. This ambitious prince even prevailed with St. *Lewis* at last to countenance his expedition. This remarkable treaty was immediately published in *Italy*,
f and greatly alarmed *Manfred* and the *Gibelline* party. Though it afterwards proved the ruin of the house of *Suabia*, yet it may likewise be affirmed, that it was the source of infinite miseries to *France*, which was thereby involved for several centuries in expensive and unsuccessful wars, their expeditions beng all blasted by the intrigues of the *Italians* and the popes, who, to suppress the power of the *Neapolitan* kings, invited one family to drive out the princes of another. Though *Charles* with great ardour, prepared every thing for his *Italian* expedition, yet his march was delayed for some time, by the death of *Urban*, which happened the following year, in the beginning of *October*. *Clement* IV. the successor of *Urban*, was born in the territories of the count of *Anjou*, and, before he had entered into sacred orders, had been privy counsellor to St. *Lewis*. He was therefore attached with great

*and confers the kingdom of* Sicily *on the count of* Anjou. A. D. 1263.

Clement IV. *concludes a new treaty with the count,*

[z] Idem ibid

[a] SUMMONT. Hist. Neapol. l. ii. RAINALD. ad an. 1262. COSTANZO. Hist. Neap.

zeal to the *French* cauſe, and immediately after his coronation, which happened on the 22d of *February*, he preſſed *Charles* to haſten his expedition; but at the ſame time clogged the bull of inveſtiture with many articles and conditions, to the prejudice of the royal authority, and to the advancement of the prerogatives of the apoſtolic ſee (D). *Charles* accordingly, having celebrated his *Eaſter* with his brother St. *Lewis*, left *Paris*, and ſet out for *Marſeilles*, where he embarked with 1000 *French* and *Provençal* cavaliers, having ordered his wife and his army to proceed by land into *Italy*. Though *Manfred* had fitted out a fleet of 80 gallies to intercept him, he was ſo fortunate as to paſs unobſerved, and in the month of *May* arrived at *Rome*, where he was received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy, and continued ſeveral months waiting for the arrival of his army.

*who arrives at* Rome;

*MANFRED*, in the mean time, was preparing, with the utmoſt diligence, to oppoſe the invaders. He recalled his troops from *Lombardy*, made new levies in *Puglia*, ſent immediately for 2000 horſe from *Germany*, to whom he promiſed double pay for ſix months; and to ſecure the fidelity of the barons, aſſembled them at *Benevento*, where he repreſented to them that the *French* came not to ſave the nation, but to rob them of their properties [b]. The barons promiſed to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of their power; but upon the diſmiſſing of the parliament, they entered into ſecret correſpondence with count *Charles*, who aſſumed the ſupreme authority at *Rome* in quality of ſenator, to which dignity he had been promoted the year before by the *Romans*, who at this time governed their ſtate independently of the pope.

ABOUT the end of *December*, the *French* army arriving at *Rome* in a moſt miſerable plight to the number of 60,000 men [c], *Charles* borrowed large ſums from the *Roman* merchants for the relief of his troops, and likewiſe ſollicited the pope for further ſubſidies, though *Urban* had already granted him conſiderable ſums, which he had borrowed from the *Florentine* merchants, and raiſed by mortgaging the revenues and wealth of almoſt all the churches in *Rome* for three years. As his troops were eager to meet the enemy, in hopes of obtaining a victory or ending their miſeries, *Charles*, after being ſolemnly crowned with his wife on the feaſt of *Epiphany*, in St. *Peter*'s church, began his march for *Naples*. The count of *Caſerto*, through treachery, abandoning the bridge of *Ceperano*, *Charles* entered the kingdom without oppoſition, and advancing to *St. Germano*, took the city by ſtorm, and put the greateſt part of the garriſon to the ſword. From thence he proceeded to *Benevento*, and on the 26th of *February*, in the neighbourhood of the city, engaged *Manfred*, who, after a bloody and obſtinate diſpute, was intirely defeated and ſlain, the greateſt part of the *Puglian* barons having treacherouſly deſerted him during the action. As he died excommunicated, his body was thrown into a ditch and covered with a great heap of ſtones; however, pope *Clement*, at the perſuaſion of the archbiſhop of *Coſenza*, ordered the corpſe to be dug up, and to be carried with extinguiſhed torches out of the kingdom, to the banks of the *Marino*, where it was left expoſed to the wind and rain [d]. *Manfred* for his liberality, gracefulneſs, and courteſy, has been compared to *Titus*, the ſon of *Veſpaſian* [e]. Though he raiſed himſelf to the throne by the moſt wicked and unjuſtifiable means, yet afterwards, by his affability, generoſity, mildneſs, prudence, and courage, he acquired the love and eſteem of his ſubjects. He was a patron of the ſciences and arts, which he ſtudied himſelf with great aſſiduity, and is ſaid to have been ſkilled in philoſophy and mathematics. By his beneficence and love of juſtice, he became extremely popular; ſo that he was able to ſtruggle againſt the reſentment and power of four ſucceſſive popes, who, piqued at the oppoſition he made to their uſurpations, endeavoured to repreſent him as the blackeſt monſter.

*and is crowned king of* Sicily. A. D. 1266.

Manfred *defeated and ſlain by the* French.

*The* Puglians *ſubmit to* Charles.

THE death of *Manfred* was no ſooner publiſhed, than almoſt all the cites of both kingdoms declared for the conqueror, the people vainly imagining, that, under the *French* government, they would enjoy freedom and peace, and be exempted from all taxes, both ordinary and extraordinary. Immediately after the battle *Charles* entered *Benevento*, where

[b] NICOL. DE JAMSIL. ut ſupra. SABA MALASPIN. apud MURATOR. t. viii. p. 818. [c] SABA MALASPIN. ut ſupra. Chron. Parmenſ. ap MURATOR. t. ix. p. 780. [d] BOCCACIO. Dante Canto 3. del Purgat. MALASPIN. VILLANI, &c. [e] RICCIOBALD. ap. SUMMONT.

(D) The chief of theſe articles, according to *Summontes*, *Rainaldus*, and *Inveges*, are the following; that *Charles* ſhould do homage to the church of *Rome* for the kingdom of the *Two Sicilies*, which on no account ſhould be divided; that during the minority of a prince, the pope ſhould be regent and guardian; that the kingdom ſhould never be united to the empire, nor governed by a prince that was emperor; that the king ſhould pay yearly a rent of 8000 ounces of gold, and a white horſe beſides 5000 marks ſterling every ſix months to the church of *Rome*; that all ſtatutes enacted againſt eccleſiaſtical immunity ſhould be repealed; and that the king ſhould enter into no alliance againſt the church (1).

(1) *Summonte Hiſt. Neap. Inveges Annal. Palerm. Rainald. ad ann.* 1265.

a for ſeveral days the *French* army committed all manner of exceſſes and cruelties, pillaging the churches, and filling the whole city with blood. *Charles* afterwards entered *Naples*, where he publiſhed a general pardon to all thoſe who would ſubmit, and ſent *Philip de Montfort* with part of his army to *Sicily*, to awe that iſland. After *Eaſter* he ſent new juſticiaries, and other officers through all the provinces, who grievouſly oppreſſed the ſubjects with the vigorous exaction of a new tax, while the *French* ſoldiers, who were diſperſed through the whole kingdom, robbed and plundered the inhabitants with great inſolence. The poor people were ſo terrified with their new maſters, that at firſt they expreſſed their miſeries only by their groans. At length they began to complain and murmur, which encouraged ſeveral counts and barons to concert meaſures with the *Gibellines* in *Lombardy*, for a revolu-

b tion in favour of *Conradin*, the whole ſurviving branch of *Frederic*'s poſterity. Many counts accordingly repairing to *Germany*, with the deputies of the *Gibellines* and imperial cities in *Italy*, prevailed upon *Conrad* to undertake an expedition againſt king *Charles*; which negociation the pope was no ſooner informed of, than he publiſhed a mandate about the middle of *April*, prohibiting every one to acknowlege *Conradin* as king of *Sicily*, or to diſturb *Charles* in the poſſeſſion of that kingdom.

*who oppreſſes his new ſubjects.*

Conradin *aſſumes the title of king of* Sicily.

*CHARLES*, in the mean time, contracted alliances with *Baldwin*, the late emperor of *Conſtantinople*, now only in poſſeſſion of *Eubea*, and with *Willarduin*, prince of *Achaia*. The emperor *Baldwin*, only ſon to *Philip*, who had the title of king of *Theſſaly*, married the daughter of *Charles*, and the only daughter of *Willarduin* was married to *Philip*, *Charles*'s ſecond ſon. The king, about the ſame time, gave the title of prince of *Salerno* to his eldeſt

c ſon *Charles*, who had married *Mary*, the only daughter of the king of *Hungary*; and having eſtabliſhed his authority in *Puglia*, went to *Tuſcany* to aſſiſt the *Florentine Guelphs* [f]. *Clement*, to ſtrengthen his authority in that part of *Italy*, created him vicar of the empire, which was then without a head: but in *Rome*, the ſenatorial dignity had been aſſumed by *Henry*, brother of the king of *Caſtile*, who had entered into a ſecret correſpondence with *Conradin*. This *Henry*, with his brother *Frederic*, having been expelled *Caſtile* by their brother the king, on account of their frequent inſurrections againſt him, retired with a a few *Spaniards* to *Barbary*, where they continued ſeveral years in the ſervice of the king of *Tunis*, and acquired great wealth. *Henry* aſſiſted king *Charles*, who was his couſin, with large ſums of money; but being diſappointed in the rewards he expected for his ſervices, he

d went to *Rome*, where he ſo ſoothed the pope and the conſiſtory by the ſchemes he propoſed to them, that they even thought of creating him king of *Sardinia*. But being diſappointed in this ambitious view, he left the court of *Rome*, which was then at *Viterbo*, and prevailed on the *Romans* to elect him ſenator [g].

A. D. 1267.

*CONRADIN* being preſſed by *Henry* to haſten his march into *Italy*, in the month of *October* arrived at *Verona* with 10,000 horſe, in contempt of the monitories and fulminations of the pope. Upon the news of his arrival in *Italy*, *Capece* a *Puglian* baron, with *Frederic* of *Caſtile*, immediately ſailed over from *Tunis* with 800 men to *Sicily*, where they were joyfully received, and prevailed on almoſt the whole iſland, except *Meſſina*, *Palermo*, and *Syracuſe*, to declare for *Conrad*. About the ſame time the *Piſan* fleet gained a victory over

e the gallies of *Meſſina* and thoſe of *Provence*, off the coaſt of *Sicily*; the *Saracens* of *Lucera*, and a great many cities in *Puglia*, *Terra d'Otranto*, *Capitanata*, and *Baſilicata*, declared for *Conrad*, and his ſtandard was erected at *Rome* by *Henry* of *Caſtile* and the *Gibelline* faction. *Charles* being informed of the revolt in *Puglia* and *Sicily*, immediately returned to *Naples*, and calling a parliament of the barons, ordered them to raiſe their forces and to join his army.

*arrives with an army in* Italy.

*CLEMENT*, in the mean time, on *Holy Thurſday*, denounced a ſentence of excommu-

d nication againſt *Conrad*, who having ſpent the winter at *Verona*, had now advanced to *Pavia*, and began hoſtilities againſt the *Guelphs*. From *Pavia* he marched to the coaſt of *Genoa*, from whence he was conducted by ſea to *Piſa*, where he arrived in the month of *May*, and was received by the *Piſans* and *Gibellines* with the honours uſually paid to an emperor. Having reinforced his army, and received large ſubſidies from the *Piſans* and *Sienneſe*, he proceeded to *Rome*, and on the 25th of *June* gained a victory near *Arezzo* over the *Guelphs*, who endeavoured to oppoſe his march. Don *Henry*, and the *Romans* received him with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy; however, during his reſidence at *Rome*, *Henry*, according to *Malaſpini*, formed a conſpiracy againſt him with ſome barons, and propoſed, that after king *Charles* ſhould be defeated, *Conrad* and his *German* friends ſhould be cut off, and the kingdom of *Sicily* conferred upon him. The army being reinforced with a conſiderable body of *Romans*, *Conrad* left *Rome* on the 10th of *Auguſt*, and advanced towards *Naples* in great confidence of ſucceſs, as his army was greatly ſuperior to that of king *Charles*. On the 23d of the ſame month a general engagement enſued, in the plains of *Tagbiacozzo*. *Charles*,

*and is excommunicated by the pope.* A.D. 1268.

*He is entirely defeated by king* Charles,

[f] Spinel. ut ſupra. Villani. Spond. Annal. [g] Saba Malaspin. ut ſupra.

by the advice of *Alard de S. Valtri*, who had ſerved twenty years in the *Holy Land*, and was then returning to *France*, divided his ſmall army into three bodies, in conſequence of which he gained a complete victory; for *Conrad*'s troops after defeating the two firſt bodies, imagining they had intirely diſperſed the enemy, laid aſide their helmets, and employed themſelves in collecting the booty, when they were unexpectedly attacked by king *Charles*, at the head of the third body, and wholly routed. Don *Henry* was taken priſoner at a monaſtery near *Rieti*, and delivered to the pope; and young *Conrad*, with *Frederic* duke of *Auſtria*, were diſcovered and ſeized at *Aſtura* in *Campania* by the *Frangipani*, who ſold them to king *Charles* [h] (E). a

*and taken priſoner.*

THE king having now his competitor in his power, ſatiated his cruel and revengeful diſpoſition with the barbarous execution of his priſoners and rebellious ſubjects. Thoſe cities which favoured *Conrad* were expoſed without mercy to the inſolence of the conquerors, who burned and deſtroyed *Averſa*, *Potenza*, *Corneto*, and almoſt all the villages of *Puglia* aud *Baſilicata* [i]. Many of the *Sicilians* were likewiſe put to death, and the whole inhabitants of the iſland were reduced in a manner to ſlavery, by new and oppreſſive taxes. The *Saracens* of *Lucera* were at laſt obliged to ſurrender, and the widow of the late king *Manfred*, with her young ſon, being taken priſoners in that city, were ſent to a caſtle near *Naples*, and put to death. *Charles*, however, not thinking himſelf yet ſecure in his throne, reſolved to diſpatch his competitor. As his ambition prompted him to think of making conqueſts in *Africa* and *Greece*, he was apprehenſive leſt, during his abſence, his ſubjects, particularly the *Saracens* of *Lucera*, ſhould make an inſurrection in favour of *Conrad*: he therefore reſolved upon his death; but as he was not his ſubject, but a priſoner of war, he cloaked his inhumanity by the formality of a trial; ſent for two ſyndics from each of the chief cities of *Terra di Lavoro* and *Principato*, and deſired them with the *French* lords and barons of the kingdom, to give their opinion concerning the *German* priſoners. The count of *Flanders*, the king's ſon-in-law, with ſeveral other lords, adviſed to detain them in priſon; but the majority, conſulting their own ſecurity, and the inclination of the king and the biſhops, counſelled their death. Accordingly on the 26th of *October*, the young prince, who was then but ſeventeen years of age, was conducted, with the duke of *Auſtria*, *Girando da Piſa*, and ſome others, to a ſcaffold, in the market-place of *Naples*, where they were publickly beheaded, to the eternal infamy of king *Charles*, and the general regret of the ſpectators [k]. *Conrad*, from the ſcaffold, juſtified his proceeding to the people, and before he ſubmitted to the fatal ſtroke, threw among them a glove, or, according to ſome, a ring, in token of inveſtiture, which pledge, according to *Æneas Silvius*, was taken up and carried to *Peter*, the ſon of the king of *Arragon* [l], though ſome allege, that *Conrad* intended Don *Frederic* of *Caſtile* for his heir (F). b c d

A. D. 1269.

*He is publickly beheaded at* Naples.

AFTER this barbarous execution, *Charles* endeavoured to gain the affection of the *Puglian* barons, by profuſe donations, and beſtowed ſeveral fiefs on ſome *French* lords, whom he had prevailed upon to remain in *Puglia*. As he had intirely quieted his new dominions, he made preparations for joining his brother St. *Lewis* in an expedition to *Africa*. He accordingly the following ſummer ſailed with a fleet to *Tunis*, which was then inveſted with an army of *French* cruſards. An epidemical diſtemper having ſeized the Chriſtian troops, and cut off the king of *France*, *Charles*, with the other generals, thought proper to conclude a peace with the king of *Tunis*, without making himſelf maſter of the city. By this treaty the *Mooriſh* prince agreed to pay an annual tribute to king *Charles*, equal to the quit-rent required by the holy ſee for the kingdom of *Sicily*, on condition that the *Tuniſians* ſhould enjoy the freedom of navigation in the *Sicilian* ſeas, and be allowed to trade to *Sicily* [m]. After the concluſion of the treaty the cruſards left *Africa*, ſome of them e

*The king of* Tunis *becomes tributary to king* Charles. A. D. 1270.

[h] Idem. t. viii. p. 850, 851. [i] SPOND. Annal. GIAN. [k] SABA MALASPIN. & VILLANI, ut ſupra. BARTH. de Neocaſtr. Hiſt. Sicul. ap. MURATOR. t. xiii. p. 1024. COSTANZO Hiſt. Neap. l. i. &c. [l] ÆNEAS SYLV. Europ. [m] SPOND. Annal.

(E) The *Germans* who ſurvived the battle continued in a body, and conferring the command on one *Sticho*, a blackſmith, of *Wurtzburg*, made good their retreat to *Germany*, when *Sticho*, withdrawing himſelf privately from the army, returned to his forge. (1)

(F) The dead bodies were not allowed to be buried in ſacred ground, as the priſoners had died excommunicated. But ſoon after the mother of *Conrad*, who arrived at *Naples* with a large ſum of money and many jewels for redeeming her ſon, finding him dead, cauſed his corpſe to be raiſed, and removed to a church of the *Carmelites* in *Naples*, to which ſhe left all the treaſure ſhe had brought with her (2).

*Struvius* and ſome other authors allege, that *Clement* adviſed king *Charles* to put *Conrad* to death (3); but this circumſtance is not mentioned by *Malaſpini*, *Bartholomeo de Neocaſtro*, and many others. It appears oppoſite to the character of that pope; and *Charles* is ſaid by *Villani* and *Malaſpini*, to have been reproved by the cardinals for his ſeverity. The ſame authors relate, that the judge had no ſooner read the ſentence againſt *Conrad*, than he was ſtabbed by the count of *Flanders* in the king's preſence (4).

(1) *Aventin. Annal. Boir. l.* vii. *p.* 566. (2) *Giannone Hiſt. Neap.* (3) *Struv. Hiſt. German. ſect.* vii. *p.* 492. 4 *Villani, ut ſupra. Ricordan. Malaſpin, apud Murator, t.* viii. *p.* 1014, 1015.

pro-

a proceeding under the command of the ſon of the king of *England*, to *Paleſtine*, while *Charles* with his nephew *Philip*, the new king of *France*, ſet ſail for *Sicily*. A few months after their arrival they went to *Viterbo*, to urge the cardinals to proceed to the election of a pope. *Gregory* X. was accordingly elected on the firſt of *September*, after a vacancy of thirty-three months; and arriving the following ſummer at *Puglia* from the *Holy Land*, he was received with great honour by *Charles*, who conducted him through *Capitanata* and *Abruzzo*, as far as *Campania di Roma*. *Charles* about the ſame time, having been widower three years, married the daughter, according to *Coſtanzo*, of *Baldwin*, the titular emperor of *Conſtantinople*, but according to *Maſaſpini* and *Sigonius*, of the duke of *Burgundy*, which duke, *Malaſpini* relates, raiſed a conſiderable body of horſe, and conducted them himſelf
b into *Puglia* [n].

*who ſuppreſſes the* Gibellines *of* Rome *and* Tuſcany.

*CHARLES* the year after went to *Rome*, where he deſtroyed ſeveral caſtles belonging to the *Gibellines*. He afterwards proceeded with ſome troops, under the banner of the church to *Tuſcany*, and reducing almoſt all the *Gibelline* cities, he went and waited upon the pope at *Florence*, who being bent upon relieving the Chriſtians in *Syria*, endeavoured to reconcile the two factions in *Italy*, and had appointed a general council to be held the following year at *Lyons*. *Charles* hoped to prevail with the pope to favour his pretended expedition againſt *Conſtantinople*; but the pope's views being wholly upon a cruſade, and *Palæologus* offering to unite the *Greek* church to the *Roman*, *Charles* was diſappointed in his expectations, and returned diſſatisfied to *Naples*, which city, from his arrival in *Puglia*, he reſolved to make the capi-
c tal of his dominions. The foundation of its preſent magnificence and grandeur, as we have obſerved, was firſt laid by *Frederic* II. by the univerſity which he erected in it. He beſides frequently made it the place of his reſidence; and the two popes *Innocent* IV. and *Alexander* IV. continuing in it with their court a conſiderable time during their conteſt with *Manfred*, *Charles* upon his arrival found the city in a moſt flouriſhing ſtate. Being pleaſed with its ſituation, he immediately cauſed *Caſtel Nuovo* to be rebuilt after the *French* faſhion, and adorned the city with ſeveral new churches and monaſteries. He repaired and ſtrengthened the fortifications, cauſed the ſtreets of the city to be finely paved with ſquare ſtones, taken out of the *Via Appia*, and to encourage traffick, made a new market-place, much larger than the former. He particularly enlarged the univerſity, and beſtowed upon it
d many new prerogatives and privileges, promiſing his royal protection to the youth of all nations who ſhould come thither to ſtudy. To render the city more illuſtrious, he honoured many of the citizens with the order of knighthood, invited the barons, lords, and great officers of the kingdom, to make it the chief place of their abode, reſolved to make it the ſeat of his parliaments, and repaired and beautified the *Seggi* or tribunal of the nobles, to whom he confirmed their antient prerogatives (G).

*Complaints againſt the king in the council of* Lyons. A. D. 1274.

WHILE *Charles* was thus engaged in embelliſhing *Naples*, the reſt of the kingdom groaned under oppreſſion; ſo that the archbiſhop of *Capua*, in hopes of intereſting the pope in favour of the *Puglian* and *Sicilians*, made a public recapitulation of their grievances in the general council of *Lyons*. *Gregory*, who before he had left *Tuſcany* had admoniſhed
e the king, ordered two prelates, after diſmiſſing of the council, again to repeat the admonition; and being offended with *Charles*, for requiring duties from ſome ſhips belonging to the templars and hoſpitallers, that had been loaded with corn in *Sicily* for the *Holy Land*, he threatened to proceed againſt him in a judicial mannner [o]. The council being diſſolved, *Gregory* returned in the following year to *Italy*, but ſurvived only a few months, and died in the beginning of *January*. Ten days after his death *Innocent* V. a native of *Tarantaiſe* in *France*, was elected, to the great ſatisfaction of king *Charles*, who expected to find him more favourable to his ambitious views than his predeceſſor. He accordingly exerciſed his ſenatorial authority in *Rome* in a more abſolute manner, and received many favours from the pope, who died, however, before he had enjoyed his new dignity ſix months. During his
f pontificate, according to *Saba Malaſpini*, *Charles*, by the ceſſion of *Mary*, daughter of the prince

[n] SAB. MALASPIN. ut ſupra. SIGON. in regn. Ital. [o] MALASPIN. ut ſupra.

(G) Theſe *Seggi* or *Piazze*, formerly called *Phratriæ* are very antient in *Naples*, and ſome other cities on the *Italian* coaſt, which owed their original to the *Greeks*. They were nothing elſe but ſome particular places of the city, for the moſt part near the gates, where the noble families of the ward met for the ſake of converſation, to diſcourſe of the public affairs. In proceſs of time they aſſumed a kind of rank and juriſdiction, ſcrupling to admit the commons into their ſociety, and taxing themſelves ſeparately from them. In the time of *Charles*, there were twenty-nine *Seggi* in the city, but at preſent they are reduced to five, and on that account are become more illuſtrious and conſiderable. Theſe five enjoy many prerogatives: they create the ſyndic, who in general parliaments, and in other public functions, in the preſence of the viceroy, repreſents not only the city but the whole kingdom: they chuſe the deputies, who with the deputy of the people, govern the city; and exerciſe many juriſdictions, particularly that of naturalizing ſtrangers, and declaring plebeians to be noble *Neapolitans*. (1).

(1) *Tutin dell. Orig. de Seggi, c.* 13. *Coſtanzo. Summonte. Giannone, ut ſupra.*

of *Antioch*, became king of *Jeruſalem* [p]. Several others diſputed that title with her; but ſhe not being able to make good her right by arms, was eaſily perſuaded by the ambitious king to reſign her title to him. a

Charles *acquires the title of king of* Jeruſalem. A. D. 1276.

*CHARLES*, in the mean time, a few days after the death of *Innocent*, ſhut up the cardinals in the *Lateran* palace, according to a canon made in the council of *Lyons*, to oblige them to haſten the election. Being deſirous to procure a pope in his own intereſt, he ſent in bread and water for the members of the conclave, but privately ſupplied the *French* cardinals with plenty of victuals, that they might be able to weary out the oppoſite party. His deſign, however, proved ineffectual, for *Adrian* V. a *Genoeſe*, was elected, who died thirty-eight days after; yet, during his ſhort reign, is ſaid to have invited the emperor *Rodolphus* to come into *Italy* againſt *Charles* [q]. To avoid the inſolence of the king, he removed his court to *Viterbo*, where, upon his death, *John* XXI. or XXII. was elected, and was crowned on the 20th of *September*. During his pontificate, which continued only about eight months, the princeſs *Mary* made a formal renunciation of her rights to the kingdom of *Jeruſalem* and the principality of *Antioch*, in favour of *Charles*, who was with great ſolemnity crowned by the pope [r]. Upon the death of *John* the *Roman* ſee was vacant ſix months, during which time king *Charles* uſed his utmoſt endeavours to procure the election of a *French* pope; but as there were only three *French* cardinals and four *Italian*, cardinal *Cajetan*, of the family of *Orſini*, a man of abilities and of an aſpiring temper, was elected pope, and took the name of *Nicholas* III. b

*Makes preparations for an expedition againſt* Conſtantinople. A. D. 1277.

THE king, about the ſame time, ſent *Roger Sanſeverino* to take poſſeſſion of the territories ſubject to the princeſs of *Antioch*, and made great preparations both by ſea and land againſt *Jeruſalem*, and likewiſe againſt *Palæologus* the *Greek* emperor, in favour of *Philip*, emperor of *Conſtantinople*, who was in poſſeſſion only of *Negroponte*, and ſome maritime places of *Greece*. *Charles* at this time, according to *Villani*, was the moſt powerful prince in Chriſtendom. Beſides his kingdom of the *Two Sicilies*, and his dominions of *Provence* and *Anjou*, he had the kingdom of *Tunis* and the city of *Florence* tributary, was deſpotic governor of *Rome*, had great influence in the *Guelph* cities of *Italy*, was acknowleged king of *Jeruſalem*, was in poſſeſſion of the iſland of *Corfu*, and was moſt formidable by his numerous forces by ſea and land. At the ſame time he had intirely loſt the affections of the *Sicilians*, by his moſt arbitrary and oppreſſive government (H), and had diſobliged the pope, by diſdainfully refuſing to give his daughter, or, according to ſome, his grand-daughter, in marriage to one of the *Orſini*. *Nicholas*, piqued at his refuſal, or, according to ſome, irritated againſt him, becauſe he had put one of his relations to death for favouring *Conradin*, reſolved to humble his pride; and the following year obliged him to reſign the vicariate of the empire, and the dignity of ſenator of *Rome* [s]. *Charles*, who was wholly intent upon his expedition againſt *Conſtantinople*, was eaſily perſuaded to reſign theſe offices; and having received the promiſe of aſſiſtance from the pope, and from *France*, the following year had prepared an immenſe armament againſt *Greece*. His fleet conſiſted of upwards of 100 gallies, 30 large ſhips, 200 tranſports, beſides many other ſmaller veſſels, on board of which he intended to embark 10,000 horſe, and a numerous army of foot [t]. c

*Pope* Nicholas *reſolves to humble him*; A. D. 1278.

THE rumour of this vaſt preparation greatly alarmed *Palæologus*, who uſed his utmoſt endeavours to render the expedition ineffectual. What chiefly contributed to his ſecurity was his negociation with *John di Procida*, a noble *Salernitan*, lord of the iſle of *Procida*, in the bay of *Naples*, who had formed a ſcheme for a general revolt in *Sicily*. *John*, though a nobleman, was likewiſe a phyſician, and had been counſellor to *Frederic* II. and *Manfred*, and even to king *Charles* [u]. Being ſtript, however, of his eſtate by the king, on pretence of treaſon, and his wife being debauched by the *French*, he retired to *Conſtantia* in *Arragon*, where he was created a baron of the kingdom of *Valentia* by her huſband king *Peter*, and lord of *Luxen*, *Benizzano*, and *Palma*. As he was greatly exaſperated againſt the *French*, e

[p] Idem ibid. [q] BLOND. Dec. ii. l. viii. TRITHEM. in Chron. [r] GIANNONE, ut ſupra. RAINALD. ad an. 1277. NANCIUS in Chron. [s] RICHARD. MALASPIN. SPOND. Annal. [t] Vide auct. ſup. citat. VILLANI. [u] COLLENUT & SUMMONT. Hiſt. Neap.

(H) *Malaſpini* relates, that he divided the oxen, cows, ſwine, ſheep, horſes, *&c.* that uſed to feed in his parks and foreſts, among the wealthy husbandmen of *Sicily*, to be kept by them for his uſe and profit, upon the moſt unjuſt conditions. A ſow was ſuppoſed to litter twice in a year, and to bring each time five pigs. The pigs of the firſt litter were ſuppoſed likewiſe to have young in ſix months; ſo that at the end of the year the poor farmer was obliged to give account to the king's officers of twenty pigs, and at the end of the ſecond, and every year following, for thirty. For every hundred ewes, the king expected ninety lambs, beſides a quantity of wool and cheeſe; and for every yoke of oxen a certain quantity of corn, *&c.* ſo that it is not to be wondered the *Sicilians* embraced the firſt opportunity of delivering themſelves from ſuch cruel and inhuman maſters (1).

(1) *Malaſpin. ut ſupra. See alſo Bartholomeo de Neocaſtro.*

a he employed many ſpies both in *Puglia* and *Sicily*, where he had many friends; and being informed of the diſaffection of the *Sicilians* to the *French*, he came to the iſland in diſguiſe, and concerted a plan with the moſt powerful of the malcontents for a revolution in favour of *Conſtantia*. From thence he went to *Conſtantinople*; and having ſome ſecret conference with *Palæologus*, perſuaded him, as the moſt probable means to defeat the expedition of *Charles*, to aſſiſt the king of *Arragon* and the *Sicilian* malcontents. *Palæologus* accordingly granted him a large ſum of money, and upon his departure ſent one of his ſecretaries along with him, who, landing in *Sicily*, had a conference with the chief conſpirator. *John*, having received letters from them to the king of *Arragon*, diſguiſed himſelf in the habit of a *Franciſcan*, and went to *Suriano*, in the neighbourhood of *Rome*; and knowing the declared b enmity of the pope to *Charles*, he diſcloſed his deſign to his holineſs, who readily entered into his meaſures, wrote to *Peter* to haſten his armament, promiſing him the inveſtiture of the iſland, as ſoon as he ſhould take poſſeſſion of it; and by refuſing his promiſed ſuccours to *Charles*, obliged him to delay his expedition. In the beginning of the following year *John* returned to *Arragon*; and by ſhewing the letters from the pope and the *Sicilian* barons, prevailed on *Peter* to embark in his deſign, by aſſuring him of the aſſiſtance of *Palæologus*. The king of *Arragon* accordingly prepared a formidable fleet, under pretence of invading *Africa*, and, according to *Coſtanzo*, even received 20,000 ducats from king *Charles*, who perhaps wanted to have the merit of aſſiſting in a war againſt the infidels [w]. *John* immediately returned with the *Greek* ambaſſador to *Italy* to have further conferences with the c pope, when his enterprize was unexpectedly diſturbed by the death of *Nicholas*, which happened in the month of *Auguſt*.

*and enters into a conſpiracy with* John di Procida *againſt him.*

A. D. 1280.

The ſucceeding pope, *Martin* IV. was a *Frenchman*, and intirely in the intereſt of king *Charles*, on whom, the following year, he conferred the ſenatorial dignity of *Rome*. *Procida*, however, ſtill reſolved to proſecute his ſcheme; and leaving *Italy*, had another conference with the conſpirators in *Sicily*, from whence he again went to *Conſtantinople* in diſguiſe, and obtained from *Palæologus* 30,000 ounces of gold, with which he directly returned to *Arragon*. The death of *Nicholas* had damped the ardour of *Peter*; but being urged with great earneſtneſs by *John*, he again renewed his preparations, which began to alarm the pope and the king of *France*, who ſent to him, deſiring to know againſt what *Saracens* he d intended his expedition. *Peter* refuſing to ſatisfy them, they earneſtly counſelled *Charles* to guard againſt an invaſion; but the king, in great ſecurity, neglected their advice, and was wholly intent upon forwarding his expedition againſt *Conſtantinople*, being encouraged by a revolt which had happened in *Greece*; and to facilitate his enterprize, he prevailed with *Martin* to denounce a ſentence of excommunication againſt the *Greeks*, under pretence that they had broken the articles of union concluded a few years before in the council of *Lyons*.

Martin IV. *eſpouſes his intereſt.* A. D. 1281.

*PETER*, in the mean time, continued his preparations with great diligence, intending to put to ſea the following ſummer. *Procida* had then returned to *Palermo*, to wait for a favourable opportunity of putting his deſign in execution, which was quickly afforded him by the *French*. On *Eaſter Monday*, which happened on the 30th of *March*, the chief con- e ſpirators had aſſembled at *Palermo*; and, after dinner, both the *Palermitans* and the *French* went in a grand proceſſion to the church of *Monreale*, about three miles without the city. While they were ſporting in the fields, a bride happened to paſs by with her train, who being obſerved by one *Drochettus*, a *Frenchman*, he ran to her, and began to uſe her in a rude manner, under pretence of ſearching for concealed arms. A young *Sicilian*, flamed with reſentment, ſtabbed him with his own ſword, and a tumult enſuing, 200 *French* were immediately murdered. The enraged populace then ran to the city, calling out, *Let the* French *die*, *let the* French *die*; and, without any diſtinction of age or ſex, maſſacred all thoſe of that nation, even in the churches. The conſpirators then left *Palermo*, and excited the inhabitants to murder the *French* all over the iſland, excepting in *Meſſina*, which city at firſt f refuſed to be concerned in the revolt. But being invited by the *Palermitans* to throw off the *French* yoke, a few weeks after the citizens, in a tumultuous manner, murdered ſome of the *French*; and pulling down the arms of king *Charles*, and erecting thoſe of the city, choſe one *Balduin* for their governor, who ſaved the remaining *French* from the fury of the populace, and allowed them to tranſport themſelves, with their wives and children, to *Italy* [x] (I). Eight thouſand perſons were ſaid to have been murdered.

*The* French *are maſſacred by the* Sicilians; A. D. 1282.

THE

[w] Costanzo, ut ſupra. [x] Barthol. de Neocastr. ut ſupra. Giachet. Malaspin. ap. Murator. t. viii: Memoriale Poteſtatum Regienſium, ap. eund. t. viii. p. 1151. Nicol. Special. Hiſt. Sicul. ap. eund. t. x. p. 924, & 925.

(I) This is the account given us by *Giachetto*, *Malaſpini*, *Nicholas Specialis*, *Bartholomeo de Neocaſtro*, and the anonymous writer of the Chronicon of *Reggio*, all four authors cotemporary to the tranſaction they relate, and the two laſt of them only lately publiſhed in the collection of *Muratori*. They vary in ſome trifling particulars;

THE archbiſhop of *Monreale*, upon the firſt tumult in *Palermo*, immediately ſent an account of it to the pope, who was then in *Tuſcany*, attended by *Charles*. The king was greatly alarmed with the news, and in a rage threatened to make the rebels feel his ſevereſt reſentment. Having aſked the aſſiſtance of the pope and *Florentines*, and ſent for ſuccours from his nephew the king of *France*, he returned to *Naples*, and ſent four gallies to join ſeven of *Meſſina*, which were blocking up *Palermo*. They had hardly ſailed when he was ſhocked with the news that *Meſſina* had revolted, and that their gallies had taken thoſe he had ſent from *Naples*. The *Palermitans*, in the mean time, before they knew that the *Meſſinians* had joined in the revolt, on the 27th of *April* ſent an ambaſſador to *Barcelona* with an offer of their allegiance to *Peter* of *Arragon*, having deſpaired of pardon from king *Charles*, and the pope having rejected their offer of ſubjection to the apoſtolic ſee. The ambaſſador, after he had proceeded as far as *Minorca*, was driven by a north wind to the coaſt of *Africa*, where he found king *Peter*, who at firſt ſeemed to condemn the proceedings of the *Sicilians*; but ſcrupled not, however, to accept of the offered allegiance. His firſt difficulty was to prevail with his army of cruſards to engage in his deſign. Several of them, awed by the dread of the pope's reſentment, and the formidable power of *Charles*, abſolutely refuſed to invade *Sicily*, and returned to *Spain*; but the reſt were eaſily perſuaded to aſſert the rights of *Conſtantia* and her children.

*who make offer of their allegiance to* Peter *king of* Arragon.

MEAN while *Charles*, whoſe reſentment was now chiefly directed againſt the *Meſſinians*, having received 600 horſe from *Florence*, and ſuccours from *France*, and many cities in *Lombardy*, on the 10th of *June* arrived at *Catena*, on the coaſt of *Calabria*, with an army of 90,000 foot and 24,000 horſe, beſides his forces by ſea, conſiſting of upwards of 200 veſſels great and ſmall. On the 25th of *July* he tranſported the greateſt part of his army over the *Straits*, and inveſted *Meſſina* both by ſea and land, which, though badly fortified, made a moſt vigorous defence. As the pope had ſent a cardinal legate to *Sicily* to act as mediator, they ſolicited him to prevail with the king to pardon them; but *Charles* rejected their conditions, and inſiſted upon their ſurrendering at diſcretion, though he is ſaid by *Malaſpini* and *Villani* to have ſounded a retreat when ſome of his men had entered the city, and might have taken it by aſſault. *Bartholomeo de Neocaſtro*, on the contrary, gives a minute account of the fruitleſs attacks of the *French*, and of the unwearied ardour even of the ladies of the city in aſſiſting in its defence. According to him, *Charles*, after he had continued ſix weeks before the place, and loſt a great many of his men, about the middle of *September* ſent a *carte blanche* to the governor, on condition he would deliver up the city.

Charles *beſieges* Meſſina.

HE now began to find the rebellion more formidable than he expected; for, above a fortnight before, his competitor had landed with his forces at *Trapani*; and, being immediately joined by the *Sicilian* barons, was conducted to *Palermo*, where he was crowned king of *Sicily* with great ſolemnity. *Charles*, upon hearing this news, ſoon hearkened to humble counſels; and being apprehenſive leſt his retreat to *Italy* ſhould be cut off, as great part of his ſailors had died, he pillaged and deſtroyed the churches about *Meſſina*, and on the 27th of *September* raiſed the ſiege, and with great precipitation tranſported his army to *Calabria*. He had been ſtruck with a panic upon being informed that the *Arragonian* fleet was advancing to the *Straits* under the command of *Roger di Loria*, a refugee *Calabrian*, who actually arrived the day after he had tranſported his army, and took twenty-nine of his gallies; and then, proceeding to *Catena* and *Reggio*, burnt eighty of his tranſports in preſence of his

Peter is *crowned at* Palermo.

Charles *evacuates* Sicily.

culars; but *Fazellus*, *Spondanus*, *Giannone*, and ſeveral others, relate, that on the ſame day, and at the ſame hour of the day, at the ringing of the bell for veſpers, or evening prayers, the *French* all over the iſland were maſſacred, without diſtinction of age, ſex, or rank, not only by laymen, but alſo by the *Dominicans*, *Franciſcans*, and other monks; and that the rage of the murderers was ſo furious, that they did not even ſpare their own relations, but ript up thoſe *Sicilian* women who were with child by *Frenchmen*, and daſhed their infants againſt the walls; the whole maſſacre being over in two hours. We have preferred the other relation, being perſuaded, that though the conſpiracy had been concerted for near three years with an amazing ſecrecy, yet its being put in execution on *Eaſter Monday* was accidental, as it is plain the conſpirators acted precipitately, and, inſtead of being diſperſed through the iſland, were aſſembled in *Palermo*; that the city of *Meſſina*, which was one of the chief quarters of the *French*, at firſt afforded them protection, and diſapproved of the proceedings of the *Palermitans*, which were indeed furious and execrable; that it was almoſt a month before the revolt became general, and even then the *Sicilian* cities choſe particular governors, and formed a kind of aſſociation, like a republic, without acknowleging any king; ſo that it would appear they were not all privy to the deſigns of the conſpirators in favour of *Peter*, as is generally imagined. *Bartholomeo de Neocaſtro* likewiſe informs us, that *Peter* did not ſail from *Spain* before the 16th of *May*; and that then he employed his forces in beſieging a city of *Africa*, deſigning perhaps to ſail in the end of ſummer to *Sicily*, when *Charles* ſhould be abſent with his fleet in *Greece*. Whereas, if the conſpiracy had been general, and the day of its execution fixed for *Eaſter*, in all probability his fleet would have been then off the coaſts of *Sicily* to have ſeconded the attempts of his friends.

Notwithſtanding the exaſperated rage of the murderers, they ſpared one *William Porcellet*, a noble *Provençal*, on account of his diſtinguiſhed worth and probity (1).

(1) *See the authors above-mentioned.*

army,

a army, *Charles* for anguiſh biting the rod he held in his hand, and praying to God not to heap adverſities upon him ſo faſt [r].

*MESSINA* being thus unexpectedly relieved, when it had only three days proviſions remaining, *Peter*, who at firſt heſitated whether he ſhould venture with his ſmall force to continue in the iſland, advanced towards the city, and entered it in triumph in the beginning of *October*. A few weeks after a *Dominican* friar came to him as ambaſſador from *Charles*, accuſing him of perfidy in invading his dominions in time of peace, and, according to *Bartholomeo*, challenged him to decide the diſpute by ſingle combat. Other authors ſay, that *Peter*, in his anſwer to this embaſſy, challenged *Charles*. However it be, both the kings agreed to meet the following year, on the 1ſt of *June*, at *Bourdeaux*, then ſubject to the king
b of *England*, attended each by 100 knights, and to decide their quarrel by an engagement. In conſequence of this agreement, the articles of which are publiſhed in *Rymer*'s *Fœdera* [z], the king of *Naples* appointed his ſon prince *Charles* as lieutenant of *Puglia* during his abſence, and the following ſpring ſailed from *Lucca* to *Marſeilles* to fulfil his engagement. *Peter*, in the mean time, ſent for his queen *Conſtantia* to *Sicily*, with his two ſons, Don *James* and Don *Frederic*, and one of his daughters, *Violante*; and propoſing ſoon to go to *France*, he cauſed the *Sicilians* to ſwear allegiance to Don *James*, as his lawful ſucceſſor and heir. Thus *Charles*, having neglected to uſe vigour in cruſhing his rival, and imprudently agreeing to a duel, the two kingdoms were formally disjoined; *Naples* becoming the royal ſeat of the *French*, and *Palermo* of the *Arragonians*.

*The two kings agree to decide their quarrel by a duel.*

c *PETER*, not having the duel ſo much at heart as *Charles*, employed the following ſpring in making conqueſts in *Calabria*. At length, being urged by his brother, he left *Italy*; and having ſettled the affairs of *Sicily*, on the 11th of *May* he ſet ſail for *Valentia*, where he arrived on the 19th of the ſame month. As he had only a few days to perform the reſt of the journey, he immediately ordered his knights to aſſemble, and, in the mean time, endeavoured to inform himſelf of the proceedings of his competitor. The pope had prohibited the duel under pain of excommunication, and in the end of *March* this year depoſed *Peter* from all his dominions. *Edward* king of *England* had peremptorily refuſed to ſecure the place of combat, and the king of *France* had accompanied king *Charles* within a day's march of *Bourdeaux* with 3000, ſome ſay with 6000 horſe; but, according to *Bartholomeo*,
d with 20,000 horſe and 50,000 foot. *Peter* reſolving to ſave his honour, and at the ſame time to elude the deſigns of his enemies, diſguiſed himſelf in the habit of a ſquire, and accompanied three of his knights, likewiſe diſguiſed, to *Bourdeaux*, where, on the morning of the day appointed for the action, he preſented himſelf before the marſhal of the king of *England*, as a meſſenger from *Peter*, to excuſe his non-appearance, becauſe *Charles* had broken the articles by filling the place with his enemies. At the end of his harangue he diſcovered himſelf; and leaving his armour, ſword, and lance, with the marſhal, and a writing, with his ſeal affixed, to teſtify that he had appeared on the day appointed, he immediately mounted his horſe, and returned with all ſpeed to *Arragon* [a]. The *French* authors allege, that *Peter* never appeared; and others, that he preſented himſelf to the marſhal in the evening,
e after *Charles* and his knights had rode all day in the field waiting for him. *Peter* thus eluded his enemy; and by making him loſe a campaign, eſtabliſhed his own authority in *Sicily* without oppoſition. *Charles*, and his nephew king *Philip*, returned vexed and diſappointed to *Paris*. The pope, likewiſe enraged that his favourite had been thus baffled, again denounced a ſentence of excommunication and depoſition againſt *Peter*, ordering a cruſade to be preached againſt him, and conferring his hereditary kingdom of *Arragon* upon *Charles Valois*, the ſecond ſon of the king of *France*, on condition of his becoming a vaſſal of the holy ſee, and paying the yearly quit-rent of 500 livres [b]. *Peter* treated this ſentence of *Martin* with great contempt, appealed to a future pope, and threatened to tranſport an army of *Moors* into *France* and *Italy*.

Peter *invades* Calabria. A. D. 1283.

f Don *James*, in the mean time, quelled an inſurrection of ſome barons in *Sicily*, and the famous *Roger di Loria* gained ſeveral advantages over the fleets of the enemy. The following year he ſurpriſed twenty *Provençal* gallies in the harbour of *Malta*, and, after a deſperate engagement, took ten of them; in conſequence of which victory the caſtle ſurrendered, and the whole iſland acknowleged *Peter*. From thence he immediately ſailed to the coaſt of *Naples*, being informed that prince *Charles* had given orders to equip a conſiderable fleet in different places of *Puglia*. Having intercepted a ſmall veſſel from king *Charles*, by which he found that he had put to ſea with a fleet from *Provence*, he immediately ſailed to the harbour of *Naples*, and by his bravadoes tempted the prince and the *Neapolitans* to come to fight him. As *Loria* had done a great deal of damage on the coaſt, and his fleet was not numerous,
g *Charles* contrary to his father's orders, put to ſea with a conſiderable number of gallies, attended

*The* Neapolitan *fleet defeated, and prince* Charles *taken priſoner.* A. D. 1284.

[y] Malaspini, Villani, ut ſupra. [z] Fœdera, Conventiones, &c. t. i. p. 226. [a] Fœdera, &c. Barthol. de Neocastr. [b] Rainald. ad an. 1283, ſect. 25.

by

by a great many of the *French* and *Neapolitan* nobility, who, confident of victory, ordered a grand entertainment to be provided for the evening. *Loria*, pretending to fly, drew them a good way from the ſhore, then attacked them with great reſolution, and ſoon gained a complete victory. Many of the gallies flying, and others coming over to him, he ſurrounded the prince's galley, and took him and his retinue priſoners [c]. Two days after this action, which happened on the 23d of *June*, king *Charles* arrived with fifty-five armed gallies, and many other veſſels, at *Gaeta*. Being informed of his ſon's captivity, and that, after the engagement, the mob in *Naples* had run through the ſtreets, calling out, *Down with king* Charles, *and up with* Roger di Loria, he immediately haſtened thither with the intention of burning the city; but at the interceſſion of the cardinal legate and the nobles, he landed; and cauſing about 150 of the chief rioters to be hanged, he pardoned the reſt [d]. The prince of *Salerno*, in the mean time, was condemned to be beheaded by a general aſſembly of the *Sicilian* deputies, by way of repriſal for the execution of *Conradin*; but *Conſtantia*, with great generoſity and magnanimity, ſaved his life; making the cruelty of *Charles* thereby appear more deteſtable.

a

b

Charles *fits out another armament againſt* Sicily.

KING *Charles*, as a condition of his pardon to the *Neapolitans*, obliged them to fit out a conſiderable number of gallies, and having reinforced his fleet, he ſailed in the month of *July* with 158 veſſels towards *Meſſina*, with the deſign of making another deſcent upon the iſland; but the *Sicilians* declaring, if he landed any men, they would immediately put the prince of *Salerno* to death, he ſteered his courſe to *Calabria*, and beſieged *Reggio*, which in the beginning of the former year had been taken by *Peter*. Though he inveſted the place by ſea and land with a powerful army, yet by the vigour of the beſieged his attempt proved fruitleſs, and he was obliged to retire with his forces to *Catena*, where a few weeks after his whole fleet was almoſt deſtroyed by a ſtorm [e]. *Loria*, in the mean time, took and plundered ſeveral places on the coaſt of *Calabria*; and after *Charles* had retired with his forces towards *Naples*, he paſſed over to *Africa*, and gained ſeveral advantages over the *Moors*, many thouſands of whom he carried ſlaves to *Sicily*.

c

*His death.* A. D. 1285.

DURING his expedition in *Africa*, *Charles* was making great preparations againſt the *Sicilians*; but falling ſick at *Foggia*, on his way to *Brindiſi*, after a ſhort illneſs he died in that city on the 7th of *January*. According to a certain author, he was ſo oppreſſed with melancholy and deſpair, that he ſtrangled himſelf with a halter [f]; but according to *Villani*, he died with great penitence, and received the viaticum. As his ſon and heir was then a priſoner, *Charles*, by his laſt will, left his couſin the count of *Artois*, who had come with a reinforcement of troops from *France*, as regent of the kingdom [g]. Pope *Martin*, however, made pretence, that the king, when paſſing to *Bourdeaux*, had left the adminiſtration of the kingdom to him, immediately appointed the cardinal legate as governor [h], who, of his own authority, called a parliament of the barons and prelates at *Melphis*, *Mary* the wife of the captive prince, and the regent, being obliged to wink at his uſurpations [i].

d

*ROGER di Loria*, in the mean time, harraſſed the *Neapolitan* coaſts with continual deſcents. He took *Cotrone*, *Catanzaro*, *Callipolis*, *Tarento*, and ſeveral other places; but the king of *France* having invaded *Catalonia* with an army of near 100,000 men, he left the coaſts of *Italy*, and, at the deſire of *Peter*, ſailed with his fleet for *Spain*, where he arrived on the 26th of *September*. The king of *France*, by this time, had taken *Perpignan*, and, after a long ſiege, had made himſelf maſter of *Girona*; but an epidemical diſtemper carrying off great part of his army, and likewiſe raging on board his fleet, ſo that he could now only man fifty-five gallies, though he had ſailed thither with 210 veſſels, he reſolved to march back with all haſte to *France* [k]. *Roger*, after having a conference with *Peter* in *Barcelona*, ſailed from thence with forty-eight gallies, and on the firſt of *October* at night attacked the *French* fleet in the harbour of *Roſes*, and took and burnt upwards of forty veſſels. Three days after, meeting with a rich galleon and twelve gallies, coming with money and proviſions to the *French* army, he ſhewed *French* colours; and going on board them with his men as friends, immediately made prize of them. Theſe loſſes ſo effected the king of *France*, that he ſecretly repaſſed the *Pyrenees*, and died a few days after at *Perpignan*. *Peter* ſurvived him only a few weeks; and dying on the 11th of *November* at *Villa Franca*, he left the kingdom of *Arragon* to his eldeſt ſon *Alphonſus*, and *Sicily* to Don *James*, who, in caſe *Alphonſus* ſhould die without male iſſue, was to enjoy both kingdoms.

e

f

*The king of* France *invades* Arragon.

Peter *of* Arragon *dies.*

THE news of *Peter*'s death being brought to *Sicily* by *Roger di Loria* (K), Don *James*

[c] BARTHOL. de NEOCASTR. ut ſupra. MAUROLOCO. NICOL. SPECIAL. MALASPIN. [d] MALASPIN, NICOL. SPECIAL. [e] Idem ibid. BARTHOL. de NEOCASTR. [f] THEOD. de Piſmes de Privileg. & Jur. imper. p. 282. [g] NICOL. SPECIAL. ut ſupra. [h] RAINALD. ad an. 1285. COLLENUT. l. v. ÆNAIL. in Phil. III. [i] GIANNONE, ut ſupra. [k] BARTHOL. de NEOCASTR.

(K) *Loria*, in his paſſage, met with a violent ſtorm in the gulph of *Lyons*, in which he loſt five of his gallies. By the following inſtructions of the admiral to the fleet, it appears that the mariner's compaſs was then diſcovered: *Magiſtri tantum deſuper ſint, qui vigilantes in puppis et proris galearum, ex induſtria ipſorum, et callybis doctrina, galeas ducant.*

a was crowned at *Palermo* the 2d of *February* with great ſolemnity, when he created 400 knights. Soon after he ſent two ambaſſadors to pope *Honorius*, who a few months before had ſucceeded *Martin*, to deſire his holineſs to pardon the *Sicilians*, and to accept of his obedience. *Honorius*, however, refuſed to grant the requeſt of the ambaſſadors, and excommunicated both king *James* and his brother *Alphonſus*. Mean while *Charles* prince of *Salerno*, who was now a priſoner in *Arragon*, being deſirous of regaining his liberty, prevailed with *Edward* king of *England* to treat with *Alphonſus* for that purpoſe. The two kings accordingly had a conference at *Oleron* in *Bearn*, where a treaty was drawn up for the prince's liberty; but the articles of it diſpleaſing the pope, in the beginning of *March* he wrote to *Charles*, ſeverely blaming him for treating without the conſent of the apoſtolic ſee. *Hono-*
b *rius* died a few weeks after at *Rome*, having, during his ſhort pontificate, governed the kingdom of *Naples* as ſovereign, and made many ſtatutes for the immunity and benefit of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate; for levying taxes and ſubſidies concerning murder, theft, the alteration of coin; and many other caſes in which the prerogative of the king was greatly retrenched (L). The *Roman* ſee continued vacant near eleven months.

*Don* James *crowned king of* Sicily.

A. D. 1287.

In the mean time, while *Roger di Loria* was abſent with a few gallies ravaging the coaſts of *Provence*, the cardinal legate, at the perſuaſion of two friars, who, ſome time before, had been ſpies in *Sicily*, cauſed to embark 500 horſe and 150 foot, who landing on the iſland ſurpriſed the city of *Agoſta*. The *Sicilians* were greatly alarmed; and *Loria* arriving at *Meſſina*, they murmured loudly againſt him for neglecting the defence of the coaſts; but
c the admiral, by working night and day in the dock, and even perſuading the women and children to give their aſſiſtance, in ſix days repaired and refitted 40 gallies, and on the 13th of *May* ſurpriſed *Agoſta*, after a moſt obſtinate diſpute, in which he was twice driven to his ſhips. Having left king *James* beſieging the caſtle, he went in queſt of the enemy's fleet; and, arriving at *Sorrento*, went into the harbour in the diſguiſe of a fiſherman, where he found upwards of 80 gallies, and a formidable army encamped on the ſhore, with the intention of embarking for *Sicily*. Returning to his fleet, he ſent a challenge to the *Neapolitan* admiral to come out to fight him. The *Neapolitans*, truſting to their numbers, accordingly put to ſea, the cardinal legate encouraging them by indulgences, the gallies alſo being commanded by counts, and attended each by two ſmaller veſſels with a ſpare crew. Notwithſtanding the
d manifeſt ſuperiority of his enemies, *Loria*, after he had drawn them about ſix miles from ſhore, made no difficulty of attacking them; and though at firſt they obtained ſome advantages, yet in the end he gained a complete victory, and took 42 of their gallies, on board of which were upwards of 5000 men. The cardinal legate, upon this defeat, being afraid of an inſurrection of the *Neapolitans*, at their requeſt agreed to a truce betwixt them and the *Sicilians* for two years.

Loria *defeats the* Puglian *fleet.*

As ſeveral cities in *Calabria* were held by the *Sicilians*, *James*, in the beginning of the following year, went over thither with 400 horſe and 10,000 foot, and reduced ſeveral other places. The city of *Gaeta* in the mean time offering to ſubmit to him, he embarked his forces about the end of *June*, and ſailed thither. Upon his arrival, however, finding the
e gates ſhut, and that his friends durſt not diſcover themſelves, he attacked the city, which made a vigorous defence. According to *Bartholomeo de Neocaſtro*, an eye-witneſs, the ſiege muſt have continued more than 15 months; for the following year, while king *James* remained with his army before the city, *Charles*, prince of *Salerno*, arrived at *Rieti*, where he was crowned king of *Sicily* by pope *Nicholas*, the ſucceſſor of *Honorius*.

*King* James *invades* Calabria.
A. D. 1288.

Charles *crowned king of* Sicily *at* Rieti.
A. D. 1289.

King *Charles* had recovered his liberty the *October* preceding, in conſequence of a treaty concluded with *Alphonſus* by the mediation of the king of *England*. *Nicholas* IV. ſhewing himſelf ſomewhat more condeſcending than *Honorius*, the kings *Edward* and *Alphonſus* had a conference in a village on the top of the *Pyrenees*; and *Charles*, being likewiſe conducted thither, was ſet at liberty, on giving his ſecond ſon, with his two brothers, and 60 *Pro-*
f *vençal* knights, as hoſtages for the performance of the treaty made at *Oleron*, the principal articles of which were, that he ſhould prevail with *Charles* of *Valois* to renounce his right to *Arragon*, perſuade the king of *France* to agree to a peace with *Alphonſus*, ſolicit his holineſs to take off the interdiction from *Arragon*, and, if theſe articles were not performed, he ſhould return again within three years to his priſon. The article concerning the renunciation of *Sicily* in favour of king *James* was omitted [1].

*CHARLES*, upon recovering his liberty, went directly to *France*, to perſuade king *Philip* and his brother *Charles* to a peace with *Alphonſus*. His endeavours, however, being un-

[1] Rymer's Fœdera.

(L) Theſe ſtatutes, according to ſome authors, were long preſerved in the royal archives, and quoted as eſtabliſhed laws of the kingdom (1).

(1) *See Giannone, l.* xii. *c.* 1.

ſucceſsful, he proceeded to *Italy*, and uſed his interceſſion with the pope in behalf of *Arragon*. a
But *Nicholas*, ſeeing the king now at liberty, conceived new hopes of recovering *Sicily*; therefore, inſtead of hearkening to peace, he abſolved him from his agreement with the king of *Arragon*, and, after crowning him king of the *Two Sicilies*, he raiſed a large body of cruſards and *Guelphs* from *Tuſcany* and *Lombardy*, and ſent them with a cardinal legate to *Gaeta*, againſt king *James*. *Bartholomeo* informs us, that there were women, and even dogs, that were cruſards in this expedition, and that he ſaw the women cut to pieces by the *Meſſinians*, and dogs licking their blood [m]. As king *Charles* likewiſe arrived at the ſiege with a reinforcement from *Naples*, *James*, in his turn, began to be hemmed in, and even made propoſals for an accommodation. About the ſame time an ambaſſador arriving at *Rome* from the king of *England*, accuſing the pope of being the incendiary of Chriſtendom, b
*A truce concluded betwixt king* Charles *and king* James.
and threatening, that if he did not agree to a peace with *James* and his brothers, that his maſter would eſpouſe their cauſe, *Nicholas* ſent a legate with the *Engliſh* ambaſſador to the ſiege, who prevailed on both the kings to agree to a truce for two years, to the great diſcontent of the count *d'Artois*, and the other *French* lords, who, judging that *Charles* had thereby put it out of his power ever to recover *Sicily*, returned in diſguſt to *France* [n].

*The eldeſt ſon of king* Charles *crowned king of* Hungary.
After the departure of the *Sicilians*, *Charles*, in conſideration of the vigorous defence made by the *Gaetans*, exempted them from all taxes for five years [o]; and upon his return to *Naples*, in the month of *September*, being informed of the death of *Ladiſlaus*, king of *Hungary*, without iſſue, cauſed his eldeſt ſon *Charles Martel* to be crowned king of that kingdom, in right of his mother queen *Mary*, ſiſter of *Ladiſlaus*. The king of *Sicily* in the mean c
time was ſolicited earneſtly by the pope to engage in a cruſade for the relief of the *Holy Land*; but his old counſellors, after recapitulating the perfidiouſneſs of the holy ſee to his great grandfather *Frederic* II. and ſhewing him that *Nicholas*, during his abſence, would probably endeavour to cauſe a revolution in *Sicily*, *James* ſent *John di Procida* to *Rome*, to urge his holineſs to be reconciled to the *Sicilians*, aud to accept of his obedience. *Nicholas*, however, ſtill remained inflexible, and told *Procida*, that he could determine nothing as to *Sicily*, as he had already commiſſioned two legates to go to *Aix* in *Provence*, to treat of a
A. D. 1290.
peace betwixt the king of *Arragon* and the king of *France* and his brother. Upon the return of *Procida*, *James*, the following year, ſent two plenipotentiaries to be preſent at the congreſs, ordering them to proceed firſt to *Arragon*, and to urge his brother *Alphonſus* not d
to conſent to the reſtitution of *Sicily* to the family of *Anjou*. Though, to forward the peace with *Alphonſus*, king *Charles* left *Naples*, and proceeded to *France*, yet the negociations for ſome time proceeded very ſlowly. At length the pope's legates preſſing the king of *France* and his brother to ſuſpend their warlike preparations againſt *Arragon*, and *Charles* even declaring, that, if the war continued, he would return to his priſon, a peace was concluded on the 2d of *February* betwixt *Alphonſus* and the *French*, without including the *Sicilians*, to whom *Alphonſus* promiſed to give no further aſſiſtance.

*A peace concluded betwixt the king of* France *and* Alphonſus.
A. D. 1291.

After the concluſion of the treaty, *Charles* went to *Genoa*, where he hired ſixty gallies, to be ready the following year for the invaſion of *Sicily*, and afterwards went to *Figheres* in *Spain*, where he had a friendly interview with the king of *Arragon*. The *Sicilians* in the mean time were greatly alarmed to find themſelves abandoned by the *Catalans*; but an une
expected event in ſome meaſure relieved them from their apprehenſions, and baffled the deſigns of their enemies. *Alphonſus*, after he had ſent ambaſſadors to *England*, to conduct his queen, the daughter of king *Edward*, to *Arragon*, died about the middle of *June*, after
*King* James *upon the death of* Alphonſus, *ſucceeds to* Arragon.
a ſhort illneſs. The news of his death ſoon arriving in *Sicily*, king *James* immediately appointed his brother Don *Frederic* as regent of the iſland, and embarked for *Spain*, where he landed about the middle of *Auguſt*, and, being ſolemnly crown at *Barcelona*, immediately entered into an alliance with the king of *Caſtile*, and married his daughter *Elizabeth* *.
A. D. 1292.

A few months after, the *Sicilians* being alarmed with the news of the armament of the *Genoeſe*, and a rumour prevailing, that the gallies of *Genoa* had begun hoſtilities againſt the *Sicilian* veſſels, Don *Frederic* ſent an ambaſſador, to repreſent to the republic the imf
prudence of contributing to the aggrandizing the *French*; in conſequence of which embaſſy the *Genoeſe* were perſuaded to lay aſide their armament, and confirmed an ancient law againſt making war upon the *Sicilians*. *Roger di Loria*, about the ſame time arriving from *Catalonia*, ſailed to the coaſt of *Calabria*, and landing with ſome of his ſailors, attacked and defeated a body of *French* that had marched thither againſt the cities ſubject to the *Sicilians*. From thence ſailing towards *Greece*, he took the iſlands of *Corfu*, *Malvaſia*, and *Chios*, probably becauſe the emperor had allowed ſome of the maritime places to be garriſoned by the *French*. Returning to *Sicily* about the month of *October*, he had a confe-

[m] Barthol. de Neocastr. ap. Murator. t. xiii. p. 1153, 1154. [n] Idem ibid. Nicol. Special. ut ſupra. Villan. l. vii. c. 133. Giannone, ut ſupra. Anton. tit. 20. c. 6. ſect. 7. [o] Villan. et ſupra.
* Barthol. de Neocastr. [p] Nicol. Special. [q] Idem ibid. Surit. l. ii. Marian. l. xiv. c. 16.

rence

a rence with Don *Frederic*, and propoſed to attack the coaſts of *Naples* the following ſpring with a powerful fleet [p].

KING *James*, in the mean time having refuſed to ſtand to the treaty concluded betwixt his brother and the king of *France*, *Arragon* was again threatened with an invaſion. The *French*, however, were prevented from acting by the death of *Nicholas*, and ſoon after by a difference betwixt king *Philip* and *Edward* of *England*, which quickly broke out into an open war. While the *Roman* ſee was kept vacant by the diſſenſions of the cardinals, and the attention of the *French* was engaged upon the diſpute with the king of *England*, king *Charles* received ſecret intelligence of the deſigns of *Loria* againſt *Amalfi* and the *Neapolitan* coaſts. As his diſpoſition was naturally pacific, and his kingdom had ſuffered greatly
b by the continual bad ſucceſs of the war, he began ſeriouſly to think of peace, and accordingly ſent the maſter of the *Teutonic* order to *Arragon*, with preliminary articles of an accommodation, propoſing an immediate ceſſation of arms, which ſhould continue for a year after the election of the pope. The *Sicilian* deputies remonſtrated with great warmth againſt this propoſal; but *James*, having then ſome ſecret view, accepted of the offer, and in the month of *November* had a conference with king *Charles* at *Juncaria*, near the *Pyrenees* [q].

*He agrees to a truce with king* Charles.

THE following year, in the month of *June*, *Celeſtine* V. an old monk of great ſimplicity and auſterity, being elected pope, after the *Roman* ſee had continued vacant 27 months, *Charles* preſſed him to accept of the dignity, and received him with great honour at *Naples*,
c hoping, that as he had been one of his ſubjects, he would obtain from him whatever he deſired. The humility of the pope, however, diſappointed his expectations; for *Celeſtine*, after he had enjoyed the pontificate five months, reſigned his dignity; but at the king's deſire, before his abdication, he conferred the cardinal's hat upon ſeven *Frenchmen* and five *Italians*, all devoted to the intereſt of *Charles*. By the influence of theſe twelve cardinals, king *Charles* procured the election of *Boniface* VIII. who is ſaid to have uſed ſome artifices to prompt *Celeſtine* to reſign, and, after his abdication, to have made an offer of his ſervice to the king, on condition of being elected pope [r].

A. D. 1294.

*BONIFACE*, who was of a diſpoſition very different from his predeceſſor, and had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his activity and ſkill in the management of affairs, to ſhew his grati-
d tude to *Charles*, in the beginning of the following year ordered king *James* to reſign the kingdom of *Sicily*, under pain of being excommunicated, and depoſed from his kingdoms of *Arragon* and *Valentia*. The king of *France* and *Charles* of *Valois* at the ſame time making preparations for another expedition into *Arragon*, *James*, by the advice of his nobles, ſent four ambaſſadors to *Rome*, deſiring the mediation of the pope. A perpetual peace was accordingly concluded, in the beginning of *June* on theſe conditions: That the pope ſhould declare the marriage of *James* with the daughter of the king of *Caſtile* null and void; that king *James* ſhould marry the daughter of king *Charles*, reſtore *Sicily*, and all the places he poſſeſſed on the other ſide the *Pharo*, to him; that *Charles* of *Valois* ſhould renounce all pretenſions to *Arragon*, in lieu of which he ſhould receive the counties of *Anjou* and *Forcalquier*; that the
e hoſtages for king *Charles* ſhould be ſet at liberty; that the pope ſhould take off the interdiction from *Arragon*; and that *James*, king of the *Balleares*, ſhould be reſtored to his dominions [s]. What were the motives which induced king *James* to deſert the *Sicilians*, and to aſſent to this ſurpriſing peace, is uncertain. It is probable he was influenced by the hopes given him by the pope, of being put in poſſeſſion of the iſlands of *Corſica* and *Sardinia*.

Boniface VIII. *mediates a peace betwixt them.* A. D. 1295.

AFTER the concluſion of the treaty, Don *Frederic*, with *Roger di Loria*, *John di Procida*, and ſeveral other *Sicilian* lords, arrived in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, where they were earneſtly ſolicited by the pope to agree to the delivering up of the iſland. The grand-daughter of the emperor *Baldwin*, and heireſs of the empire of *Conſtantinople*, was offered in mar-
f riage to Don *Frederic*; and the pope promiſed to uſe all his intereſt and power to put him in poſſeſſion of *Greece*, on condition he would aſſent to the peace. *Frederic* refuſed to give his conſent before he ſhould conſult the *Sicilians*, whom, upon his return to *Sicily*, he found in the greateſt commotion, on account of the news of the peace. By the advice of the queen dowager *Conſtantia*, deputies were immediately ſent to *Arragon*, who having in vain endeavoured to prevail with king *James* not to abandon the *Sicilians*, obtained a formal renunciation of his right in writing, and returned to *Sicily*. They had no ſooner publiſhed the anſwer of the king of *Arragon*, than the lords and people, with great unanimity and zeal, declared Don *Frederic* king, and appointed the 25th of *March* for his coronation. *Boniface* in the mean time, in hopes of perſuading them to ſubmit to king *Charles*, ſent a *carte*

*The* Sicilians *refuſe to aſſent to the treaty.*

*Chuſe Don* Frederic *for their king.*

[p] NICOL. SPECIAL. [q] Id. ibid. SURIT. l. ii. MARIAN. l. xiv. c. 16. [r] VILLANI, lib. viii. cap. 6. ANTON. tit. 20. c. 7. ſect. 1. [s] VILLANI, NICOL. SPECIAL. SURIT. l. ii. MARIAN. l. xiv. FAZEL. Dec. 2. l. ix. c. 2.

*blanche* to them by a legate, ſealed with the pontifical ſeal, deſiring them to make their own terms; but one of the nobles, drawing his ſword, ordered the legate immediately to quit the kingdom, and declared that they would procure peace by their ſwords, and not by parchments. a

A. D. 1296. *FREDERIC*, after the ceremony of his coronation, declared his intention of proſecuting the war with vigour, and received the moſt affectionate aſſurances of the aſſiſtance of his ſubjects. Having ordered *Roger di Loria* to equip the fleet, he paſſed over from *Meſſina* to *Reggio*, and, aſſembling an army, advanced into *Calabria*, and took *Squillace*, after which he reduced the city and county of *Catanzard*. Several other places likewiſe ſurrendered to him; but being informed that his brother king *James* had arrived at *Rome*, had obtained from the pope the inveſtiture of *Sardinia*, and was appointed ſtandard-bearer of the church, with the deſign of aſſiſting king *Charles* againſt the *Sicilians*, he left his army in *Calabria* under the command of *Blaſco de Alagona*, and returned to *Sicily*. After his departure, *Roger di Loria* took *Lecce* and *Otranto*, the laſt of which he fortified, and afterwards made a bold though unſucceſsful attempt upon *Brindiſi*.

*He invades* Calabria. b

A. D. 1297. KING *James*, in the mean time, having in vain endeavoured to draw his brother to a conference in the iſland of *Iſchia*, ſent for his mother and her daughter *Violante* to *Rome*, where the following ſpring the young princeſs was married to *Robert*, duke of *Calabria*, the ſecond ſon of king *Charles*. *John di Procida* and *Roger di Loria* accompanied *Conſtantia* to *Rome*, in which city *Procida* ſpent the reſt of his days. But *Roger*, having the year before had ſeveral differences with *Frederic*, which were inflamed by his enemies, now deſerted his party, and, by the interceſſion of the pope and *James* of *Arragon*, was reconciled to king *Charles*, who, upon his return to *Naples*, not only reſtored him to all his ancient lands in *Calabria*, *Baſilicata*, and *Principato*, but gave him many others, and appointed him high admiral of both kingdoms. *Frederic*, upon being informed that *Roger* had entered into the ſervice of king *Charles*, immediately proclaimed him a traitor, and beſieged the caſtles belonging to him in *Sicily*, which were quickly reduced. *Roger* in the mean time, being highly exaſperated againſt *Frederic*, proceeded to *Calabria* with a large body of horſe, and beſieged *Catanzara*, which willingly ſurrendered to him. However, before he could reduce the caſtle, *Blaſco de Alagona* arrived with ſome forces to its relief. *Roger* immediately attacked him; but was received with ſuch firmneſs and courage, that his troops were entirely routed, and he himſelf being wounded, and his horſe killed, with great difficulty made his eſcape [t].

Roger di Loria *deſerts to king* Charles. c

*Is defeated in* Calabria.

A. D. 1298. d

As the king of *Arragon* about the ſame time had arrived at *Rome* with a conſiderable fleet, *Frederic* appointed *Conrad Doria*, a *Genoeſe*, as his admiral, and, going on board himſelf, ſailed with ſeventy-four gallies to the coaſts of *Naples*, to intercept his brother. He thought proper, however, not to wait for him, but returned to *Sicily*, and was immediately followed by *James* and *Loria*, who made a deſcent upon the iſland, and reduced *Patti*, *Melazzo*, *Nucera*, *Monteforte*, and ſeveral other caſtles in that neighbourhood. As that coaſt was dangerous in winter, they left garriſons in the places they had taken, and ſailed through the *Pharo* to *Syracuſe*, which city they inveſted by ſea and land. The city making a vigorous defence, they employed their army in reducing *Buacura*, *Palacioli*, and ſeveral other towns and caſtles. *Frederic* in the mean time arrived with his army at *Catania*, where he was ſoon alarmed with the news that three caſtles belonging to one *Bereſius*, and one of them in the middle of the iſland, had revolted to king *James*. *Roger di Loria* likewiſe ventured to march by land with 300 horſe to recover *Patti*, which had expelled the *Catalonian* garriſon, while his relation *John di Loria* ſailed round from *Syracuſe* with twenty gallies. *John*, upon paſſing by *Meſſina*, was attacked by the gallies of that city, and, after a ſharp engagement was taken, with ſixteen of his ſhips; upon which news the king of *Arragon*, as he had already loſt 18,000 men before *Syracuſe*, thought proper to re-imbark his army, and return to *Naples*. After his departure, *Frederic* quickly reduced almoſt all the places he had taken; and, being informed that *James* was making preparations for a ſecond invaſion, he immediately equipped forty gallies, and put to ſea. The two fleets met off *Cape Orlando* on the 4th of *July*, when *Frederic* with great reſolution attacked the enemy, though greatly ſuperior to him in number. The ſucceſs, however, did not anſwer his eager hopes; for, after a moſt bloody engagement, he was entirely defeated, and loſt twenty-two gallies, the officers of which were cruelly put to death by *Roger di Loria*, in revenge for the death of his relation *John*, who had been executed as a rebel. The king of *Arragon*, after this ſignal victory, returned with the *Catalan* veſſels to his own dominions, alleging, that the affairs of the *Sicilians* were now ſo deſperate, that his aſſiſtance would be no longer needed, though he is ſuſpected by ſeveral authors of never having been really zealous for the ſucceſs of the war, and to have retired, to prevent his brother from being intirely ruined.

*The king of* Arragon *takes ſeveral places in* Sicily.

A. D. 1299. e

*Gains a ſignal victory over the* Sicilian *fleet*. f

g

[t] NICOL. SPECIAL. ut ſupra. VILLANI, l. viii. c. 29.

a *FREDERIC*, upon his return, being comforted by the *Meſſinians*, immediately publiſhed an account of the engagement, and ordered the whole iſland to prepare for the moſt vigorous defence. The duke of *Calabria* and *Roger di Loria* in the mean time landed their troops; but the firſt city which they ſummoned refuſed to ſurrender to them. The duke, by the advice of *Loria*, retired from thence, and marched to *Adernio* and *Paternio*, both which places, though inacceſſible, and ſtrongly fortified, ſurrendered to them without oppoſition; by which means his army, which began to be in great want, was furniſhed with plenty of proviſions. Several other places imitated the example of theſe cities. At length *Catania* revolted, and was followed by *Raguſa*, and many other cities; ſo that a report prevailing, that more than one half of the iſland had declared for king *Charles*, *Boniface*
b ſent the cardinal *Gerard* of *Parma* thither as his legate, to perſuade the *Sicilians* to ſurrender without oppoſition. *Roger di Loria* aſſured the duke, that the *Sicilians* were not to be ſubdued by excommunications and the tinkling of a maſs-bell; he therefore ſent for freſh ſuccours from *Naples*. His brother, the prince of *Tarento*, accordingly embarked with 600 horſe and 1000 foot, and landed in that part of *Sicily* called the *Valley of Mazara*; but a few days after, on the 1ſt of *December*, he was attacked at *Falconara* by *Frederic*, and intirely routed, he himſelf being taken priſoner, with the greateſt part of his men.

*Great part of* Sicily *ſurrenders to the duke of* Calabria.

*His brother is defeated, and taken priſoner.*

Upon the news of this defeat, *Boniface* wrote to king *Charles*, reproving him ſeverely for having committed the care of the war to the young princes who had no experience, and at the ſame time he ſent for *Charles* of *Valois* from *France*, allowing him the tythes of the eccle-
c ſiaſtical revenues of that kingdom to ſupport his expedition, expreſly prohibiting king *Charles* to make any convention with the *Sicilians*, till the arrival of his couſin. *Charles*, to appeaſe the pope, the following year publiſhed an edict, ordering all the *Saracens* of *Lucera* to embrace Chriſtianity, or leave his dominions. *Loria* in the mean time returned to *Naples*, to haſten more ſuccours, charging the duke not to venture an engagement with the *Sicilians* during his abſence. *Frederic*, however, found means of drawing a large party of the *French* and *Neapolitans* into an ambuſcade, and intirely cut them off; which victory gave freſh ſpirits to the *Sicilians*, who again put a fleet to ſea, conſiſting of thirty-two gallies, under the command of *Doria*. The admiral, after ravaging the *Neapolitan* coaſts, imprudently ventured an engagement with *Roger di Loria*, who ſailed from *Naples* with forty-
d eight gallies, and, after a ſhort diſpute, he was obliged to ſurrender to *Roger*, and loſt twenty of his gallies. Soon after, duke *Robert*, being informed that the *Meſſinians* were diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, ſailed with his army from *Catania*, and encamped before their city, while his general in *Calabria* inveſted *Reggio*, and his fleet lay before both cities. *Meſſina* was quickly reduced to great diſtreſs; but being relieved by *Frederic*, and the army of duke *Robert* beginning in its turn to want proviſions, the ſiege was raiſed, and, by the interceſſion of *Violante*, *Robert*'s wife, and ſiſter to *Frederic*, the two princes had a conference at *Syracuſe*, and agreed to a truce for ſix months. *Robert*, leaving his wife with her infant ſon in *Sicily*, immediately ſailed with *Roger di Loria* to *Naples*, promiſing quickly to return with a ſtrong army. He was detained, however, longer on the continent than he
e expected; and the truce expiring in the beginning of the following year, *Frederic*, without delay, renewed his hoſtilities.

A. D. 1300.

*He beſieges* Meſſina *without ſucceſs.*

A. D. 1301.

*CHARLES* of *Valois* in the mean time, arriving in *Italy*, had a conference with the pope at *Anagni*. As he had lately married the only daughter of *Philip*, the titular emperor of *Conſtantinople*, *Boniface* gave him hopes of ſucceeding to that empire; in order to which ſucceſſion, he ſhewed him the neceſſity of firſt reducing *Sicily*, that his couſin king *Charles* might be at leiſure to aſſiſt him: great preparations were accordingly made for invading the iſland with a formidable armament in the ſpring. *Boniface* is even ſaid to have propoſed *Charles* of *Valois* as emperor of *Germany*, from his hatred to *Albert* of *Auſtria*; and, while the preparations were carrying on at *Naples*, he created him *Paciare*, or Pacificator of
d *Tuſcany*, as though the empire had been vacant [u].

After. *Charles* had ſpent three or four months at *Florence*, where, by the exerciſe of his new authority, he increaſed the troubles and confuſions, he returned to *Naples* in the ſpring, and embarking with a formidable army, attended with the duke of *Calabria* and *Roger di Loria*, landed in *Sicily*, in the *Valley of Mazara*. *Frederic*, not being able to oppoſe him in the field, kept at a diſtance with his army, and by frequent ſkirmiſhes, and intercepting of convoys, ſoon reduced his enemy to great diſtreſs. *Charles*, finding it impoſ-
: ſible to execute any enterprize of importance, as he had loſt almoſt all his horſes; and conſidering that, if he could put an end to the war, he would be aſſiſted in his expedition againſt *Conſtantinople*, both by *Frederic* and king *Charles*, he therefore perſuaded the duke of *Calabria* to propoſe an accommodation, and afterwards had a perſonal conference with

Charles *of* Valois *ſails with a formidable army to* Sicily. A. D. 1302.

[u] Villani, l. viii. c. 48. Blond. Dec. 2. l. 9. Nicol. Special.

*Concludes a peace with* Frederic;

*Frederic.* A congreſs being agreed to, the peace was at length concluded on the 31ſt of *Auguſt*, on theſe conditions: That *Frederic* ſhould marry *Eleonora*, the daughter of king *Charles*, and ſhould keep poſſeſſion of the kingdom of *Sicily*, under the name of *Trinacria*; that he ſhould reſtore all the places he held in *Calabria* to king *Charles*, who ſhould immediately evacuate *Sicily*; that all priſoners ſhould be ſet at liberty, and thoſe who had changed ſides during the war ſhould be reciprocally deprived of their eſtates in each kingdom, excepting *Roger di Loria*, who ſhould be allowed to hold the caſtle of *Jacia* in *Sicily*, and *Vinciguerra*, who ſhould ſtill retain three caſtles on the coaſt of *Calabria*; that king *Charles* ſhould prevail with the pope to ratify the peace, and to grant *Frederic* the inveſtiture of *Sardinia* or *Cyprus*, who, upon obtaining poſſeſſion of either of theſe two iſlands, ſhould deliver up *Sicily* to king *Charles*, who on that account ſhould pay him 100,000 ounces of gold [w]. *Violante*, who is ſaid to have been inſtrumental in procuring this accommodation, died before the concluſion of the treaty, when her huſband had become heir apparent to the kingdom of *Naples* by the death of his eldeſt brother *Charles Martel* king of *Hungary*. Both parties ſoon after ſending ambaſſadors to the pope, deſiring his ratification of the treaty, *Boniface* the following year confirmed the articles, on condition that *Frederic* ſhould pay 15,000 florins yearly to the holy ſee for the iſland of *Sicily*, take the oath of allegiance to the pope both in temporals and ſpirituals, and leave to him the ſupreme power in all ſpiritual and eccleſiaſtical matters within his dominions.

*which is ratified by the pope.* A. D. 1303.

THUS ended the war in *Sicily*, which had been maintained with great ſpirit by the *Sicilians* for twenty years, againſt the moſt powerful enemies. The peace was allowed to be very advantageous and honourable for king *Frederic*; but *Charles* of *Valois* greatly hurt his reputation by agreeing to the treaty, and was ridiculed by the *Italians*, who remarked, that he had fomented new quarrels at *Florence*, where he went to make peace, and had concluded a diſhonourable peace in *Sicily*, where he went to make war [x]. Upon his return to *Italy*, he was prevented from proſecuting his expedition againſt *Conſtantinople*; but was recalled to *France* by his brother, who had a difference with the pope, whom this year, in the month of *September*, he ſurpriſed at *Anagni*, and kept priſoner ſome days. *Boniface* was ſo affected with the indignity, that he died a few weeks after. On the day of his death, king *Charles* arrived at *Rome* with 1500 horſe and 8000 foot to his aſſiſtance. He continued at *Rome* for ſome time, and protected the cardinals till the election of the following pope, *Benedict* XI. who enjoyed the pontificate only a few months, being poiſoned at *Perugia* in the beginning of *July*. His ſucceſſor *Clement* V. was a *Frenchman*, and transferred the papal court to *Avignon*, where it continued upwards of ſeventy years to the great detriment of *Italy*.

Charles *of* Valois *recalled to* France.

*CHARLES*, upon his return to *Naples*, employed the remaining years of his reign in cultivating the arts of peace. He enlarged and embelliſhed *Naples*, increaſed the privileges of the univerſity, and invited thither the moſt famous profeſſors of *Italy*, to whom he gave large ſalaries [y]. He did not only adorn his capital with uſeful ſtructures and magnificent edifices, but alſo built ſeveral ſtately churches and large monaſteries in different parts of his kingdom: he publiſhed ſeveral new and uſeful laws, and regulated the offices of his court with ſplendor and magnificence. While he was thus, by his wiſe adminiſtration, promoting the happineſs of his kingdom, he was ſeized with a fever, which carried him off on the 4th of *May*, in the ſixty-firſt year of his age, and the twenty-fifth of his reign. His body was interred with royal pomp in the *Dominican* church in *Naples*; and was ſoon after tranſported to *Provence*, and buried in a monaſtery of nuns built by himſelf in the city of *Arles*, his heart, however, being left behind with the *Dominicans* in *Naples*. His death was univerſally lamented, as he had gained the affections of his ſubjects by his clemency, courteſy, and liberality, on which account he was diſtinguiſhed with the name of the ſecond *Alexander* [z] (M).

Charles II. *dies at* Naples. A. D. 1309.

[w] RAINALD. Annal. ad an. 1302. ſect. 3. NICOL. SPECIAL. ap. MURATOR, t. x. VILLANI. [x] VILLANI. [y] GIANNONE, ut ſupra. [z] VILLANI, COSTANZO.

(M) *Charles* married *Mary* the ſiſter of *Ladiſlaus*, king of *Hungary*, by whom he had nine ſons and five daughters. His eldeſt ſon *Charles Martel* died in 1301, and left the crown of *Hungary* to his infant ſon *Carobert*. *Lewis*, his ſecond ſon, in conſequence of a vow, became a monk. *Robert*, the third ſon, ſucceeded his father in the throne of *Naples*. *Philip*, the fourth ſon was prince of *Tarento* and *Achaia*, and, by the pretenſions of his wife, the daughter of the deſpota of *Greece*, emperor of *Conſtantinople*. *Raimond Berlingier*, his fifth ſon, was count of *Andria*. *John*, the ſixth ſon, died in holy orders, while a youth. *Triſtan*, the ſeventh ſon, was prince of *Salerno*. *John*, his eighth ſon, was duke of *Durazzo*, on the coaſt of *Morea*; and *Peter*, the youngeſt ſon, was count of *Gravina*. His eldeſt daughter, *Clementia*, was married to the count of *Valois*; *Blanch*, to *James*, king of *Arragon*; *Leonora*, to *Frederic*, king of *Sicily*; *Mary* to *James*, king of *Majorca*; *Beatrice*, the youngeſt, to *Azzo de Eſte*, marquis of *Ferrara*; then to *Beltramo del Balzo*, count of *Andria*, and, laſtly to *Robert*, *Dauphine* of *Vienne* (1).

(1) *Giannone*, *Bonfin. Hiſt. Hungar.*

UPON

a UPON the death of *Charles* II. a diſpute immediately aroſe about the ſucceſſion, between his grandſon *Carobert*, king of *Hungary*, and his ſon *Robert*, duke of *Calabria*. The affair was ſtrongly debated in the college of cardinals; and at length, on the 1ſt of *Auguſt*, the deciſion was given in favour of *Robert*, in a public conſiſtory. *Robert* had then arrived with a ſplendid retinue at *Avignon*; and, having taken the oath of fealty and homage to the pope, and received from him the inveſtiture both of *Puglia* and *Sicily*, according to the uſual form, on the 8th of *September* was crowned king in *Avignon*, with great pomp and ſolemnity [a]. This ſentence of the pope is allowed by many lawyers to be both legal and prudent. It was the deſire of his father that *Robert* ſhould be his ſucceſſor; and if the claim of *Carobert* had been looked upon as valid, *Italy* would thereby have probably been involb ved in great diſorder, as *Naples* in that caſe would have been governed by *Hungarian* viceroys, whoſe manners were very different from thoſe of the *Italians* [b].

Robert, *duke of* Calabria, *declared his heir, and crowned at* Avignon.

*ROBERT*, after receiving many more marks of favour from the pope, particularly the remiſſion of an immenſe debt of 300,000 ounces of gold, contracted by his father and grandfather to the ſee of *Rome*, on account of their war againſt *Sicily*, left *Avignon*, and returned to *Italy*, where, to ſhew his gratitude to the pope, he made a progreſs through ſeveral cities, encouraging the *Guelphs*, and declaring that he would be an enemy to all thoſe that ſhould offer to diſturb the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. Upon his arrival at *Naples*, he was received with univerſal joy, not only every province, but all the cities and towns in the kingdom, ſending their ſyndics to compliment him. After he had made a progreſs through c his own dominions, he created his only ſon *Charles* duke of *Calabria*, and honoured many great barons with the title of count. For the firſt year of his reign, he employed himſelf in the arts of peace, at the ſame time favouring the *Guelphs* over all *Italy*, to the utmoſt of his power.

A. D. 1310.

THE following year, being informed that the emperor *Henry* VII. after receiving the crown of *Italy* in *Milan*, had arrived at *Genoa*; he ſent two ambaſſadors to him, to treat of an alliance by marriage betwixt their two families. *Robert* at the ſame time, jealous leſt the emperor ſhould eſtabliſh his authority in *Italy*, and thereby become a check upon his ambition, privately entered into an alliance with the *Florentines* and *Guelphs* to thwart and oppoſe him in his expedition to *Rome*. He had ſent his marſhal to *Florence* with 400 horſe, who d with great diligence fortified that city, and increaſed his forces with new levies. His brother *John*, prince of *Morea*, had likewiſe proceeded to *Rome* with a large body of troops, to raiſe a party in that city againſt him. The emperor complained of theſe proceedings to the *Neapolitan* ambaſſadors, who, finding their embaſſy ineffectual, left *Genoa* without taking leave. *Henry* about the ſame time ſent *Lewis* of *Savoy* to *Rome*, who, being ſupported by the *Colonna* family, and having been created ſenator that ſame year, counterbalanced the authority of the prince of *Morea* and the family of the *Orſini*. As the attention of *Italy* was chiefly engaged upon the motions of the emperor, *Frederic*, king of *Trinacria*, thought proper to cultivate his friendſhip, and, after the departure of the *Neapolitan* ambaſſadors, ſent a ſplendid embaſſy to *Genoa*, with a maſſy ſilver table, and ſeve-e ral other rich preſents for *Henry*. It was ſuppoſed by ſome, that *Frederic* deſired the title of king of *Sicily*; and others alleged, that he propoſed an alliance with the emperor againſt the kings of *France* and *Puglia*; but the conferences of the ambaſſadors were kept ſecret, and, after they had continued a few days, and taken leave of the emperor, they embarked for *Sicily* [c].

*He oppoſes the emperor* Henry *in his march to* Rome.

*HENRY*, after remaining ſeveral months at *Genoa*, proceeded the following ſpring to *Piſa*, where he received another embaſſy from *Frederic*. In conſequence of this embaſſy, the purport of which was not diſcovered, the emperor ſent two embaſſadors to *Sicily*. King *Robert* about the ſame time received an embaſſy from him, to treat of a marriage betwixt his ſon *Charles*, duke of *Calabria*, and his daughter. This negociation, however, ſeems to f have had no effect; for *Robert* refuſed to recall his brother from *Rome*, great part of which, by the aſſiſtance of the *Guelphs*, he had fortified againſt the emperor, and had even built a fortification which commanded *Ponte Molle*, or the *Milvian* bridge without the city. *Henry*, notwithſtanding this fortification, paſſed the bridge with inconſiderable loſs, and was received into *Rome* by *Colonna* and the *Gibelline* faction with great rejoicing. As the other faction was in poſſeſſion of *St. Peter*'s church, and that part of the city on the north ſide of the *Tiber*, *Henry* again ſent ſeveral embaſſies to king *Robert*, deſiring that his forces might be ordered to evacuate *Rome*. *Robert* returned a friendly anſwer to the emperor, and in ſome meaſure promiſed to agree to his juſt demand; but at the ſame time he ordered his admiral to attack ſeven *Piſan* gallies which were tranſporting 500 bowmen to

A. D. 1312

[a] BALUZ. vit. Pap. Aven. t. i. c. 15. 34. 70. 104. [b] See GIANNONE, & SPOND. Annal. [c] Hiſtor. AUGUST. MUSSAT. ap. MURATOR. l. x. Iter Ital. Henr. VII. FERRETI VICENTINI ap. MURAT. t. ix. VILLANI, ut ſupra.

*Rome*

*Rome* for the emperor's ſervice. He likewiſe ſent a ſtrong reinforcement of horſe to the prince of *Morea*; but in their march through *Campania* they were attacked by the imperial party near *Tipherno*, and intirely routed, 300 of them being taken priſoners, and almoſt as many killed [d]. a

*An alliance concluded betwixt the emperor and* Frederic *king of* Sicily. A. D. 1313.

*HENRY* in the mean time, by the permiſſion of the pope, was crowned on the 1ſt of *Auguſt*, with great ſolemnity, in the *Lateran* church, and immediately after received another embaſſy from *Frederic*, king of *Sicily*, with a large ſum of money. The *Sicilian* ambaſſadors concluded a treaty of marriage betwixt *Frederic*'s ſon and the emperor's daughter; and as *Henry* was reſolved to make war upon *Robert* and the *Tuſcan Guelphs*, *Frederic* entered into a ſtrict alliance with him, and promiſed to give him a yearly ſubſidy of 50,000 florins during the continuance of the war [e]. *Henry*, upon his return to *Piſa*, ſummoned king *Robert*, as a vaſſal of the empire, to make his appearance before him, at the ſame time citing alſo all the cities of the *Guelph* aſſociation, which had refuſed to acknowlege his authority [f]. Soon after, in the end of *April*, he publiſhed a manifeſto, in which, after recapitulating the various hoſtilities committed againſt him by king *Robert*, he depoſed him from all his dominions, and put him to the ban of the empire as a rebel. b

*They declare war againſt* Robert.

THOUGH the legality of this ſentence may in ſome meaſure be queſtioned, as the kingdom of *Naples* was never reckoned ſubject to the empire, yet it appears plainly, that *Henry* had received juſt provocation for declaring war againſt king *Robert*. He therefore appointed his ally *Frederic*, king of *Sicily*, admiral of the empire; and, while he was making great preparations to invade *Calabria*, he ſent to *Germany* and *Lombardy* for a reinforcement of troops, and prevailed on the *Piſans*, *Genoeſe*, and the *Venetians*, to fit out a formidable fleet. The pope had hitherto ſeemed to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality with regard to the differences betwixt the emperor and the king of *Naples*; but, upon receiving a copy of the ſentence againſt *Robert*, he publiſhed a bull, prohibiting every one from attacking the kingdom of *Naples* by ſea or land, under pain of excommunication. It would appear, however, from the words of a certain biſhop, then by the pope's order attending on the emperor, that *Henry* had private encouragements from *Clement* to proceed in his expedition [g]. He accordingly, in the beginning of *Auguſt*, began his march from *Piſa* to *Puglia*; but dying at *Benevento*, in the neighbourhood of *Sienna*, on the 24th of the ſame month, all his preparations were rendered ineffectual. About the time that he left *Piſa*, *Frederic*, king of *Sicily*, made a deſcent upon *Calabria*, and took *Reggio*, and ſeveral caſtles in its neighbourhood. From thence, by the emperor's deſire, he ſailed towards *Gaeta*, to join the united fleets of *Piſa* and *Genoa*; but, upon his arriving at the iſlands of *Lipari*, he received the melancholy news of the emperor's death. He immediately called a council, and determined to proceed to *Piſa*, where, upon his arrival, he was requeſted earneſtly to accept of the ſovereignty of the city; but finding the *Germans* and *Gibellines* in great confuſion, he rejected the offer of the *Piſans*, and returned immediately to *Sicily*, to guard againſt an invaſion from king *Robert*, whoſe reſentment was greatly inflamed againſt him on account of his alliance with the emperor. c

*The emperor dies.*

*Sicily is invaded by the king of* Naples. A. D. 1314.

ACCORDING to *Ferretus*, *Frederic*, being informed of *Robert*'s great preparations, deſired the citizens of *Trapani*, one of the ſtrongeſt fortified cities in *Sicily*, to make a ſecret offer of ſurrendering the place to him; and having induced him, by this ſtratagem, to direct his armament thither, he put a ſtrong garriſon into the city, which he furniſhed with proviſions, and other neceſſaries, for a moſt vigorous defence. *Robert*, accordingly, having embarked 2000 horſe, and an immenſe number of foot, on board of 120 gallies and about as many tranſport ſhips, ſet ſail for *Sicily* in the month of *Auguſt*, and landed in the neighbourhood of *Trapani*. He immediately took *Caſtello a Mare* by ſtorm, and inveſted *Trapani*, which he expected to be ſurrendered to him. But the citizens, who had entered into a correſpondence with him, kept him in ſuſpence for ſeveral weeks, by pretending various delays, till at length an epidemical ſickneſs ſeized his troops, in conſequence of a wet ſeaſon, and his fleet was greatly ſhattered by a ſevere ſtorm. His enemy in the mean time having aſſembled a conſiderable fleet and army, and intercepting his convoys, and perceiving at laſt that it was impoſſible to take the city, which had no intention of ſurrendering, he agreed to a truce for three years, and on the firſt of *January* returned to *Naples* [h]. *Robert*, during the continuance of this truce, ſent aſſiſtance to the *Florentines* againſt the *Piſans*; and, being obliged to viſit *Provence* and *Tuſcany*, he committed the care of the kingdom of *Naples* to his only ſon *Charles*, who about this time married the daughter of the archduke of *Auſtria*. d e f g h

*A truce concluded betwixt him and* Frederic *for three years.*

[d] FERET. VICENT. ut ſupra. [e] Iter Ital. ut ſupra. [f] Idem ibid. [g] Idem ibid. [h] FERRET. VICENT. ut ſupra. NICOL. SPECIAL. VILLANI.

a THE truce being expired, hoſtilities were immediately renewed in *Sicily*. *Frederic* beſieged and made himſelf maſter of *Caſtello a Mare*; but the count of *Squillace* arriving with a formidable fleet and army, *Frederic* was obliged to retire to the middle of the iſland, while the enemy without oppoſition, ravaged the whole kingdom, which is ſaid to have ſuffered more in this campaign than during the long war with *Charles* I. and II. The whole iſland, it was believed, would ſoon have been reduced, but by the mediation of two legates from pope *John* XXII. who had been elected in the beginning of the year, a ſecond truce was concluded for five years, or, according to ſome authors for three years only. Upon the concluſion of this armiſtice, the *Neapolitan* troops evacuated *Sicily*; and *Frederic* delivered *Reggio*, and the other places he held in *Calabria*, into the hands of the legates, b who quickly reſtored them to king *Robert*, under pretence that he was appointed vicar or lieutenant of the holy ſee; though others ſay, that the pope was to hold them only till he had decided which of the two kings had the beſt right to them, and that he delivered them to *Robert* in conſequence of a ſentence in his favour [i].

*Hoſtilities are again renewed.* A. D. 1317.

*They are ſuſpended by a ſecond truce.*

*ROBERT* was prevailed upon to agree to this truce, that he might be at leiſure to attend to the affairs of *Lombardy*, where the *Gibellines* in ſeveral cities were again recovering ſtrength and authority. In *Genoa*, however, the *Guelphs* prevailed, and on the 10th of *November* expelled the *Gibellines*, particularly the families of *Doria* and *Spinola*, the two moſt powerful houſes in *Italy* of the imperial faction [k]. Theſe two families, who before were at variance, now united; and having entered into an alliance with *Mapheo Viconti* of c *Milan*, and all the other *Gibellines* of *Lombardy*, and by their influence and money aſſembled a powerful army, the following ſpring they returned, and beſieged *Genoa*. The beſieged, being quickly reduced to great diſtreſs, ſent an ambaſſador to beg the aſſiſtance of *Robert*, who had adviſed and promoted the revolution. *Robert* immediately fitted out 25 gallies, and upwards of fifty tranſports, on board of which he embarked with 1200 horſe, accompanied with two of his brothers, and many barons, and on the 21ſt of *July* entered *Genoa*. A few days after his arrival, the *Genoeſe* reſigned the ſovereignty of their ſtate on certain conditions, to the pope and him for 10 years; which he very readily accepted, in hopes of being thereby enabled to recover *Sicily*, for which purpoſe he had formed the deſign of expelling the imperial party from *Genoa*. By his vigilance and activity he recod vered ſome places in the neighbourhood of the city from the beſiegers, who, in the beginning of the following year withdrew their troops. *Robert* ſoon after, in the end of *April*, ſet ſail with 40 gallies for *Avignon*, where he had a conference with the pope.

A. D. 1318.

Robert *ſails to the relief of* Genoa.

THE *Gibelline* exiles, who had entered into alliance with the emperor of *Conſtantinople* and *Frederic*, king of *Sicily*, hearing of the departure of *Robert*, returned a few months after to the ſiege, and made themſelves maſters of ſeveral of the ſuburbs. The attacks continued betwixt the two parties till the following ſpring almoſt without any intermiſſion, during the nights. Soon after a *Sicilian* fleet of forty gallies, with eleven belonging to the *Gibellines*, arriving at *Genoa*, the city was reduced to great diſtreſs; but *Robert*, ſending fifty gallies to the relief of the beſieged, the *Sicilian* fleet ſailed to *Piſa*, and from thence e to the bay of *Naples*, and made a deſcent upon the iſland of *Iſchia*, which they plundered. They returned a ſecond time to *Genoa*, to avoid the *Neapolitan* fleet which followed them, and were ſoon after recalled by *Frederic* to *Sicily*, without having been able to effect any thing againſt the beſieged. *Frederic*, having exhauſted his treaſury by the expences of this armament, laid a tax upon the eccleſiaſtical revenues of *Sicily*; which the pope was no ſooner informed of, than he denounced a ſentence of excommunication and interdict againſt him and his dominions [l]. The king to ſhew his diſregard of this ſentence, the year after aſſembled the barons of the iſland at *Palermo*, and in their preſence cauſed his eldeſt ſon *Peter* to be ſolemnly crowned [m].

A. D. 1320.

*A fleet ſent from* Sicily *to the aſſiſtance of the beſiegers.*

Frederic *cauſes his eldeſt ſon* Peter *to be crowned.* A. D. 1321.

*ROBERT* in the mean time ſtill continued his aſſiſtance to the *Genoeſe*; and about three f years after, returning to their city from *Avignon* with 56 gallies and 300 horſe, he received a prolongation of the ſovereignty from them for ſix years [n]. After continuing a few days at *Genoa*, *Robert* proceeded to *Naples*, where he made great preparations for invading *Sicily*. *Frederic* according to *Villani*, having information of the great armament that was preparing againſt him, hired ſome *Catalans* and *Tuſcans* to aſſaſſinate *Robert* and the duke of *Calabria*, and to burn the fleet; but before they could put their deſign in execution, being diſcovered in *Naples*, they were put to the moſt cruel deaths. About the ſame time the prince of *Morea* paſſed over with twenty-five armed gallies, and other veſſels, to *Romania*, to recover ſome territories in *Greece*. A few months after, in the end of *May*, the duke of *Calabria* arrived at *Palermo* with 130 gallies, beſides a great number of tranſports, on g board of which were 3000 horſe, and a very numerous army of foot, being attended like-

A. D. 1325. Palermo *is beſieged by the* Neapolitans.

[i] VILLANI. NICOL. SPECIAL. ut ſupra. SPOND. Annal. ad an. 1317. [k] Idem ibid. [l] NIC. SPEC. [m] Idem ibid. [n] VILLANI, l. ix. c. 248.

likewiſe by the greateſt part of the nobles and barons of *Puglia*. Immediately after he landed, he ravaged the whole country in the neighbourhood of the city, cutting down all the plantations and vines, and ſetting fire to the corn, which was then beginning to ripen. All his attempts, however, againſt the city were ineffectual, the garriſon, which was very numerous, making a moſt vigorous defence. That the army might not be deſtroyed by fruitleſs attacks, on the 18th of *June*, by his father's orders, he raiſed the ſiege, and, dividing his troops into ſeveral bodies, marched through the iſland without oppoſition, cutting down the trees, deſtroying the corn, and burning the villages. Having in this manner made a progreſs through the *Valley of Mazara*, and in the neighbourhood of *Syracuſe* and *Catania*, he arrived in the beginning of *Auguſt* at *Meſſina*; and, after deſtroying all their vineyards, embarked in the end of the ſame month with his army for *Naples* [o].

*They ravage* Sicily.

A. D. 1326.

THE following year, *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, who, contrary to the pope's inclination, had been elected emperor, being invited by the *Romans* and *Gibellines* to come into *Italy*, *John* again created *Robert* vicar of the empire in *Italy*. The king accordingly ſent conſiderable reinforcements to *Lombardy* and *Tuſcany*, to the aſſiſtance of the *Guelphs*. Being reſolved, however, to purſue his plan of reducing the *Sicilians* by famine, in the month of *May* he ſent another fleet of upwards of ninety gallies againſt *Sicily*, under the command of the count of *Novello*, who made ſeveral deſcents upon the coaſts of the iſland, from *Palermo* round to *Syracuſe*; and, having ravaged and burnt many towns and villages, returned through the *Pharo*, and in the end of *July* ſailed to the aſſiſtance of the *Genoeſe* againſt *Caſtruccio Caſtracani*, tyrant or governor of *Lucca*. The duke of *Calabria*, about the ſame time arriving at *Sienna*, was complimented with the ſovereignty of that city for five years.

*Sicily is again invaded.*

A. D. 1327.

The year after, *Robert* again ſent another fleet againſt *Sicily*, under the command of the count of *Coriolani*, who acted nothing of conſequence, and was ſoon recalled. The *Genoeſe* about the ſame time arrived with nineteen gallies, and made a deſcent in the neighbourhood of *Agoſta*, in hopes of ſurpriſing the city; but they were themſelves intercepted, and the admiral and a great many men being made priſoners, the reſt returned diſappointed to *Genoa*.

MEAN while the emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, who had been excommunicated and depoſed by the pope, had arrived at *Trent*, where he held a diet with the chiefs of the *Gibellins* and the ambaſſadors of *Frederic* of *Sicily*. From thence he proceeded to *Milan*; and after receiving the crown of *Italy* in the church of *St. Ambroſe*, began his march to *Rome*. As his army, after his arrival in *Italy*, was conſiderably reinforced, *Robert* was apprehenſive of his deſigns againſt *Naples*. He therefore reſolved to oppoſe him to the utmoſt of his power, and, if poſſible, to prevent his entry into *Rome*, for which purpoſe he ſent his brother, the prince of *Morea*, with 1000 horſe, to take poſſeſſion of that city. The *Romans*, however, refuſed to admit him, and even repulſed him with loſs, when he endeavoured to force his paſſage. As the emperor's party appeared the moſt powerful in *Rome*, *Robert* recalled his ſon, the duke of *Calabria*, to defend the frontiers of his kingdom. *Lewis* in the mean time, being received with great honour by the *Romans*, was ſolemnly crowned by the deputies of the people on the 17th of *January*. Inſtead, however, of immediately marching to *Naples*, he trifled away his time at *Rome* in making an antipope, and gave *Robert* an opportunity to take the neceſſary precautions for the defence of the kingdom. While he continued at *Rome*, *Frederic* of *Sicily*, though he refuſed to acknowlege the antipope, fitted out a fleet of fifty gallies, which, being joined by thirty *Genoeſe* veſſels, ſailed under the command of king *Peter* towards the *Tiber*, to aſſiſt in the invaſion of *Naples*. While they rowed by the coaſt of *Gaeta*, they made a deſcent, and ravaged its territories. They likewiſe landed at *Aſtura*, and, in reſentment of the treachery of the Caſtellan to *Conradin*, they pillaged and burnt the caſtle. By delaying, however, to join the emperor, who was in great want of the money they were carrying to him, they obliged him to abandon his deſign againſt *Naples*. He therefore, about the end of *July*, returned with his army from *Campania* to *Rome*, and, leaving the city about three weeks after, marched to *Piſa*, and from thence in the following year proceeded to *Germany*. *Peter*, after having a conference with *Lewis*, ſet ſail for *Sicily* with his fleet, which ſuffered greatly in a ſevere ſtorm [p].

*The emperor* Lewis *arrives in* Italy.

*Is crowned at* Rome.
A. D. 1328.

*He is prevented from invading* Naples.

BY the departure of the emperor towards *Tuſcany*, *Robert* was freed from his apprehenſions of a war in *Naples*. He therefore reſolved to proſecute the war againſt the *Sicilians* with great vigour; but his deſign was unexpectedly interrupted by the death of his only ſon the duke of *Calabria*, which happened on the 2d of *November*, in the 31ſt year of his age. As the duke left no male iſſue, his death was a great affliction to the whole kingdom, as well as to his father, who foreſeeing the calamities that the nation would be involved in,

[o] VILLANI & NICOL. SPECIAL. ut ſupra. [p] SUMMONT. Hiſt. Neapol. VILLANI.

called

a called out, "The crown is fallen from my head (N)." This accident was a fatal interruption to the proſperity of *Robert*, who, by his intereſt with the *Guelphs* in *Lombardy* and *Tuſcany*, had become very powerful.

ABOUT five years after he renewed his hoſtilities againſt the *Sicilians*, but with little or no advantage. As he now began to feel the infirmities of old age, and had no male iſſue, he was anxious to ſettle the ſucceſſion of his kingdom. Reflecting, perhaps, that the king of *Hungary*, the ſon of his elder brother, had a claim to the kingdom by hereditary right, or being influenced by ſome other motive, he reſolved to reſtore the crown to that branch, by contracting a marriage betwixt one of the king of *Hungary*'s ſons, and *Joan*, or *Jane*, the eldeſt daughter of the late duke of *Calabria*. The king of *Hungary* joyfully accepted of

b the propoſal, and arriving at *Naples* with his ſecond ſon *Andrew*, according to the *Italians* *Andreaſſo*, the ceremony of betrothing was performed on the 26th of *September*, *Andrew* being at that time only ſeven years of age and *Jane* five [q]. *Robert* being diſguſted with temporal grandeur, propoſed then to reſign the crown, and to ſpend the remaining years of his life in the habit of a *Franciſcan*: but at the intreaty of his nobles he was prevailed upon ſtill to retain the adminiſtration of the kingdom [r]. In the end of the following year he loſt his great patron pope *John*, who had held the pontifical chair eighteen years. His ſucceſſor *Benedict* XII. having ſeemed to favour the king of *Sicily* while he was cardinal, *Frederic* immediately ſent three ambaſſadors, one of whom was *Nicholas Specialis*, to congratulate him upon his promotion, and to deſire his mediation for a peace. *Benedict*

c received the ambaſſadors with great kindneſs and familiarity; but declaring his intentions to proceed in the ſteps of his predeceſſors, they returned diſappointed to *Sicily*. *Frederic*, however, ſtill hoping to procure the pope's favour, ſent two other embaſſies to *Avignon*; but the pope ſtill perſiſted in the anſwer he had given to the firſt ambaſſadors [s].

Robert *again invades* Sicily. A. D. 1333.

*The ſecond ſon of the king of* Hungary *appointed his ſucceſſor.*

A. D. 1335.

WHILE *Frederic* was thus endeavouring to gain the friendſhip of *Benedict*, a *Neapolitan* fleet of ſixty gallies arrived at *Sicily*, under the command of the count of *Coriolano* and the count of *Claramonte*, which laſt, upon a diſguſt, had deſerted from *Frederic*, and as he had many friends in the iſland, expected that they would join him and declare for king *Robert*. His hopes were however fruſtrated; and tho' the *Neapolitans* landed in ſeveral parts of the iſland, they were joined by none of the *Sicilians*; and not being able to make themſelves maſ-

d ters of any fortified place, they ravaged the open country, and in the end of *Auguſt* returned to *Naples* [t]. The war on both ſides was now carrried on in a very languid manner, owing to the age and infirmities of both princes. *Frederic*, who had long been grievouſly afflicted with the gout, about two years after this invaſion died in the neighbourhood of *Catania*, on the 24th of *June*, in the 65th year of his age, and the 42d of his reign. Upon his death, which was univerſally lamented by the *Sicilians*, great troubles immediately enſued. His ſucceſſor *Peter*, on account of his imprudent conduct, was believed by many to be ſeized with madneſs, which encouraged the count of *Ventimiglia* to revolt. He was a relation of the count of *Claramonte*; and having received an injury from *Frederic*, immediately upon his death he declared for king *Robert*, and ſent one of his ſons to

e *Naples*. Having acted, however, with too great precipitation, before he could receive aſſiſtance from the continent, all his caſtles were reduced, two of his ſons were taken priſoners, and he himſelf with another ſon were killed [u].

*Another invaſion of* Sicily.

Frederic *dies; and is ſucceeded by* Peter. A. D. 1337.

*ROBERT*, in the mean time, had ſolicited his ſiſter *Eleonora* to prevail with her ſon *Peter* to quit his pretenſions to *Sicily*, promiſing to aſſiſt him in the conqueſt of *Sardinia*. He had likewiſe requeſted *Benedict* to ſend an apoſtolic legate to *Sicily*, for the ſame purpoſe. The pope accordingly ſent two legates to *Sicily*; but the *Meſſinians* not allowing them to land, and ſhooting arrows into their gallies, they threw the pope's bull on ſhore, and renewing the ſentence of excommunication and interdict againſt the iſland, immediately departed [w]. *Eleonora* alſo, in her anſwer to her brother, begged of him to look upon *Peter* as his own ſon,

f and to appoint him his ſucceſſor in *Puglia* [x]. *Robert* being thus diſappointed renewed his armaments, and in the beginning of *May* fitted out a fleet of ſixty gallies and tranſports, which he ſent, with 1200 horſe, to harraſs *Sicily*. After theſe troops had landed, he ſent a ſecond and more numerous embarkation, under the command of *Charles* of *Durazzo*, his brother's ſon, who joined the former troops at the ſiege of *Tremole*, which city, with great

A. D. 1338. Sicily *again invaded.*

[q] BONFIN. & THUROZ. Hiſt Hung. VILLANI, l. x. c. 224. [r] SPOND. Annal. [s] NICOL. SPECIAL. [t] Idem ibid. VILLANI. FAZEL. Dec. 2. l. ix. c. 3. [u] VILLANI. [w] FAZEL. ut ſupra. [x] GIANNONE, ut ſupra.

(N) The following year, on the 28th of *June* and the 15th of *July*, there were two remarkable eruptions of mount *Ætna*, which are particularly deſcribed by *Nicholas Specialis*, whoſe curioſity tempted him to approach the volcano. During the day the air was rendered as dark as at midnight, by the immenſe quantity of aſhes and cinders, ſome of which were carried by the wind as far as the iſland of *Malta* (1).

(1) *Vide Murat. t.* v. *col.* 1077, 1078, 1079.

difficulty,

difficulty, he made himſelf maſter of. Though the count of *Lentino*, one of the firſt barons in the kingdom, revolted to them with all his caſtles, yet they were not able to make any other conqueſt; and after pillaging ſome of the open country, they returned in autumn to *Naples*. *Robert* at the ſame time was not a little diſturbed, with conſiderable inſurrections that happened in his own kingdom, where oppoſite factions were formed in ſeveral cities, and being headed by counts, openly commenced hoſtilities againſt each other. a

*The* Neapolitans *take* Lipari *and* Melazzo. A. D. 1340.

THE year following *Robert* ſent another fleet againſt the iſland of *Lipari*, under the command of the count of *Squillaci*, who defeated the *Meſſinian* fleet, and made himſelf maſter of the iſland; but upon his return he was driven by a ſtorm into *Corſica*, where he loſt four of his gallies [y]. Arriving, however, at *Naples*, in the beginning of the following year, with the news of his victory, *Robert* judged that the poſſeſſion of *Lipari* would enable him to reduce *Melazzo*, and thereby ſtraiten *Meſſina*. Having therefore prepared another fleet of forty-five gallies, he ſent it the year after, in the month of *June*, againſt *Sicily*, under the command of *Roger* of *Sanſeverino*. The troops having landed at *Melazzo*, immediately threw up an intrenchment acroſs the peninſula, to prevent any ſuccours from entering the city. *Peter*, however, made an attempt to relieve the place; but the beſiegers receiving continual reinforcements from *Calabria*, repulſed him with great loſs. The city at length ſurrendered upon a capitulation, on the 15th of *September*, to the great joy of *Robert*, who had ſpent upwards of 50,000 ounces of gold upon the ſiege [z]. *Peter* ſurvived the loſs of this place not quite twelve months, but died in the beginning of the following *Auguſt*, in the 6th year of his reign, leaving the kingdom to his ſon *Lewis*, then only five years of age, and appointing the duke of *Randatium*, his uncle, regent during his minority. b

Peter *of* Sicily *dies*. A. D. 1342.

*Great part of the iſland declares for* Robert,

UPON the death of *Peter*, the *Sicilians*, who, with ſurprizing courage and conſtancy, had maintained almoſt a continual war for fifty years againſt the family of *Anjou*, were upon the point of ſubmitting to their old maſters. *Robert* held a correſpondence with ſeveral barons, who were now as much diſcontented with the government of the *Catalans*, as their predeceſſors had been with that of the *French*. The chief of theſe were the family of the *Palizzi*, and the counts of *Antioch*, *Lentino*, and *Ventimiglia*, ſome of whoſe anceſtors had been concerned in the conſpiracy againſt king *Charles* I. The *Palizzi* by ſurprize made themſelves maſters of *Meſſina*, and immediately ſent for aſſiſtance from *Robert*, to whom they ſwore allegiance; but the king from dilatorineſs, or rather from avarice, delaying to ſend them ſuccours, loſt that opportunity of recovering the iſland; for the regent in his turn ſurpriſed the rebels in *Meſſina*, and expelled them from the city [a]. Others attribute the delay of ſuccours to the king's ſickneſs, who, before the arrival of the meſſengers from *Meſſina*, had taken extreme unction, and died on the 19th of *January* [b], in the 64th year of his age, and the 34th of his reign. *Robert*, according to *Villani*, was reckoned the wiſeſt and moſt learned prince that had reigned in Chriſtendom for 500 years. He was a great philoſopher, and deeply ſkilled in divinity, which a little before his time firſt began to be formed into a ſyſtem. He was courageous, juſt, liberal, eloquent, and modeſt. Towards the end of his life he was inclined to avarice. He, however, in his old age did not remit his ſtudies, but publiſhed *a treatiſe on the moral virtues* in *Tuſcan* rhimes, often regretting as *Petrarch* relates, that he had no ſooner applied himſelf to the ſtudy of poetry [c] (O). c

*who dies before he could ſuccour his friends*. A. D. 1343.

*ROBERT*, before his death, had appointed his grand-daughter *Jean* as his ſucceſſor in the throne; and as ſhe and her huſband *Andrew* were both minors, he nominated ſome of the chief nobles as adminiſtrators of the government, with the approbation of the pope. *Jean* accordingly, after his death, was immediately crowned and proclaimed queen, *Andrew* ſtill retaining only the title of duke of *Calabria*. A few days, however, produced an amazing alteration in the ſtate of public affairs; for the *Hungarians*, particularly friar *Robert*, the preceptor of *Andrew*, directly aſſumed the whole of the adminiſtration, which preſumption and inſolence diſguſting the princes of the blood, they retired from the court. As *Andrew* diſcovered no princely and noble qualities, but waſted his time in indolence and ſloth, the *Neapolitan* gentlemen, inſtead of proſecuting the war againſt *Sicily*, went and joined *Robert*, prince of *Tarento* in an expedition to *Greece*, who by their aſſiſtance conquered as far as *Theſſalonica*. *Robert* in the mean while, to eſtabliſh his own authority, ſent to *Lewis*, king of *Hungary*, preſſing him to come to *Naples* to marry *Mary*, the other grand-daughter of king *Robert*, d

*Queen* Jean *ſucceeds to the throne of* Naples.

e

f

[y] VILLANI. [z] Idem. [a] Idem. [b] GIANNONE, ut ſupra. [c] VILLANI. BOCCAC. in Geneal. Deor. l. xiv. c. 9—22, & l. xv. c. 13. PETRAR. rer. Memor. l. i. c. 1—2. l. ii. & l. iii. c. 3, &c.

(O) The ſame author likewiſe mentions, that *Robert* once hearing that the king of *France* was offended with his eldeſt ſon for applying himſelf to learning, exclaimed with a generous diſdain and deteſtation, "How different are the inclinations of mankind. For my part, "I ſwear that learning is much more dear to me than "my kingdom; and if I were to forfeit either of them, "I would be much more content to loſe my crown than "part with my ſtudies."

a and, according to *Giannone*, to take the poſſeſſion of the kingdom of *Naples*, as heir to his great grandfather *Charles* II. To prevent this alliance, the duke of *Durazzo*, nephew of the late king, obtained a diſpenſation from the pope, and in the month of *April* married the princeſs *Mary* [d].

About the ſame time *Elizabeth*, the queen dowager of *Hungary*, arrived in *Puglia*, to viſit her ſon and her daughter-in-law. As ſhe was eminently pious and devout, after ſhe had continued ſome time with her ſon, ſhe went and viſited the ſacred places at *Rome*, where ſhe made ſeveral rich oblations. Upon her return to *Naples*, ſhe was greatly diſpleaſed with the immodeſt and inconſiderate behaviour of her daughter-in-law, who was noted for her indecent levity, intolerable arrogance, and abandoned lewdneſs. Having reproved her ſe-
b veral times for her licentious manners ſhe left *Naples*, and after viſiting *St. Nicholas* of *Bari*, the following year ſhe returned to *Hungary* [e]. *Clement* VI. in the mean time had appointed his legate in *Italy*, cardinal *Americus*, as guardian of the kingdom [f]; but, upon various pretences, he delayed ſatisfying the *Neapolitan* ambaſſadors, who preſſed him to grant a bull for the coronation of *Andrew* in his own right. *Lewis*, king of *Hungary*, according to *Bonfinius*, at laſt underſtanding the diſtemper of the prieſts, made the pope a preſent of 44,000 merks; in conſequence of which bribe, the bull, which the ambaſſadors had been ſolliciting for two years, was expedited in favour of *Andrew*, and the biſhop of *Chartres* ſent to *Naples*, to perform the ceremony of his coronation [g].

*The pope grants the bull for the coronation of* Andrew, A. D. 1345.

The princes of the blood had uſed their utmoſt endeavours to prevent the granting of the
c bull; but their hopes being diſappointed, they now formed a conſpiracy to murder *Andrew*, with the conſent even of the queen, who was openly accuſed of adultery with her couſin *Lewis*, prince of *Tarento*, and ſeveral other perſons about her court [h]. She is ſaid, by many authors, to have conceived a diſguſt for her husband, on account of his barbarous *Hungarian* manners, his inſolence, and debility, which laſt was owing to his exceſſes after the conſummation of the marriage [i]. Other authors, however, particularly *Boccacio* and *Petrarch*, who were both alive, and remarkable for their freedom of cenſure, do not accuſe *Jean* as being concerned in the murder, but relate, that the princes and nobles conſpired againſt him, from an apprehenſion of being puniſhed for their crimes, if he ſhould ever aſſume the adminiſtration of the government [k]. *Andrew* having gone with his queen to *Averſa*, on the
d 18th of *September*, about midnight, was called out of his bed-chamber by one of the conſpirators, under the pretence of ſome important news from *Naples*. He had no ſooner entered the hall adjoining, than they threw a rope about his neck, and ſtrangled him, by hanging him over a balcony into the garden, at the ſame time torturing him after the moſt cruel manner, as appears by informations taken concerning the murderers, by the order of *Clement* (P). The conſpirators being diſcovered by a *Hungarian* maid, left the corpſe in the garden and fled. *Jean*, according to *Villani*, appeared but ſlightly concerned at the murder, and next morning returned to *Naples*, from whence ſhe wrote to the pope and *Lewis*, king of *Hungary*, giving them an account of the fact, and aſſuring them of her innocence. As the city of *Naples*, and the whole nation, diſcovered the utmoſt abhorrence and deteſ-
e tation of the murder, the count of *Novello* was appointed, with the conſent of the whole nobles, to make a ſtrict enquiry after the murderers, with full power to puniſh the guilty as he thought proper. The count executed his commiſſion with great zeal, and condemned and put to death ſeveral murderers. The queen in the mean time, in the month of *December*, was delivered of a ſon, who was named *Carobert*, after his grandfather, and ſoon after created duke of *Calabria* [l].

*who is baſely murdered at* Averſa.

The pope, upon hearing of the murder, expreſſed great reſentment and grief. He blamed himſelf in the public conſiſtory, for having delayed the bull for the king's coronation; and on the firſt of *February*, he excommunicated and deprived of all benefices, both ſpiritual and temporal, all thoſe who had aided and aſſiſted in the murder, or who had been in the
f leaſt privy to it, confirming the commiſſion of the count of *Novello* to judge and puniſh the murderers [m]. The kingdom was now in the utmoſt confuſion, being divided into two parties, one of which ſtill adhered to the queen, who was in poſſeſſion of the caſtle of *Naples*, and the treaſure of the late king. The duke of *Durazzo*, the greateſt part of the barons, and the city of *Naples*, compoſed the other party; and both factions levied troops

*The murderers excommunicated by the pope.* A. D. 1346.

[d] Villani. [e] Bonfin. rer. Hungar. Dec. 2. l. x. [f] Baluz. Notæ ad Vit. Pap. Aven. t. i. [g] Spond. Annal. [h] Villani. [i] Brantome Dames Gal. p. 347. Spond. Annal. Bayle Dict. Hiſt. & Crit. Art. *Naples*, Rem. B. Montaigne Eſſais, p. 178. Bonfin. ut ſupra. [k] Petrar. Epiſt. Famil. Bocac. de Caſibus viror. illuſt. Prima vita Clement VI. ap. Baluz. [l] Villani. [m] Idem. Rainald. ad an. 1346. ſect. 47.

(P) Alii varo receperunt eum per genitalia, et adeo traxerunt, quod multi, qui dicebant ſe vidiſſe, retulerunt mihi quod tranſcenderunt genua (1).

(1) *Baluz. Not. ad Vit. Pap. Aven. p.* 860. *Bayle ut ſupra. Rem.* P.

againſt each other, and equally dreaded the arrival of the king of *Hungary*, who was preparing an army to revenge his brother's death. Beſides, the roads were filled with banditti, who, in defiance of the government, robbed and plundered the inhabitants, and many of the murderers had retired to their caſtles, and openly ſtood upon their defence[n]. a

*The king of* Hungary *makes preparations to invade* Naples.

*LEWIS* of *Hungary* not only reſolved to puniſh the murderers of his brother, but likewiſe intended to take poſſeſſion of *Naples*, in right of his grandfather *Charles Martel*. He therefore entered into an alliance with the emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, his ſon the marquis of *Brandenburgh*, the duke of *Auſtria*, and many other *German* nobles, and ſent ambaſſadors to the pope, deſiring the inveſtiture of *Sicily* from his holineſs. As he had concluded an alliance with the emperor, who had been depoſed ſeveral years before by the popes, *Clement* refuſed to grant an audience to his ambaſſadors. *Lewis*, nevertheleſs, did not abandon his enterprize, but ſent ambaſſadors to *Sicily* to treat with the regent of the iſland, who having then recovered *Melazzo*, immediately ſent thirty gallies into the *Adriatic* to his aſſiſtance, and propoſed an alliance betwixt his nephew the young king, and the king of *Hungary*'s ſiſter, and to aſſiſt him with forty armed gallies upon his arrival in *Puglia*[o]. b

*Several cities in* Abruzzo *declare for him.* A. D. 1347.

*LEWIS* in the mean time, having ſent emiſſaries into *Puglia* with large ſums of money, prevailed on the city of *Aquila* to declare for him; and his friends in that part of the kingdom raiſing about 1000 horſe, made incurſions in the neighbourhood, and beſieged *Sulmo*, the cities of *Tieti*, *Penna*, *Popoli*, *Lanciano*, and *Guardia*, and ſeveral caſtles having likewiſe revolted from *Jean*. Upon the news of this revolt, the duke of *Durazzo*, in the beginning of *Auguſt*, marched to the relief of *Sulmo*, with 2500 horſe and a large body of foot; and having raiſed the ſiege inveſted the city of *Aquila*, whither the rebels had retired; but conſiderable reinforcements arriving from *Hungary*, the loyal barons, after they had completed their ſervice of three months, raiſed the ſiege and returned home. c

*Queen* Jean *marries* Lewis *of* Tarento.

QUEEN *Jean*, in the mean time, under pretence of ſecuring the kingdom againſt the *Hungarian* invaſion, on the 20th of *Auguſt* married *Lewis*, the ſecond ſon of the prince of *Tarento*, without waiting for the pope's diſpenſation. By this match, however, ſhe did not augment the number of her friends, but rather increaſed the diſcontent among her ſubjects; for as her husband was her full couſin, the marriage was looked upon with abhorrence as inceſtuous, and ſhe was beſides accuſed of having had a criminal intimacy with him, during the life of *Andrew*[p]. The *Hungarians*, on theſe accounts, met with but a faint and ſpiritleſs oppoſition; and in the month of *November*, having reduced all *Abruzzo*, paſſed over the mountains into *Terra di Lavoro*, and took *Sarno*, *Venafri*, *Tiano*, and *St. Germano*. The queen, in the mean time, wrote to the *Florentines* for aſſiſtance; and the prince of *Tarento*, now duke of *Calabria*, aſſembled a conſiderable army at *Capua*, which, if it had continued long united, would have been able to have fruſtrated the attempts of the *Huugarians*; but the zeal of the barons appeared very languid, and many of them had a private correſpondence with the king of *Hnngary*. d

*The king of* Hungary *arrives in* Italy. A. D. 1348.

*LEWIS*, encouraged by the ſucceſs of his troops in *Abruzzo*, left *Hungary* with a ſmall army, and in the end of *November* arrived in *Italy*, being received with great reſpect in the cities through which he paſſed, particularly in *Bologna*, which gratuitouſly furniſhed him and his army with proviſions. About *Chriſtmas* he was met on the confines of the kingdom by the pope's legate, who counſelled him, as from himſelf, not to take poſſeſſion of *Puglia* without the conſent of the pope, which advice the king treated with great contempt. Being joined by a great many barons of the kingdom, who took the oath of allegiance to him, he advanced on the 11th of *February* to *Benevento*, where he was joined by many other barons, and received an ambaſſy from the city of *Naples*. Queen *Jean* was greatly alarmed with this ſucceſsful march of the king of *Hungary*; and ſeeing the whole country voluntarily ſubmitting to him, ſhe privately embarked on the 15th of *February*, with a few attendants, on board three gallies, and ſailed to *Provence*. Her huſband *Lewis* hearing of her departure, immediately returned from *Capua* to *Naples*, and embarking with a few friends on board a private galley, followed the queen to *Provence*. e f

Jean *flies to* Provence.

THE king of *Hungary*, in the mean time, arrived at *Averſa*, where he was met by 1000 *Neapolitan* gentlemen. Several princes of the blood likewiſe viſited him in that city, and took with them his nephew *Carobert*, then about two years of age. *Lewis* received them in a courteous manner; but a few days after he ordered the duke of *Durazzo* to be put to death, and thrown over the balcony, from whence his brother had been hanged. The other princes were alſo immediately apprehended, and ſent afterwards priſoners to *Hungary*. *Lewis* having entered *Naples* with a black ſtandard, on which his brother was repreſented as ſtrangled, ſtruck a great terror into the inhabitants, who expected to be plundered by his army. Having taken up his reſidence in *Caſtel Nuovo*, he ordered the magiſtrates of the g

Naples *conquered by the king of* Hungary.

[n] VILLANI, ut ſupra. GIANNONE. [o] VILLANI. [p] Idem. BRANTOME, ut ſupra. MEZERAI Abrege Chron. t. iii. p. 159.

city

a city to be changed, and the new officers who ſucceeded them to act by the direction of the biſhop of *Waradin*. He cauſed the ſame regulation to take place in other cities; and *Naples* being then afflicted with a moſt terrible plague, he left that city, and appointing *Conrad Wolf*, a *German* baron, his lieutenant, with the general command of his troops, he embarked on the 24th of *May* on board a light galley at *Barletta*, and landed at *Sclavonia*, from whence he proceeded to *Hungary* [q].

QUEEN *Jean*, in the mean while, was put under confinement by the barons of *Provence*, upon a report that ſhe intended to exchange that country for another in *France*, the *French* king's eldeſt ſon being ſuppoſed to have come to *Avignon* to tranſact the affair with the pope. As the *Provençals* deteſted the *French* government, they threatened to revolt with
b the dauphin of *Vienne*; but the pope ſending back prince *John* to *France*, they again ſet the queen at liberty. Her husband, in the mean time, hearing of her confinement, was afraid to land at *Nice*, but proceeded to the *Rhone*, and landed at *Avignon*. A few weeks after *Jean* entered the city, where ſhe was received with the greateſt reſpect by the cardinals and the pope, who immediately granted her a diſpenſation for her marriage with her couſin, for which he was univerſally blamed. Soon after her cauſe was tried in a public conſiſtory, in the preſence of the *Hungarian* ambaſſadors, when ſhe defended herſelf with ſo much eloquence, that the pope, by an authentic act, declared not only that ſhe was innocent, but that ſhe could not even be ſuſpected of having any knowlege of the murder [r]. This ſentence was ſuppoſed by many to be precipitate, and to be owing to the earneſt deſire the pope had
c to purchaſe *Avignon*, which the queen then ſold to him, with all its territory, for 80,000 florins [s]. Several authors allege, that the ſale was only pretended, and the queen made a preſent of the city to the church, to procure the favour of the pope; but others aſſert, that ſhe employed the money in fitting out ten gallies, in order to return to *Naples*, whither ſhe was invited by many of her barons, who, after the departure of the king of *Hungary*, abandoned his intereſt [t]. The pope having honoured her husband with the title of king of *Sicily*, he and ſhe embarked at *Marſeilles*, and in the end of *Auguſt* returned to *Naples*, where they were received with the moſt extravagant joy [u].

*Queen* Jean *declared innocent by the pope.*

THE regent of *Sicily*, in the mean while, being carried off by a plague, which was then ravaging the ſouthern parts of *Europe*, the whole iſland was divided into two parties, the
d chiefs of each claimed the guardianſhip of the king and kingdom. At the head of one party were the *Palizzi*, with the counts of *Claramonte* and *Ventimiglia*, and they were ſupported by the cities of *Meſſina*, *Syracuſe*, *Melazzo*, *Cefalu*, *Palermo*, *Drapani*, *Mazzara*, *Sciacca*, *Gergenti*, *Taormina*, and many others. The cities of *Catania*, *Giati*, *La Licata*, *Coſe*, *La Catona*, and *Capo Orlando*, with many other towns and caſtles, declared for the oppoſite party, which was headed by *Blaſco d'Alagona*, and ſupported by the *Catalans*. The two parties immediately commenced hoſtilities againſt each other with the moſt bitter animoſity. They plundered and burnt each others territories without intermiſſion; and the peaſants, diſtruſting either party, neglected to cultivate their farms, and retired to the mountains; ſo that the country quickly became deſolate, and the following year great numbers of peo-
e ple, to avoid periſhing by famine, abandoned the iſland, and took refuge in *Calabria* and *Sardinia* [w].

*A civil diſſenſion in* Sicily.

DURING theſe diſſenſions in *Sicily*, the king of *Naples* had prevailed on *Werner*, a *German* duke, to declare for him. This *Werner* had aſſiſted the king of *Hungary* with 3000 horſe, but was diſcharged by him, on account of ſome irregularities. Inſtead however of returning to *Germany*, he entered with his troops into *Campania*, and ſupported himſelf by raiſing contributions. He willingly hearkened to the propoſals of the king of *Naples*, who condeſcended ſo far as to receive the honour of knighthood from him, which was at the ſame time likewiſe conferred on eighty other gentlemen. The king alſo beſtowed titles and ho- A. D. 1349
nours on many barons of the kingdom, two of whom were created dukes, which title had
f hitherto been ſolely appropriated to princes of the royal family [x]. Having recovered three of the caſtles of *Naples*, he immediately marched againſt thoſe towns and barons that held for the *Hungarians*; but met with much more oppoſition than he expected from *Conrad Wolf*, who had been left lieutenant by *Lewis* of *Hungary*.

*Hoſtilities betwixt the* Hungarians *and loyaliſts.*

WHILE each party was endeavouring to harraſs and diſtreſs the other, many cities and provinces ſuffered all the calamities of war. The king's affairs, however, ſeeming to decline, *Werner* allowed himſelf to be ſurpriſed in *Corneto*, and again entered into the ſervice of the *Hungarians*. Soon after the loyaliſts ſuffered a conſiderable defeat, while *Conrad Wolf* approached with his troops to *Naples*, and raiſed a contribution from the *Neapolitans* of 20,000 florins. As the pope had appointed a general jubilee to be celebrated the following
g year in *Rome*, his legate prevailed on both parties to agree to a truce, which was concluded in

[q] VILLANI. [r] MAIMBOURG Hiſt. du grand Schiſme d' Occident. l. ii. p. 150, 152. [s] Vid. BAYLE, ut ſupra. [t] SPOND. Annal. GIANNONE. [u] MATTEO VILLANI. ap. MURATOR. t. xiv. col. 25 & 26. [w] SURIT Indic. l. iii. FAZEL. Dec. 2. l. ix. c. 5. [x] VILLANI, ut ſupra. GIANNONE.

the

A. D. 1350. the month of *January*, when the *Hungarians* received 120,000 florins of gold upon delivering *Capua*, *Averſa*, and all other places they held in *Terra di Lavoro* and *Principato*, into the hands of the legate [r]. The *Germans* then left the kingdom, and returned ſome of them to *Lombardy* and others to *Germany*, having enriched themſelves with the plunder of the churches, and taken along with them ſeveral married and unmarried women.

*The king of* Hungary *returns to* Naples.

*LEWIS* of *Hungary*, a few months after, paſſing the *Adriatic* with a conſiderable reinforcement, hoſtilities were again renewed; and about the end of *September*, almoſt all *Terra di Lavoro* was reduced by the *Hungarians*. However, they having ſuffered greatly at the ſiege of *Averſa*, which had continued four months, *Lewis* was prevailed upon to agree to a ceſſation of arms till *April*, on the following conditions, namely, that the cauſe of queen *Jean* ſhould be again tried by the apoſtolic ſee with greater accuracy; that if ſhe ſhould be found guilty of the murder of her husband, ſhe ſhould loſe all right to the kingdom of *Naples*, which ſhould be conferred on the king of *Hungary*; but if ſhe ſhould be declared innocent, the king of *Hungary* ſhould evacuate all the places he held in *Naples*, on condition of receiving 300,000 florins of gold [z]. *Lewis*, upon the concluſion of this treaty, went to the jubilee at *Rome*, and from thence returned to *Hungary*. Mean while his ambaſſadors, with thoſe of queen *Jean*, had repaired to the pope's court at *Avignon*, to be preſent at the trial. The cardinals ſeemed unwilling to enter upon a re-examination, as it would be very difficult to prove the innocence of the queen; but as her character ſuffered greatly by the ſuſpicion of the crime, they at laſt accepted of her excuſe, namely, that ſhe was under the power of witchcraft or faſcination, which hindered her from loving her husband as ſhe ought, from whence others were encouraged to conſpire againſt him. The truth of this allegation being proved by ſeveral witneſſes, ſhe was declared innocent of all actions ſubſequent to that faſcination [a]. The king of *Hungary*, after ſome difficulty, declaring himſelf ſatisfied with this determination, generouſly refuſed to accept of the 300,000 florins for the expences of the war, according to the ſtipulation, and ſet at liberty the five princes of the blood, whom he had detained priſoners in the caſtle of *Wiſſegrad*. The young prince *Carobert* had died ſoon after his arrival in *Hungary*.

Jean *declared innocent.* A. D. 1351.

*She concludes a peace with the king of* Hungary. A. D. 1352.

UPON the concluſion of this peace, which was ſigned in the beginning of the following year, the diſbanded troops aſſembled, to the number of 400 horſe and 500 foot, and ravaged all the province of *Terra di Lavoro*; but the king marching againſt them at the head of 1000 cavaliers, attacked them in the month of *April*, and quickly diſperſed them. A few weeks after, on the feaſt of *Whitſuntide*, *Lewis* and his queen, by the permiſſion of the pope, were ſolemnly conſecrated and crowned in the city of *Naples* [b]. *Conrad Wolf*, however, ſtill refuſed to deliver up *Nocera*; but having aſſembled 700 horſe, fortified the city, and raiſed the imperial ſtandard, as though he had a correſpondence with *Charles* IV. who was then expected in *Italy*. *Lewis* being afraid of new troubles, condeſcended to treat with him, and by paying him 30,000 florins, prevailed on him to deliver the city, and depart the kingdom. Soon after the king, by means of his vicar *Malateſta*, ſurpriſed *Averſa*, and obliged friar *Moriale* to deliver up the caſtle and all his treaſure.

Sicily *ſtill ravaged by two oppoſite factions.* A. D. 1353.

DURING theſe tranſactions, the two factions in *Sicily* ſtill continued their hoſtilities againſt each other; but *Matthew Palizzi* having got poſſeſſion of the palace, kept the young king as his priſoner, and aſſumed the adminiſtration. He exerciſed his office with ſo much rapacity, that he even alienated many of his own friends, and drew upon himſelf the hatred of the *Meſſinians*, who the following year, in the month of *Auguſt*, aſſaſſinated him, with his wife and children, in the palace. The inhabitants of *Sciacca* likewiſe murdered the officers ſent by *Palizzi* to raiſe the oppreſſive ſubſidies, on which account many of that party fled to *Catania*, and joined themſelves to the *Catalans*; and the young king likewiſe, finding their party ſuperior, went and put himſelf under their protection. The miſerable inhabitants, in the mean time, were ſo diſtreſſed by famine, that this year upwards of 10,000 families abandoned the iſland [c].

*The* Italian *party ſubmit to the king of* Naples. A. D. 1354.

The chief of the *Italian* party was now the count of *Claramonte*, who had been inſtrumental in raiſing the tumult of the *Meſſinians* againſt *Palizzi*. To ſupport his party, and protect himſelf from the reſentment of the young king and the *Catalans*, he entered into a correſpondence with the king of *Naples*, and offered to deliver to him all that part of the iſland under his obedience. The *Sicilians*, who were ſtarving, aſſented to this propoſal. *Lewis* accordingly, in the month of *April*, embarked 100 horſe and 400 foot on board ſix gallies, and ſent them, with about thirty-five other veſſels loaded with proviſions, to *Sicily*. The *Neapolitan* troops were immediately put in poſſeſſion of *Melazzo* and *Palermo*, and all the other cities, towns, and caſtles, of the *Italian* faction, to the number of 112, declared for the king of *Naples*, who, however, was ſo deſtitute both of men and money, as not to be able to ſend a ſecond embarkation to the iſland. But ſo weak was

[y] VILLANI, l. i. c. 48 & 49. [z] Idem up. MURATOR. t. xiv. col. 89. [a] Idem l. ii. c. 24. SUMMONTE, l. xxxiii. [b] VILLANI, SUMMONT. ut ſupra. THUROZ. Chron. Hung. l. iii. BONFIN. Dec. 2. l. 10. [c] VILLANI, l. iii. c. 97.

a the oppoſite party of the *Catalans*, that for a conſiderable time no hoſtilities were committed on either ſide. The city of *Meſſina* refuſed to acknowlege the king of *Naples*; and a few months after the *Meſſinian* gallies took ſeventeen *Neapolitan* veſſels, that were ſailing with proviſions for *Palermo*.

THE kingdom of *Naples*, in the mean time, was diſturbed by the rebellion of the duke of *Durazzo* and the count *Palatine*, who believing themſelves ſlighted by the king had recourſe to arms; and in the beginning of the following year, an army of freebooters, conſiſting of 6000 men, which had been at firſt raiſed by the friar *Moriale*, but was now commanded by the count *di Lando*, entered the kingdom by *Abruzzo*, and took poſſeſſion of *Peſcara*, *Villa Franca*, and *San Fabiano*. They alleged, as the reaſon of this invaſion, that b the king had refuſed to pay them 40,000 florins which he had promiſed, and advancing towards *Foggia*, they encamped in that neighbourhood, and ravaged the country for many miles round, while the king, inſtead of oppoſing them, ſpent his time in dancing with the ladies of his court [d]. A. D. 1355.

WHILE the grand company of *Lando* was thus ravaging *Naples*, *Lewis* of *Sicily* aſſembled ſome troops at *Catania*, and reduced ſeveral towns of the *Italian* party. Encouraged by this ſucceſs, he armed ſix gallies, and made an attempt upon *Palermo* both by ſea and land: but finding it impoſſible to recover the city, he plundered the villages in its neighbourhood, and returned to *Catania*, where he died ſoon after, in the month of *November*, in the ſeventeenth year of his age. As his brother *John* died about the ſame time, his younger c brother *Frederic*, then only about thirteen years of age, was declared his ſucceſſor, his ſiſter *Euphemia* being appointed regent [e]. About two months before the death of the king of *Sicily*, *Lewis* entered into a treaty with *the grand Company*, and promiſed them 105,000 florins of gold, 35,000 to be paid immediately, and the other 70,000 at two payments, on condition they would leave the kingdom. Upon receiving the 35,000, they retired from *Naples* to *Puglia*; but the king not paying the remaining ſum ſo ſoon as they expected, in the month of *February* they took poſſeſſion of the city of *Venoſa*, and plundered the inhabitants. The citizens of *Naples* in the mean time thinking themſelves oppreſſed by the taxes which were laid upon them to pay *the grand Company*, univerſally had recourſe to arms. *Lewis* with great difficulty quelled the tumult, by taking off the tax upon ſalt, and a few months d after he prevailed with *the grand Company* to quit his dominions.

*Lewis of Sicily is ſucceeded by his brother* Frederic. A. D. 1356.

ABOUT the ſame time *Nicholas di Ceſaro*, one of the exiles from *Meſſina*, being allowed to return to the city privately, introduced 200 horſe and 400 foot from *Melazzo*, by whoſe aſſiſtance he expelled thoſe families that favoured the *Catalans*, and uſurped the government of the city. *Nicolas*, however, invited the young *Frederic* to come to *Meſſina*, where the ceremony of his coronation might be performed; but his negotiation with him not taking effect, he entered into a treaty with the king of *Naples*, who immediately proceeded with his queen to *Calabria*, and continued in *Reggio* till the agreement ſhould be concluded. *Nicolas* having at length made himſelf maſter of the caſtles of *San Salvadore*, which commanded the harbour, and *Mattagrifone*, which overlooked the city, introduced the *Neapoli-* *The king of* Naples *is received into* Meſſina. A. D. 1357.
*tan* gallies, with 50 horſe and 300 foot. A few weeks after, on the twenty-fourth of *De-* e *cember*, the king and queen arrived at *Meſſina*, where they were welcomed with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy, lodged in the royal palace, and next day received the homage and allegiance of the citizens [f].

WHILE *Lewis* continued in *Meſſina Simon* count of *Claramonte* came to wait upon him, and was received by him with great reſpect, on account of the important ſervices he had performed. *Simon*, as a reward of his ſervices, demanded *Blanch* the ſiſter of *Frederic*, who was then a priſoner, as a wife: but leſt ſuch a match might give him a pretence for claiming *Sicily*, *Lewis* declined ſatisfying him, and ſoon after propoſed to give him the daughter of the duke of *Durazzo*. *Simon* in the mean time died, about the middle of *March*, after f ſix days illneſs; and his death being ſuppoſed to be owing to poiſon, his relations left *Meſſina* in great diſcontent [g].

*LEWIS* endeavoured to procure the affections of the *Sicilians* by promiſing to continue with his court ſix years in the iſland, on condition they would aſſiſt him in reducing *Catania*. The barons accordingly aſſembled 1500 horſe, and a large body of foot; and in the month of *May* inveſted *Catania*, while four armed gallies and two other veſſels blocked up the harbour. Two *Catalan* gallies in the mean time arriving at *Saragoſſa*, fitted out two veſſels they found in that port, chiefly with drummers and trumpeters, and ſurpriſed thoſe before *Catania*, two of which they made themſelves maſters of, which ſtruck the beſiegers with ſuch a panic, that next morning they raiſed the ſiege, and abandoned their camp. g They were attacked on their march by the garriſon of the city, who killed many of them, *Beſieges* Catania *without ſucceſs.*

[d] Idem, l. iv. & v. [e] Idem, l. v. c. 87. FAZEL. Dec. 2. l. ix. [f] Idem, ut ſupra. SURIT. l. iii. MARIAN. l. xvii. [g] VILLANI, l. vii. c. 54.

and took a great number of priſoners. The kingdom of *Naples* in the mean time being a harraſſed, not only with large bodies of robbers and banditti, but alſo with the troops of the duke of *Durazzo*, the count *Palatine*, and the prince of *Tarento*, the king's elder brother, who openly contemned his authority, and ravaged the richeſt provinces of the kingdom, to maintain their followers, *Lewis* left 300 horſe in *Meſſina*, and in the month of *September* returned to *Naples*. Soon after his return, the prince of *Tarento* ſurpriſed the count *Palatine*, and ordered him to be hanged. Many of the count's followers upon his death diſperſed, which obliged the duke of *Durazzo* to deſire a reconciliation with the king. This was effected the following *April*, when all foreign ſoldiers were ordered to quit the kingdom.

*Is obliged to return to* Naples.

A FEW months after the *Catalans* in *Sicily* attacked and recovered ſome places held b
A. D. 1359. by the *Neapolitans*. The *Meſſinians* were likewiſe tempted to revolt by one of the family of the *Claramonte*; but *Lewis* kept them in obedience, by promiſing to return quickly to *Sicily*. He was, however, prevented from going to their aſſiſtance, by the troubles and confuſions in the kingdoms of *Naples*, while they continued to be harraſſed by the *Catalan* faction, which received ſome reinforcements from *Arragon*. The counſellors of *Frederic*, in hopes of procuring him a powerful auxiliary, concluded an alliance betwixt him and a daughter of the king of *Arragon*; who accordingly arrived at *Catania* in the end of the following year with fourteen gallies: but after the celebration of the nuptials, inſtead of aſſiſting his ſon-in-law, he returned with his fleet to *Spain*. *Frederic*, however, recovered ſeveral places from the *Neapolitans*, who were obliged ſoon after to evacuate almoſt the whole c iſland, as they could get no aſſiſtance from *Lewis*, who was wholly engaegd in purſuing his pleaſures. *Lewis* at laſt finding his conſtitution broke, turned very penitent, and made devout pilgrimages to the relics of the apoſtles at *Melphis*, *Benevento*, and *Salerno*, and upon his return to *Naples* died on the 26th of *May*, in the forty-ſecond year of his age, and the tenth year of his reign [h]. The pope upon being informed of the death of *Lewis*, immediately ſent *William Grimoaldi* as his legate to *Naples*, with a ſubſidy to the queen. The legate, however, was immediately recalled, having been elected pope upon the death of *Innocent*; when he took the name of *Urban* V.

Frederic *marries the daughter of the king of* Arragon. A. D. 1360.

Lewis *dies*. A. D. 1362.

THE new pope, ſoon after his election, propoſed the duke of *Tours*, the *French* king's d
Jean *marries* James *of* Majorca. A. D. 1363. ſon, as a third huſband for queen *Jean*: but, by the advice of her nobles, ſhe preferred *James* the infant of *Majorca*, who had then eſcaped from the caſtle of *Barcelona*, where he had for many years been kept in cloſe confinement. *James*, who had long ſuffered the miſeries of a priſon, willingly accepted the offer of a crown; and arriving at *Naples*, the marriage was celebrated with great magnificence, when the queen conferred upon him the title of duke of *Calabria*. This marriage, however, proved unfortunate to the kingdom of *Naples*; for *James* about three months after went to *Spain* to aſſiſt his brother againſt the king of *Arragon*, in which war he was taken priſoner, but was afterwards ranſomed by the queen for 60,000 florins. He died about eleven years after, not without ſuſpicion of having been poiſoned by the queen, who was accuſed of having haſtened the death of her former huſband *Lewis* [i]. About the ſame time *Jean* concluded a peace with *Frederic* of e
*A peace concluded betwixt* Jean *and* Frederic *of* Sicily. A. D. 1364. *Sicily*, on theſe conditions; namely, That he ſhould take the title of king of *Trinacria*, and, as his queen was dead, he ſhould marry *Antonia del Balzo*, the duke of *Andria*'s daughter, by the ſiſter of king *Lewis*; that he ſhould hold his kingdom of the queen of *Naples*, and pay to her a yearly acknowledgment of 3000 ounces of gold, promiſing likewiſe to aſſiſt her, when attacked, with 100 ſpearmen, and ten armed gallies. On the other hand, the *Neapolitans* were to evacuate all the cities, towns, and caſtles, they held in *Sicily* [k]. Theſe conditions, however, were never entirely fulfilled, the kings of *Sicily* having never taken the title of kings of *Trinacria*, nor ever paid the 3000 ounces of gold according to the ſtipulation (Q).

JEAN a few weeks after went to viſit pope *Urban*, who had at length returned with his f
Jean *viſits the pope at* Rome. A. D. 1368. court to *Rome*. She was received with great reſpect by the cardinals, who came out of the city to meet her, and the pope waited for her at the ſteps of *St. Peter*'s, and the following *Sunday* preſented her with a bleſſed roſe. On the feaſt of *Eaſter* he likewiſe made her a preſent of a gilded ſword, and a hat adorned with pearls [l]. Soon after her return to *Naples*,

[h] Idem. [i] SPOND. Annal. an. 1336. BRANTOME Dames illuſt. p. 348. Annal. BONINCONTRII, apud MURATOR, t. xxi. col. 12. [k] GIANNONE. SPOND. Annal. ad an. 1365. [l] Bzov. an. 1368. ſect. 4. BALUZ. in vit. pap. Aven.

(Q) Not long after, the prince of *Tarento*, with his third brother *Philip*, and *Lewis* of *Durazzo*, and his brother *Robert*, all died; ſo that of the numerous progeny of king *Charles* II. there remained no other male iſſue but *Lewis* king of *Hungary*, and *Charles* of *Durazzo*, the ſon of the above-mentioned *Lewis* of *Durazzo*; who went with ſome *Neapolitan* gentlemen to the aſſiſtance of the king of *Hungary* againſt the *Venetians* (1).

(1) *Coſtanzo Summont.*

*ples*,

a *ples*, *Margaret*, the daughter of her late ſiſter *Mary*, married *Charles* of *Durazzo*, which alliance was very diſagreeable to the queen, who dreaded the ambition of *Charles* [m]. About the ſame time the tranquility of her kingdom was diſturbed by *Ambroſio Viconti*, a baſtard ſon of the lord of *Milan*, who invaded *Abruzzo* with 2000, or, according to others, 12,000 horſe [n], and a large body of infantry. He ſeized ſome caſtles in *Abruzzo*, and advancing into *Puglia*, ravaged the whole province for ſome time, without oppoſition: but being ſurpriſed by *Malatacca*, whom the queen ſent againſt him, his troops were defeated, and he himſelf taken priſoner [o].

*The duke of* Andria *revolts.* A. D. 1371.

Not long after, the kingdom was again embroiled by a diſpute betwixt the duke of *Andria* and the family of *Sanſeverino*, about the property of the city of *Matera*. The b difference was referred to the arbitration of the queen, who decided in favour of the count of *Sanſeverino*. The duke, however, thinking himſelf injured, had recourſe to arms, and being joined by one *Mazziotto*, who from a common ſoldier had made himſelf a captain of banditti, he quickly became very formidable, and over-run *Puglia*, *Capitanata*, *Cantade de Moliſe*, and the vale of *Benevento*. The queen the year following having ſummoned him to appear, upon his refuſal declared him a rebel; and the year after ſent an army of 12,000 horſe and foot againſt him, under the command of *Malatacca*, who on the 23d of *September* made himſelf maſter of *Teano*, after a long ſiege. The duke ſome time before had eſcaped from the city, and gone to *Lombardy*, where he raiſed 6000 horſe, and a great body of infantry, and in the beginning of the following year entered *Terra di Lavoro*, at the head c of 15,000 men [p]. However, after he had advanced as far as *Puglia*, he was prevailed upon by the perſuaſions of his uncle to deſiſt from his rebellion, and leaving his own camp in the night-time, went to the pope, who had returned to *Avignon*, with the intention of reſiding there till his peace ſhould be made with the queen. The foreign troops, which he had deſerted, immediately begun to plunder the country, but upon receiving 10,000 florins from the queen, they marched out of the kingdom.

*He flies to* Avignon. A. D. 1374.

During theſe tranſactions the peace with *Frederic* of *Sicily* had been again renewed, upon the ſame conditions as formerly [q]; when *Gregory* XI. ſent a legate into *Sicily* to take off the excommunication and interdict from the iſland, and to celebrate the marriage betwixt *Frederic* and *Antonia del Balzo*, who were afterwards ſolemnly crowned at *Palermo* [r].

Soon after the quieting of the rebellion of the duke of *Andria*, the queen was informed d of the death of her third huſband, *James* of *Majorca*, of the houſe of *Arragon*. Tho' ſhe was now forty-ſix years of age, ſhe reſolved to take a fourth huſband, whether ſhe expected heirs of her own body, or was jealous of the ambition of *Charles Durazzo*, who in right of his ducheſs *Margaret*, was heir apparent to the crown, and was then commanding the army of his kinſman, the king of *Hungary*, againſt the *Venetians*. *Jean* choſe for her fourth huſband *Otho* of the houſe of *Brunſwic*, who was then in *Lombardy*, and had ſerved in the papal army againſt the *Viconti* of *Milan* (R). Four gallies were accordingly fitted out, on board of which forty *Neapolitan* counts and gentlemen embarked, to conduct *Otho* to *Naples*. They returned the following year, on the 25th of *March*, when *Otho* was conducted under a canopy to *Caſtello Nuovo*, where the marriage was celebrated with great rejoicing [s]. *Jean*, that ſhe might not ſeem to deprive the duke of *Durazzo* of his right, would not confer the title of duke of *Calabria* on her huſband, but created him duke of *Tarento*, and made him a preſent of that large principality which had been lately forfeited by the duke of *Andria*. *Charles*, however, from this time conceived a great hatred againſt the queen, and her niece the ducheſs *Margaret*, who had returned from *Hungary*, and a few weeks before was delivered of a ſon named *Ladiſlaus*, openly expreſſed her diſpleaſure [t].

Jean *marries* Otho *of* Brunſwic; A. D. 1375.

*who arrives at* Naples. A. D. 1376.

*OTHO* a few months after his marriage returned with four gallies, and an immenſe ſum of money, to *Lombardy*, to viſit his relations, who reſided at *Aſti*; and after continuing there a few weeks, he came back to *Naples*, and brought with him his brother *Balthaſar*, who married the daughter and heireſs of the count of *Fondi*. The kingdom of *Naples* at this time enjoyed greater tranquility than for many years before. The iſland of *Sicily*, in the

[m] Giornali Napolitani apud Murator. t. 21. fol. 1035. [n] Annal. Bonincontrii, ut ſupra. [o] Idem ibid. Giornal. ut ſupra. [p] Idem ibid. [q] Surit. Indic. Fazel. [r] Spond. Annal. an. 1372. [s] Giornali, ut ſupra. [t] Giannone, Giornali, ut ſupra.

(R) *Otho* was a deſcendant of the imperial houſe of *Saxony*. In his youth he had taken part with *John* king of *Bohemia* againſt the emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, and for two campaigns had a chief command in his army in *Lombardy*; where he ſignalized himſelf by his valour. He fought at the battle of *Creſſy* againſt *Edward* III. of *England*, and aſſiſted queen *Jean* againſt *Lewis* of *Hungary*. He was greatly eſteemed for his military accompliſhments, was extremely handſome, and much beloved for his mildneſs, humanity, and other virtues (1).

(1) *Theod. Niem. l.* i. *de Schiſmate. Memoirs of the houſe of Brunſwic, by Hen. Rimius.*

mean

mean time, was again expoſed to the confuſions and diſorders attendant on a minority, by the death of *Frederic* II. which happened the following year in the month of *July*. He died in the thirty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-ſecond of his reign, and left his only daughter *Mary*, heireſs of his crown [u]. a

*The cardinals are compelled by the* Romans *to elect* Urban VI. A. D. 1378.

THE tranquility of *Naples* was of very ſhort continuance; but was ſoon diſturbed by an accident which likewiſe affected all other Chriſtian ſtates. Pope *Gregory* dying the following year in the end of *March*, the *Romans*, thoroughly ſenſible of the great loſs they had ſuſtained by the reſidence of the popes at *Avignon*, ſurrounded the conclave in a tumultuous manner, and threatened to put the cardinals to death, if they did not elect an *Italian* pope. The members of the conclave in great terror nominated one *Perignano*, a *Neapolitan* gentleman, then archbiſhop of *Bari*, who had ſome employment about the pope's court, and was noted for his humility and modeſty. The cardinals therefore, as was afterwards alleged, expected that he would acknowledge his election to be void, and voluntarily reſign; but they were greatly deceived, for he, ſuſpecting they deſigned his abdication, took the name of *Urban* VI. obliged them to conſecrate him, and behaved to them with great moroſeneſs and auſterity. The *French* cardinals reſolved to take the firſt opportunity of abandoning him, and accordingly, a few months after, retired to *Anagni*, where they publiſhed a ſentence againſt him, as an apoſtate and antichriſt. b

*who is favoured by the queen.*

QUEEN *Jean*, upon being informed of his election, immediately ſent *Nicolas Spinello*, count of *Gioja*, a famous lawyer, and chancellor of the kingdom, to congratulate him, and to do him homage. *Urban* treated his countryman with great rudeneſs and ill manners. The queen nevertheleſs, upon the open revolt of the cardinals, not only ſent money and proviſions to him, but alſo ordered a body of her troops to attend him as a guard. Her huſband *Otho* likewiſe waited upon him at *Rome*, according to ſome authors, to procure the inveſtiture of the kingdom [w]: but though *Urban* had formerly received many favours from him, when *Otho* commanded in *Lombardy*, yet he now treated him with the greateſt inſolence; for when he preſented him at dinner with the cup, kneeling, he ſuffered him to continue ſo long in that humble poſture, that the cardinals were aſhamed, and ſaid to him, *Holy father, 'tis time for you to drink* [x]. *Urban* is accuſed by *Summontius* and others of having at the ſame time entered into a private negociation with the duke of *Durazzo*, for conferring upon him the kingdom of *Naples*, in hopes of procuring from him large ſettlements for his two nephews, whom he was very ambitious of promoting. He was prompted to this ſecret negotiation by the duke of *Andria*, who then reſided in *Rome*, in a very low condition [y]. c d

*The queen and cardinals diſguſted by the moroſeneſs of the pope. An antipope elected, who reſides at* Avignon. A. D. 1379.

JEAN being informed of his intrigues, immediately abandoned him, and countenanced the ſchiſmatic cardinals, who aſſembling at *Fondi* under her protection, on the 21ſt of *September* choſe *Clement* VII. who, though he was obliged the following ſummer to leave *Italy*, and retire to *Avignon*, was acknowleged as true pope, not only by her, but alſo by *France*, *Spain*, *Scotland*, *Cyprus*, and *Savoy* [z]. *Urban* was now prompted by revenge to dethrone the queen. He therefore ſent the duke of *Andria* to *Charles* of *Durazzo*, who was then in *Friuli*, inviting him to come and receive the inveſtiture of *Naples* at *Rome*; and to ſtrengthen his intereſt in the kingdom, he created ſeveral *Neapolitan* cardinals, upon whom he conferred the principal benefices in *Naples*. He likewiſe depoſed the archbiſhop of *Naples*, for adhering to the antipope, and conferred that ſee on one *Bozuto*, a gentleman of great authority in the city, whoſe adherents raiſed a furious tumult, which obliged *Clement* to ſail for *France*. *Urban* at the ſame time warmly oppoſed the pretenſions of the king of *Arragon* to *Sicily*, deſigning, according to the account of his ſecretary *Theodoric Niem*, to have concluded a marriage betwixt his nephew and *Mary* heireſs of the iſland, who about the ſame time was taken, during the night, out of the caſtle of *Catania*, and carried on board a galley to *Catalonia* [a]. e

Urban *propoſes to dethrone queen* Jean.

THE kingdom of *Naples* in the mean time ſuffered ſeverely by a deſtructive plague, while the provinces were ravaged by great troops of banditti. The queen likewiſe was greatly alarmed with the increaſing report of the duke's preparations, and endeavoured to ſeize the new archbiſhop *Bozuto*, one of his greateſt partizans; but failing in her attempt to apprehend him, ſhe ordered all his eſtates to be plundered, and deſtroyed his houſes in *Naples*. Soon after, however, ſhe imprudently allowed the ducheſs *Margaret*, with her daughter and infant ſon, to retire to *Rome*. Being greatly apprehenſive of the fidelity of the *Neapolitans*, ſhe retired into the caſtle *del Ovo*, likewiſe ordering all her ſubjects to abandon the villages, and betake themſelves to the fortified towns, while her huſband *Otho* with the greateſt diligence was aſſembling an army to defend the frontiers of the kingdom. f

[u] SURIT. Indic. l. iii. Giornal. Napol. ut ſupra, Hiſtory of the Popes. col. 1089. [w] SPOND. Annal. an. 1377. [x] BALUZ. in not. ad Vit. P. Aven. t. i. p. 1124. [y] THEOD. NIEM. ut ſupra. [z] Idem. BALUZ. ut ſupra. [a] See the Fragment. Siculæ Hiſt. apud MURATOR. t. xxiv. THEOD. NIEM. ut ſupra.

*URBAN* in the mean time having prevailed on *Lewis* of *Hungary* to give assistance to *Charles*, in the beginning of the following year published a sentence of excommunication and deposition against queen *Jean*. The queen, to protect herself from the designs of the pope, and in resentment for the signal ingratitude of the duke of *Durazzo*, soon after adopted *Lewis* duke of *Anjou*, and brother of *Charles* V. of *France*, for her son and heir, and immediately conferred upon him the title of duke of *Calabria*. *Clement* VII. the antipope, a few weeks after confirmed the adoption of *Lewis* at *Avignon* [b]. The death of the king of *France* prevented *Lewis* from proceeding directly to *Naples*, as he was appointed regent during the minority of his nephew *Charles* VI.

*He excommunicates and deposes her.* A. D. 1380.

THE duke of *Durazzo* in the mean time had entered *Italy*, at the head of an *Hungarian* army, and in his march to *Rome* had ravaged and plundered many towns and villages, and levied heavy contributions upon *Florence* and other cities. In the beginning of the following year he arrived at *Rome*, having considerably increased his army by many *Italians* and *Neapolitans*, who had joined him. *Urban* received him with great honour and distinction; and as he was in great want of money, he stripped all the churches and monasteries of *Rome* of their plate, crosses, and images, which he either melted down or sold, to supply the expences of the expedition. He refused, however, to give him the investiture of the kingdom, unless he would confer upon his nephew *Butillo Prignano* the duchies of *Capua* and *Amalfi*, and many other valuable baronies in the kingdom [c]. *Charles*, much against his inclination, having granted the writ of investiture of these lands to *Prignano*, on the first of *June* was solemnly crowned king of *Sicily* and *Jerusalem*, under the same conditions as *Charles* I. of *Anjou* had stipulated with *Clement* IV. *Urban* then appointed the cardinal *di Sangro* to attend the king as his legate, and hired a large body of troops, commanded by *Alberico Barbiano*, whom he ordered to join *Charles*.

Charles *of* Durazzo *arrives at* Rome. A. D. 1381.

*Receives the crown of* Naples *from* Urban.

THE king immediately proceeded to *Naples*, and his army, being very numerous, entered the kingdom without opposition. As the queen, by the adoption of the duke of *Anjou*, had increased the disaffection of her subjects, who inclined rather to submit to their countryman the duke of *Durazzo* than to a foreigner, prince *Otho* was followed but by few barons, and therefore prudently declined engaging the enemy, but retired before them to *Naples*. *Charles* followed the prince, and on the sixteenth of *July* encamped on the opposite side of the city. Three days after, some of his cavalry, by wading into the sea, surprised one of the gates, took possession of the market-place, and admitted his army into the city, which was then in the utmost confusion; one party declaring for him, another for the queen, and a third for pope *Urban*. *Charles* immediately besieged the queen in *Castello Nuovo*, and in a few weeks reduced the garrison to such distress, that the queen promised to capitulate, if she was not relieved within four days. Her husband, accordingly, on the fourth day, attacked the intrenchments of *Charles*, with great bravery; but not being seconded by his troops, he was surrounded by the enemy and taken prisoner, which occasioned the total rout of his army. The queen next day surrendered to *Charles*, and four days after had the mortification to see ten *Provençal* gallies arrive at *Naples*, with succours to her relief. Upon the news of the queen's imprisonment, the whole kingdom submitted to *Charles*, excepting the counties of *Fondi*, *Caserta*, and *Ariano*, which never acknowledged his authority. In the end of the year queen *Margaret* returned with her two children to *Naples*, when she was crowned with great solemnity by the pope's legate.

*Defeats* Otho *of* Brunswic.

*Takes possession of the kingdom.*

*CHARLES* having thus taken possession of the kingdom, refused to put *Prignano* in possession of the duchy of *Capua*, which greatly irritated the pope. He likewise alienated the family of *Sanseverini*, by restoring the duke of *Andria* to the principality of *Tarento*, and allowing the duke's son the following year to marry his relation *Agnes* of *Durazzo*, who took the title of empress of *Constantinople*. About the same time the counts of *Montuoro*, *Lecce*, and *Conversano*, openly revolted; and news arrived that the count of *Anjou*, regent of *France*, was making great preparations to invade the kingdom. *Charles*, to secure his conquest, by the advice of the king of *Hungary*, caused queen *Jean* to be put to death. On the twenty-second of *May* she was accordingly strangled, according to *Theodoric Niem*; but according to others, she was smothered with a bolster in the castle of *Nuovo*, from whence her body was brought to *Naples*, where it lay unburied for seven days, exposed to the view of the people [d]. *Jean* died in the fifty-sixth year of her age, and the thirty-ninth of her reign. Notwithstanding what several authors, and some of them her cotemporaries, have said, concerning her lewdness and abandoned life, other writers, likewise her cotemporaries, have been very full and warm in her praise. She is greatly extolled, particularly by the two brothers *Baldo* and *Angelo da Perugia*, famous lawyers of those times, and by *Boccacio*, who enumerates her many excellencies, both of body and mind [e].

A. D. 1382.

*Orders queen* Jean *to be put to death.*

[b] SPOND. Annal. an. 1380. RAINALD. eod. an. [c] THEOD. [d] Idem ibid. Giornal. ut supra. Annal. BONINCONTR. GIANNONE. [e] BOCCACIO. SUMMONT. COSTANZO. SPOND. Annal. GIANNONE.

A FEW weeks after the queen's death, twenty-two *Provençal* gallies arrived before *Naples*, and attacked the ſub urbs; but being repulſed by the inhabitants, they retired to the iſland of *Iſchia*, which they took poſſeſſion of. At the ſame time the duke of *Anjou* having been crowned king of *Naples* at *Avignon*, by pope *Clement*, received the homage of the *Provençals* as their ſovereign, and was preparing to enter *Italy* with an army of 30,000 horſe. *Charles* being ſenſible that he had irritated the pope, and alienated a great many barons, took all precautions for his ſecurity. He impriſoned ſome barons whom he ſuſpected, put others to death, and ſent a body of troops to *Tuſcany*, to oppoſe the march of the *French*. *Lewis* of *Anjou*, however, having forced his way through *Italy*, entered *Abruzzo* about the end of *July*, at the head of 40,000 men. About the beginning of *November* he advanced as far as *Ariano*; but as the ſeaſon was ſevere, and his army was in great want of proviſions, he ſeparated his troops into winter-quarters, and contented himſelf with ſome ſlight ſkirmiſhes with the enemy, till the return of the ſpring. *Charles* in the mean time fortified thoſe cities he judged moſt expoſed; and having aſſembled an army of about 14,000 men, uſed his utmoſt diligence in cutting off the *French* convoys. As he avoided coming to a deciſive engagement, the whole following campaign was ſpent without any important action, and the *French* having conſumed the proviſions in *Terra di Lavoro*, in the beginning of autumn marched through *Puglia* into *Tarento*.

*The duke of* Anjou *enters* Naples *with a formidable army.*

A. D. 1383.

WHILE *Charles* was harraſſing the *French* in this principality, he was informed that pope *Urban* had left *Rome*, with the intention of coming to *Naples*, to urge the fulfilling of his promiſe, in favour of his nephew *Butillo*. The king, being apprehenſive leſt the diſcontented pope ſhould occaſion new diſorders in his kingdom, immediately left his army, and arrived at *Averſa*, conducting the pope with great reſpect into the city. Next day, however, in the evening, he obliged him to come to the caſtle, and detained him a priſoner five days. Upon his arrival at *Naples*, he was likewiſe forced to take up his reſidence in the caſtle *Nuovo*; but ſoon after *Charles*, by the interceſſion of the cardinals, ſet him at liberty, having entered into new ſtipulations with him, and again promiſed the duchy of *Capua* to his nephew [f]. *Urban* then went to the archbiſhop's palace, and diſpoſed of two of his nieces in marriage to two *Neapolitan* counts. *Butillo Prignano* in the mean time thinking himſelf protected by the authority of his uncle, broke into a nunnery, and raviſhed one of the moſt beautiful and noble of the nuns. In conſequence of this outrage, which occaſioned a great uproar in *Naples*, *Prignano* was capitally condemned. He was, however, pardoned at the interceſſion of the pope, who excuſed him upon account of his youth, though *Theoderic Niem*, then in *Naples*, remarks, that he was upwards of forty years of age. *Urban*, in return, gratified the king, by publiſhing a cruſade againſt the duke of *Anjou*, on the firſt of *January*, and appointing him general of the cruſards, and ſtandard-bearer of the church. About three months after *Charles* marched to *Barletta*, with 16,000 horſe, and a large body of infantry; and having gained ſome advantages over the *French*, by following the advice of *Otho* of *Brunſwic*, he ſet that unfortunate prince at liberty [g]. Soon after he was prevented for ſome months from proſecuting the war, by an epidemical ſickneſs, which ſeized himſelf, and carried off a great part of his army.

*Urban leaves* Rome, *and goes to* Naples;

*where he is impriſoned.*

A. D. 1384.

THE duke of *Anjou* in the mean time had fixed his court at *Bari*, and had appointed juſticiaries and officers in the provinces that he had ſubjected; but having over-fatigued himſelf, in preventing his men from plundering *Biſeglio*, which had ſurrendered to him, he was ſeized with an illneſs, of which he died on the tenth of *October*, leaving behind him two ſons, *Lewis* and *Charles* [h]. His troops immediately diſperſed, and many of them returned, begging, to *France*. Several of the barons of the kingdom, nevertheleſs, ſtill continued in arms, and refuſed to acknowlege king *Charles*; who thinking the war concluded by the death of his rival, returned in a triumphant manner to *Naples*. Immediately after his return the diſſentions were again revived betwixt him and the pope, who during his abſence in the army had retired to *Nocera*, then in poſſeſſion of *Prignano*. *Charles*, being apprehenſive of the deſigns of the pope, who had even proceeded to excommunicate and depoſe him and his queen, the following ſpring ſent an army to beſiege *Nocera*. The pope, after being beſieged ſeveral months, at laſt made his eſcape by the aſſiſtance of *Romandello* and *Sanſeverino*, two barons of the party of the late duke of *Anjou*. Though theſe two barons acknowleged *Clement* as true pope, yet, in hope of creating troubles to king *Charles*, they intereſted themſelves in the ſafety of *Urban*, and conducted him to the ſea-coaſt, where in the month of *July* he embarked for *Genoa*. The pope, out of gratitude, gave to *Romandello* the city of *Benevento*, and confirmed to him the county of *Lecce*, and the barony of *Flumare* [i].

*The duke of* Anjou *dies at* Biſeglio.

A. D. 1385.

*King* Charles *beſieges the pope in* Nocera.

KING *Charles* was not greatly diſpleaſed at the pope's eſcape from his dominions, as he was then impatient to paſs over to *Hungary*, to take poſſeſſion of that crown.

[f] THEOD. NIEM. ut ſupra. Gironali Napol. Metrop: KRANTZIC. l. x. c. 17. SUMMONT. ut ſupra.
[g] Giornali ut ſupra. [h] Giornali BONINCONTR. SUMMONT. ut ſupra. [i] Giornali, ut ſupra.

a *Lewis* of *Hungary*, who died a few years before, left only two young daughters, the eldeſt of whom, *Mary*, who was contracted to *Sigiſmond*, marquis of *Brandenburg*, was proclaimed not queen, but king, as a teſtimony of reſpect for the memory of her father. Soon after, however, a ſtrong party of malecontents invited king *Charles*, who was well known in *Hungary*, on account of his long reſidence in that country. *Charles* willingly accepted of the offer of the malecontents, and, contrary to the perſuaſions of his queen, on the fourth of *September* embarked, with a ſmall retinue, on board four gallies at *Barletta*, and a few days after arrived at *Hungary*. King *Mary* was quickly obliged to abdicate the throne, and on the laſt of *December Charles* was crowned king of *Hungary* with great ſolemnity. He however enjoyed his uſurped dignity but a ſhort time; for on the 6th of *February* his ſkull b was cleft by one of the adherents of *Mary*, and a few days after he died of the wound, in the forty-firſt year of his age, and the fifth of his reign [k].

*He is crowned king of* Hungary; *but ſoon after murdered.* A. D. 1386.

During the abſence of king *Charles* in *Hungary*, queen *Margaret* ſeized a *Venetian* ſhip, richly laden, that had put into the harbour of *Naples* in diſtreſs. The *Venetians* in return for this injury, immediately took poſſeſſion of *Durazzo* and the iſland of *Corcyra*, which places the *Neapolitans* never afterwards recovered [l]. The news of the king's death arrived at *Naples* in the midſt of the rejoicings for his coronation. The queen a few weeks after cauſed her ſon *Ladiſlaus*, or *Lancelot*, then about ten years of age to be crowned; and ſent a ſubmiſſive embaſſy to the pope, intreating him to take the young king under his protection. *Thomas Sanſeverino* in the mean time proclaimed *Lewis* II. duke of *Anjou*, who the year be- c fore had received the inveſtiture of *Naples* from *Clement* at *Avignon*. A few months after, he advanced with a large body of troops to the neighbourhood of *Naples*, to ſupport the governor of one of the caſtles, who had declared for *Lewis*. Though the city ſtill continued in obedience to *Ladiſlaus*, they refuſed, however, to ſubmit to the adminiſtration of the queen; and the *Seggi* choſe new magiſtrates, who were called *the eight lords of good government*, and ſupreme authority. The city on this account was immediately filled with tumult and diſorder; ſo that the queen, finding her intereſt declining, fled with her ſon to *Gaeta*, and the two factions giving admittance at the ſame time to the oppoſite armies, *Thomas Sanſeverino*, who was now joined by *Otho* of *Brunſwic*, and was declared viceroy, repulſed the party of *Ladiſlaus*, and remained in poſſeſſion of the city. The faction of *Ladiſlaus* was thus overpowered, chiefly by the d ſlowneſs and inactivity of *Urban*, who with great difficulty could be prevailed upon to forgive the injuries he had received from the late king *Charles*.

*Her ſon* Ladiſlaus *is proclaimed king.*

*He quits* Naples *and retires to* Gaeta.

Queen *Margaret* in the following year endeavoured to recover *Naples*; and in the month of *July* arrived before the harbour with ten veſſels; but by the diligence of the viceroy and *Otho* of *Brunſwic*, her attempt was fruſtrated, though the *Neapolitans* were then, and had been for ſome time before in great want of proviſions. They ſent a galley to *Avignon*, intreating the aſſiſtance of *Lewis* and of *Clement*. A few months after, five gallies and a galliot arrived, with a ſupply of proviſions and money, and on board of them came lord *Monjoy*, the nephew of *Clement*, in the character of viceroy, and many other nobles and barons. *Thomas Sanſeverino*, who expected to have been confirmed viceroy by the king, e upon the arrival of *Monjoy* retired in diſguſt to his eſtate; and the new viceroy having affronted *Otho* of *Brunſwic*, he likewiſe left *Naples*, and went to *San Agatha de Goti*. *Monjoy* endeavoured in vain to effect a reconciliation; for *Otho*, being in hopes of marrying the queen dowager *Margaret*, ſoon after abandoned the *Anjou* faction, and declared for *Ladiſlaus*.

A. D. 1387.

While *Monjoy* was employing himſelf the following ſummer in reducing the caſtles of *Naples*, *Margaret* ſoothed *Otho* with the hopes of marrying him, but in reality concluded a marriage for her ſon [m]. *Sicily* at this time was governed by the chiefs of the *Italian* and *Catalan* factions, in the name of the abſent princeſs *Mary*, who about ten years before had been carried to *Catalonia*. *Artalis Alagona*, the chief of the *Catalans*, reſided at *Catania*. f *Manfred di Claramonte*, count of *Modica*, the chief of the *Italians*, was in poſſeſſion of *Palermo*, and almoſt all the chief cities of the iſland: he was very rich, had conquered the *Moors* in the iſland of *Gerba*, and the year before had made conſiderable conqueſts on the coaſt of *Africa*, in which expedition the father of the hiſtorian *Bonincontrius* aſſiſted [n]. Queen *Margaret* being informed of his great power and wealth, propoſed an alliance betwixt her ſon and his daughter *Conſtantia*, and ſent an embaſſy to *Manfred*, who readily accepted of her offer. The *Neapolitans*, by another embaſſy, in vain endeavoured to diſſuade him from the match; for on the fifth of *September* the bride arrived at *Gaeta* with four gallies while twelve other *Sicilian* gallies ſailed to the relief of *Caſtello Nuovo*, which was then beſieged by *Monjoy* [o].

*He marries the daughter of a rich* Sicilian *count.* A. D. 1388.

g

[k] Thuroz. Bonfin. de reb. Hungar. Summont. Boninconтr. Giornali ut ſupra. [l] Giornali Boninconтr. ut ſupra. [m] Giornali Napol. [n] Annal. Boninconтr. apud Murator. [o] Fragment. Sicul. Hiſt. apud Murator. t. xxiv. Boninconтr. ut ſupra. Giornali Napol.

Pope

A. D. 1389. POPE *Urban* dying the following year, in the beginning of *October*, *Ladiſlaus* acquired a zealous friend in his ſucceſſor *Boniface* IX. who was a *Neapolitan*, and ſoon after his promotion created ſeven *Neapolitan* cardinals. *Boniface*, in hopes of procuring ſettlements for his relations, whom he was fond of promoting, warmly eſpouſed the cauſe of *Ladiſlaus*, and ſoon after receiving an embaſſy from the queen, who deſired to be abſolved from the ſentence of excommunication and depoſition, denounced by *Urban*, he granted the abſolution, and ſent *Acciajoli* the cardinal of *Florence* to *Gaeta*, who on the 8th of *May* crowned
A. D. 1390. *Ladiſlaus* and his queen *Conſtantia* [p].

Lewis *of* Anjou *lands at* Naples. ABOUT three months after, *Lewis* of *Anjou*, who the year before had been ſolemnly crowned king of *Sicily* by pope *Clement* at *Avignon*, and had married the daughter of the king of *Arragon*, arrived with twenty-one veſſels, and a conſiderable body of troops at *Naples*, where he was received with great rejoicing. As his party was in poſſeſſion of more than a half of the whole kingdom, upon the news of his arrival the barons crowded from all parts to do him homage; and among the reſt arrived *Thomas Sanſeverino*, with many others of his family, with a body of 800 horſe. The barons of his party then held a parliament at *S. Chiara*, when it was agreed to furniſh 1000 lances before *March*, and to maintain ten
A. D. 1391. gallies during the war at their own expence [q]. A few months after, a galley arriving with money from *Provence*, *Lewis* made himſelf maſter of the three caſtles *S. Eramo*, *Caſtel Nuovo*, and *Caſtel Ovo*; and being of a mild and courteous diſpoſition, had acquired the eſteem and affection of the *Neapolitans*. *Ladiſlaus*, in the mean time, was greatly diſtreſſed for want of men and money, while ſeveral barons refuſed to declare for either party; and continuing upon their eſtates, ſent preſents to both princes [r].

Mary *and her huſband* Martin *of* Arragon *take poſſeſſion of* Sicily. DURING this interruption of the war in *Naples*, a great revolution happened in *Sicily*. *Manfred di Claramonte* dying at *Palermo*, the princeſs *Mary*, who had married, in *Arragon*, *Martin* the ſon of the duke of *Monblanco*, arrived with her huſband and a ſtrong army at *Sicily*. She quickly reduced *Palermo*, and recovered all the cities that had been in the poſſeſſion of *Manfred*; and having got the whole family of *Claramonte* into her power, ſhe ordered *Andrew*, the governor of *Palermo*, to be put to death. Her father-in-law, *Martin* duke of *Monblanco*, who was brother to *John* king of *Arragon*, and afterwards ſucceeded him, had attended her in the expedition; and after the reduction of *Palermo*, had contracted an intimacy with the widow of the late *Manfred*.

Ladiſlaus *diworces his queen* Conſtantia. THEIR intrigue, being reported in *Gaeta*, ſerved queen *Margaret* as a pretext for an action of the blackeſt ingratitude. She alleged, that it was diſhonourable for her ſon to have for a wife the daughter of one who was miſtreſs to a *Catalan*. *Ladiſlaus* accordingly, by her perſuaſion, immediately ſent *Conſtantia* to a private houſe attended only by an old governante, and two *Sicilian* maids; and in the end of *May* he went with forty gallies to
A. D. 1392. *Rome* to demand a divorce from the pope, which he obtained without any difficulty [s]. Queen *Margaret* hoped to procure a ſecond marriage, and a ſecond fortune for her ſon, though her affairs had been already ſaved from ruin by the immenſe portion of *Conſtantia*. Her conduct, however, ſo full of baſeneſs, ingratitude, and inhumanity, was cenſured by her beſt friends, and the ambition of the pope was univerſally condemned (S).

*LADISLAUS*, in the beginning of the year, having gained ſome advantages by the conduct of his viceroy *Cicco del Cozzo*, about two months after his return from *Rome* he reſolved to command his troops in perſon; and having heard maſs in complete armour, he left *Gaeta*, and marched to *Aquila*, which was the only city in *Abruzzo* that held for *Lewis*. The *Aquilans*, after having in vain expected to be relieved, ſurrendered to *Ladiſlaus*, and paid 40,000 ducats to ſave their city from being plundered. *Ladiſlaus*, in his return, took poſſeſſion of the county of *Manupello*, and ſtopt at *Capua*, where, in conſequence of poiſon that he had received, his life was deſpaired of; and it was reported that he was dead. By the aſſiſtance of phyſicians, however, he was cured; but he continued a ſtammerer to his death [t]. The following year, while he reſided at *Gaeta*, an ambaſſador arrived from *France*
*He beſieges* Naples *without effect.* to treat of an alliance betwixt the *French* king and his ſiſter *Jean*; but the negociation had no effect. The year after, having aſſembled a powerful army, by inrolling even the arti-
A. D. 1394.

[p] Giornali Napol. apud MURAT. t. xxi. [q] Vide auct. ſup. citat. SUMMONT. l. iv. c. 2. ANTON. tit. xxii. c. 3. [r] Giornali, ap. MURATOR, t. xxi. col 1061. An. BONINCONTR. [s] Id. ib. Fragment. Siculæ Hiſt. ut ſup. [t] Vide auct. ſup. citat. GIANNONE.

(S) *Conſtantia* bore her reverſe of fortune with great fortitude. That no prince might have any objection to contract a ſecond alliance with *Ladiſlaus*, about two years after ſhe was given in marriage with a portion of 30,000 ducats, to *Andrew* the ſon of the count of *Altavilla*. When he led her home, ſhe declared before all the courtiers, that he ought to think himſelf the happieſt knight in the kingdom, who had got his ſovereign's lawful wife for his concubine (1).

(1) *Giornal. Napol. ap. Murat. t. xxi. col* 1065; *Summont. l.* iv. *c.* 2.

a ficers, he left *Gaeta*, and on the 9th of *April* encamped before *Naples*, the harbour being blocked up by three gallies and a galliot. After he had continued thirty-six days before the city, he was obliged to retire, as his gallies were repulsed by four vessels from *Provence*, and the communication with the sea opened. A few months after the *Sanseverini* family, who had come to the relief of the city, perſuaded *Lewis* to contract an alliance with the duke of *Sessa*; who was chief admiral, and one of the moſt powerful adherents of *Ladiſlaus*. The duke readily agreed to the propoſal made by *Lewis*, immediately deſerted *Ladiſlaus*, and joined his new friends with a 1000 horſe. *Lewis*, in the mean time, ſent conſiderable preſents to the duke's daughter *Mary*, and gave her the title of queen: but *Ladiſlaus* vigo-rouſly attacking the duke's territories; after hoſtilities for ſeveral months, the duke, by the
b mediation of *Boniface*, was again reconciled to him, and the marriage never took effect [u]. While his troops were ravaging the eſtates of the duke, *Ladiſlaus* went and viſited *Boniface* at *Rome*, from whom and the cardinals he received very large ſubſidies. *Lewis*, about the ſame time, received ſome aſſiſtance from pope *Clement*, who died ſoon after about the middle of *September*. His ſucceſſor *Benedict* XIII. immediately confirmed the crown of *Naples* to *Lewis*, and declared himſelf his protector.

*LEWIS*, however, continuing inactive at *Naples*, while his competitor was continually employed in ſome expedition, his affairs quickly began to decline, while many of the barons, particularly the *Sanſeverini*, reſolving to abandon his party, treacheroſly urged him to leave *Naples*, and to go to the ſupport of his friends in *Tarento*. He was accord-
c ingly, ſome years after, perſuaded to go to *Calabria*, when *Naples* immediately admitted the troops of *Ladiſlaus*, and detained *Charles* his brother priſoner, who had arrived from *Provence* with a ſmall reinforcement ſoon after his departure. Upon the news of the loſs of *Naples*, *Lewis* wholly deſpaired of being able to recover his affairs; and though he was ſtill in poſſeſſion of more than one half of the kingdom, and had many barons faithful to his intereſt, he abſolutely determined to return to *Provence*. He accordingly embarked at *Tarento*, and, ſailing round to the iſland of *Caprea*, entered into a negotiation with *Ladiſlaus*, offering to deliver up the *Caſtel Nuovo*, on condition that the *French* garriſon ſhould be allowed to depart with their bag and baggage, and his brother ſhould be ſet at liberty. *Ladiſlaus* willingly agreed to this condition; and *Lewis* taking his brother and the garriſon on board his fleet, ſailed directly to *Provence*, to the great grief of all thoſe of his party [w]. About the ſame time, *Martin* king of *Sicily* had made himſelf maſter of *Catania*; and having reduced ſeveral factious barons, obliged the whole iſland to acknowlege his authority [x].

*Lewis by his inactivity alienates his friends.*

A. D. 1400.

*He returns to Provence.*

Those barons who had treacherouſly abandoned the duke of *Anjou* were quickly convinced of the imprudence of their conduct; for *Ladiſlaus* had no ſooner driven his rival out of the kingdom, than he reſolved intirely to cruſh and ruin them. In the end of the year he reduced the whole county of *Fondi*, except *Ponteciello* and *Portella*, on the confines of the kingdom; and the following *April*, after holding a parliament at *Naples*, he marched into *Calabria*, and conquered the whole province, except *Reggio* and *Cotrone*,
d which laſt city was garriſoned by ſome *French* that had come thither after the departure of *Lewis*. He ſoon obliged the *French* to ſurrender, and in his return ſeized ſeveral of the family of the *Sanſeverini*, whom he impriſoned in the caſtles of *Naples*. He likewiſe took the duchy of *Seſſa* from the family of *Marzano*, and impriſoned the late admiral's ſon with his mother and two ſiſters. Having reduced the whole kingdom to his obedience, by the advice of his great protector *Boniface* he contracted an alliance with *Mary* the ſiſter of the king of *Cyprus*, who landing the following year, on the 12th of *February*, at *Naples*, attended with her uncle, and many *Cypriot* ladies, the marriage was celebrated with great magnificence [y].

*Ladiſlaus marries the ſiſter of the king of* Cyprus. A. D. 1402.

About the ſame time, he was informed, that the *Hungarians* had impriſoned their king
f *Sigiſmond*, and ſet up his ſtandard all over the kingdom. Receiving repeated invitations from the *Hungarian* nobles, who offered him their crown, the following year he was prevailed upon to depart for that kingdom, under pretence of conducting his ſiſter *Jean* to *Germany*, ſhe having, ſome time before, been contracted to the duke of *Auſtria*. Reflecting on the fate of his father, he ſtopped at *Zara*, or *Jadra*, on the coaſt of *Dalmatia*, till he ſhould be informed of the true ſtate of affairs in *Hungary*. Many *Hungarian* barons and prelates waited upon him in this city, and according to *Bonincontrius*, and others, he was ſolemnly crowned king of *Hungary* by the biſhop of *Gran*, or *Strigonia*, but by the account of *Thedoric Niem*, *Boniface* ordered the cardinal of *Florence* to confer upon him the crown, and beſides remitted him a debt of 300,000 florins, and granted him the tythe of
g the eccleſiaſtical revenues of *Naples* for three years. *Ladiſlaus*, in the mean time, being

[u] Giornali, ut ſupra.
[w] Vide auct. ſup. citat. Giannone.
[x] Frag. Hiſt. Sicul. an. 1394 & 1398.
[y] Giornal ut ſupra.

informed that *Sigiſmond*, who had eſcaped from priſon, was returning to *Hungary* with a powerful army of *Bohemians*, did not think proper to diſpute the kingdom with him, but immediately left *Zadra*, and came back to *Naples*[z]. a

*Her death.* A FEW months after his return he loſt his queen, and ſoon after his great protector pope *Boniface*, who, in the month of *November*, was ſucceeded by *Innocent* VII. born at *Sulmo*, in
A. D. 1404. the kingdom of *Naples*. *Ladiſlaus*, upon hearing of his election, immediately went with a body of troops to *Rome*, upon pretence of congratulating him; but, in reality, with the deſign of aſſiſting the *Gibelline* faction, who, ſince the new election, had raiſed a great ſedition in *Rome*, from a deſire of wreſting from the pope the ſovereign authority of the city. *Ladiſlaus* ſeemed to favour the pope, but, at the ſame time, ſecretly fomented the diſſenſion, in hopes of uſurping the government himſelf. Being choſen mediator by both parties, he allowed the people to chuſe their ſupreme magiſtrates; but left the *Leonine* part of the city, and the caſtle of *St. Angelo*, in the hands of the pope, who granted him *Campania di Roma*
A. D. 1405. for three years[a]. The king then returned to *Naples*, but ſtill ſecretly ſollicited the *Gibellines* to continue their oppoſition to the pope, by promiſing to protect and aſſiſt them. A few weeks after his return, being informed of the death of *Ramondello Urſino*, prince of *Tarento*, who left two ſons and a daughter, he reſolved to ſeize that principality; and accordingly, in the month of *March*, he ſent nine gallies round by ſea, and marched thither with 7000 horſe, and a large body of infantry. He quickly made himſelf maſter of the whole principality, except *Tarento*, which was defended by a numerous garriſon, commanded by
*He marries the princeſs of* Tarento; the ſons of the late prince, and many of the family of *Sanſevirini*. Deſpairing of being able c to reduce the city by force, he determined to marry the young princeſs *Mary*. Her brothers readily agreed to this propoſal; and the marriage being celebrated, he was put in poſſeſſion of the city; and about a month after conducted his new queen to *Naples*[b].

DURING theſe tranſactions, *Martin* king of *Sicily* had loſt his queen, who died a few years before from grief for the death of her only ſon *Frederic*, who was killed by accident while he was learning the exerciſe of the ſpear. *Martin* by the laſt will of his wife, and the ceſſion of his father, continued in poſſeſſion of the iſland, and this year married *Blanch* the daughter of the king of *Navarre*[c].

IN the mean time, by his intrigues with the *Gibellines* in *Rome*, *Ladiſlaus* had prevailed on them to expel the pope from the city, and to take poſſeſſion of his palace. *John Colonna* d their chief promiſing him the ſovereignty of the city, he immediately ſent the count of *Troja* thither with a body of troops, who were admitted by *Colonna*, and took poſſeſſion of
A. D. 1406. the caſtle of *St. Angelo*. The *Romans*, however, quickly obliged them to leave the city, and the following ſpring recalled the pope, who a few months after denounced a ſentence
*and is excommunicated by the pope.* of excommunication and depoſition againſt *Ladiſlaus*. The king, ſtruck with this fulmination, by which he run a riſk of loſing his kingdom, immediately propoſed an accommodation, which was effected by the mediation of the pope's nephew, and *Paul Urſini* the chief of the *Guelphs*, on condition that he ſhould evacuate the caſtle of *St. Angelo*, and all other places belonging to the church[d]. *Innocent* ſurvived this treaty only a few months, and in the beginning of *December* was ſucceeded by *Gregory* XII. a *Venetian*. e
A. D. 1407. *LADISLAUS*, being ſtill earneſt to get poſſeſſion of *Rome*, in the month of *June* advanced with an army, and endeavoured to ſurprize the city; but his troops, after they had entered the place, were repulſed by *Urſini* the pope's general, while *Gregory* and ſeveral of the cardinals ſaved themſelves in the caſtle of *St. Angelo*[e]. The pope, a few months after, leaving *Rome*, with the intention, as he declared, of going to *Savona*, where a congreſs was appointed with the antipope, in order to terminate the ſchiſm, *Paul Urſini* remained in *Rome* with the chief command. Whether he received any indignity from the pope is uncertain; but he is accuſed by *Bonincontrius* of having had an intention of delivering the city to the antipope.

*He takes poſſeſſion of* Rome; NOT long after, according to *Niem* and *Antonin*, he entered into a negotiation with *Ladiſlaus*, who, the following ſpring, advancing towards *Rome* with an army of 15,000 horſe f
A. D. 1408. and a large body of infantry, made his entry into the city, on the 25th of *April*, in a triumphant manner, under a canopy of cloth of gold, when he was proclaimed king of the *Romans* and emperor by the people, who went before him with branches of palms[f]. Next day the caſtle of *St. Angelo* was delivered up to him by the governor, who on that account received the inveſtiture of the county of *Quarata* in *Puglia*, with ſeveral thouſand florins. *Ladiſlaus* likewiſe took poſſeſſion of *Tivoli*, *Perugia*, and many other cities and caſtles belonging to the church. He reſtored the exiles, and changed the magiſtrates of *Rome*; and ordering the fortifications of the city to be repaired, he went to *Lucca* to *Gregory*, to perſuade

[z] BONFIN. dec. iii. lib. ii. BONINCONTR. THEOD. NISM. SUMMONT. [a] NIEM, ut ſupra. ANTON. tit. 22. c. 4. [b] Giornali Napol. [c] FAZEL. Dec. ii. l. ix. SURIT. Indic. l. iii. Fragm. Hiſt. Sicul. ap. MURATOR, t. xxiv. [d] NIEM, ut ſupra. RAINALD. Annal. [e] NIEM, ut ſupra. SPOND. Annal. an. 1407. [f] NIEM de Schiſm. l. iii. ANTON. tit. 22. c. 5. ſect. 5.

him

a him not to resign the pontificate, being apprehensive lest, if the grand schism should be terminated, his right to the kingdom of *Naples* would be called in question [g]. This probably was the reason why he was so earnest to be in possession of *Rome*, that, in case of the reunion of the cardinals, he might be able to make his own terms with the future pope, though no doubt he was greatly actuated by his vanity and ambition; for he had no sooner made himself master of *Rome*, than he assumed the pompous title of, *Ladislaus by the grace of God, king of* Hungary, Jerusalem, Sicily, Dalmatia, Croatia, Rome, Servia, Salicia, Lodomiria, Comania, *and* Bulgaria, *and count of* Provence, Forcalquier, *and* Piedmont [h]. The *Romans* were quickly tired of his government; and he had no sooner returned to *Naples*, than they openly revolted, imprisoned the senator, and expelled his troops from the city [i]. The following
b year he again made himself master of *Rome*; and *Gregory* delivering to him *Romagna* for a present of 20,000 crowns, in the beginning of *April* he marched to *Tuscany*, with an army of 18,000 horse, besides infantry, and took possession of *Cortona*, *Certaldo*, and many other cities and castles. He endeavoured to surprize *Sienna*, and intended to besiege *Florence*, as the *Florentines* had allowed the cardinals, who had deserted from *Gregory* and *Benedict*, to hold a council in *Pisa*. The *Florentines*, in their own defence, entered into an alliance with the *Siennese*, and with *Balthasar Cossa*, legate of *Bologna* [k].

*and invades* Tuscany. A. D. 1409.

The council of *Pisa*, in the mean time, had deposed both the contending popes, *Gregory* and *Benedict*; and, on the 26th of *June*, elected a third, who took the name of *Alexander* V. The power and ambition of *Ladislaus*, who still acknowleged *Gregory*, being greatly
c dreaded in *Italy*, *Alexander*, immediately after his promotion, invited *Lewis* of *Anjou* to renew his pretensions to *Naples*; and a few weeks after, upon his arrival at *Pisa*, he published a sentence of excommunication and deposition against *Ladislaus*, and gave *Lewis* the investiture of the kingdom. *Lewis* immediately entered into the *Florentine* league, and, assembling an army, quickly recovered all the territories of the church in *Tuscany*; and in the end of the year drove the *Neapolitans* from *Rome*, and reduced the castle of *St. Angelo* [l]. *Ladislaus*, in the mean time, in hopes of strengthening himself against his competitor, sent for pope *Gregory* to *Gaeta*, and banished a great many nobles, whose fidelity he suspected, from the city of *Naples*. He left the greatest part of his army on the frontiers, as many barons in *Campania*, and the county of *Fondi*, had already openly revolted, and declared for
d *Lewis* [m].

*The council of* Pisa *chuse a 3d pope, who excommunicates* Ladislaus.

During these transactions, *Martin* king of *Sicily* died at *Cagliari* in *Sardinia*, whither he had gone the year before to reduce the inhabitants, who had revolted from his father's government. As he died without issue, he left his father, *Martin* king of *Arragon*, heir of *Sicily* by his will, and his wife *Blanch* regent in the island [n]. Pope *Alexander* dying a few months after, he was succeeded by the legate of *Bologna*, who took the name of *John* XXIII. As he was a *Neapolitan*, and a declared enemy of *Ladislaus*, he immediately interested himself with great zeal in behalf of *Lewis* of *Anjou*, who, with the assistance of the *Florentines*, fitted out thirteen gallies, and nine other vessels, against *Naples*. The ships, being separated from the gallies, were taken by the fleet of *Ladislaus*, who, about the same time, made an
e unsuccessful attempt to surprize *Rome*. *John*, after he had resided about eight months at *Bologna*, making preparations for the invasion of *Naples*, came in the following spring to *Rome*, where he declared *Lewis* of *Anjou* standard-bearer of the church.

Martin *king of* Sicily *dies.*

Soon after this ceremony, *Lewis* advanced towards *Naples* with an army of 12,000 horse, besides infantry; and on the 9th [o], or, according to some, the 19th of *May*, in the evening, attacked the camp of *Ladislaus*, whose army consisted of about 13,000 horse and 4000 foot. After a most obstinate dispute, *Ladislaus* was intirely defeated, and with great difficulty escaped by flying to *Rocca Secca*, and from thence to *St. Germano*, where the remains of his army again assembled [p]. According to the opinion of *Ladislaus*, if his enemies had pur-
f sued their blow, he would have been intirely ruined [q]. *Lewis* of *Anjou* was very earnest to advance immediately into the kingdom; but *Paul Ursini* and *Sforza*, two soldiers of fortune, had no desire to finish the war, and wilfully delayed the march of the army; so that the effect of the victory was wholly lost.

Ladislaus *is defeated by* Lewis *of* Anjou; A. D. 1411.

The pope's army mutinying for want of pay, *Lewis* was obliged to return to *Rome*; and being disgusted with the fickleness of the *Sicilians*, soon after went back to *France*, while *John*, who was obliged either to defend himself, or to lose the possession of the pontifical chair, published two bulls of excommunication against *Ladislaus*, and, in the beginning of the following year, ordered a crusade to be preached against him; granting likewise the most scandalous indulgences, in order to raise money for the war. His generals *Ursini*

*who returns to* France.

A. D. 1412.

[g] Niem, ut supra. Boninc ontr. Annal. [h] Vide auct. sup. citat. [i] Niem. Summont. ibid. [k] Giornal. Napol. Annal. Boninc ontr. [l] Niem & Anton. ut supra. [m] Giornal. ut supra. [n] Fragment. Sicul. Hist. ap. Murat. t. xxiv. Spond. Annal. [o] Giornal. Napol. [p] Poggii Hist. ap. Murat. t. xx. Aretin. Comment. ap. eund. t. xix. Giornal. Napol. [q] Comment. Aretin, ut supra.

and

and *Sforza*, however, acting with great lukewarmneſs, and being ſuſpected even of favouring *Ladiſlaus*, he was obliged to agree to a diſhonourable peace, which was concluded on the 25th of *June* [r]. a

*The pope concludes a peace with* Ladiſlaus;

*LADISLAUS*, by the articles of this peace, promiſed to abandon *Gregory*, on condition of receiving immediately 100,000 ducats from *John*, who engaged likewiſe to acknowlege him as king of *Naples*, to aſſiſt him in recovering *Sicily*, and to allow him a yearly penſion of 2000 ducats [s]. A few months after *Ladiſlaus* loſt his mother, who was buried with great pomp in *Salerno*. Notwithſtanding the advantageous peace he had made with the pope, yet having taken *Sforza*, with his band of 2400 horſe, and 400 foot, into his pay, he was

A. D. 1413. adviſed by him to attempt the conqueſt of all *Italy* [t]. The following year he accordingly aſſembled a numerous army; and though he ſtill kept a good correſpondence with the pope, yet it was univerſally rumoured that he intended to attack *Rome*. *John* encouraged b this report, as it ſerved as an excuſe for his declining going to *Conſtance* to a general council;

*who nevertheleſs ſurprizes and pillages* Rome.

and, by *Poggio* [u], is even ſaid to have invited *Ladiſlaus* to invade the march of *Ancona*, with the intention of ruining *Urſini*, to whom he had committed the care of that province. *Ladiſlaus* ſent part of his troops to the march of *Ancona*, under the command of *Sforza*; but he himſelf, with the greateſt part of his army, on the 8th of *June* ſurrounded *Rome*, the pope and the cardinals with great difficulty eſcaping to *Sutri*, and from thence to *Florence*. The king treated the *Romans* with the greateſt barbarity. He ſeized and plundered the pope's chapel and palace; ſtript all the churches of the city of their treaſure; ſeized the jewels of the holy ſee, and many rich ſhrines; maſſacred ſeveral prelates; and ſeized the c poſſeſſions of all the *Florentine* merchants, after he had aſſured them of his protection [w]. From *Rome* he marced to *Tuſcany*, and quickly reduced the whole eccleſiaſtical ſtate as far as the territories of *Sienna* and *Florence*, raiſing immenſe contributions upon the inhabitants, whom his ſoldiers treated with great inhumanity.

LEAVING the command of his army to *Sforza* and *Nicholas* of *Eſte*, he returned in the end of the year to *Naples*; and ſoon after prevailing with *Paul Urſini* and his brother *Orſo* to deſert the pope, and to enter into his ſervice, the following *June* he again entered *Tuſcany* at the head of an army, with the intention of reducing the *Florentines*. He fixed his

A. D. 1414. head quarters at *Perugia*, where he is ſaid to have had an intrigue with a phyſician's daughter. According to ſeveral authors, the phyſician was bribed by the *Florentines* to poiſon him, d which he effected by adminiſtring the poiſon to his daughter in ſuch a manner that the king could not lie with her without being infected [x]. *Poggio*, *Aretin*, *Niem*, and other authors, make no mention of poiſon; but ſome of them attribute his lingering illneſs to the exceſs of his debauches. His illneſs obliged him to lay aſide his expedition againſt *Florence*, and to return to *Rome*, where finding his diſtemper increaſing, he embarked and proceeded by ſea to *Naples*, taking *Urſini* and his brother with him priſoners, under pretence that they

*His death.* had ſecretly correſponded with his enemies. Upon his arrival at *Naples*, he was carried on ſhore in a litter on the 2d of *Auguſt*, and died four days after, in the thirty-ninth year of his age, and the thirtieth of his reign. He was a moſt expert general, and very liberal to his ſoldiers; but in his tranſactions, either with his neighbours or his ſubjects, he had no regard to juſtice, and even gloried in his fraud and perfidy [y].

*He is ſucceeded by his ſiſter* Jean;

*LADISLAUS* leaving no iſſue by his three wives, he was ſucceeded by his ſiſter *Jean*, ducheſs dowager of *Auſtria*, then in the 44th year of her age. She had long rendered herſelf infamous by her great number of gallants, many of whom, upon her acceſſion to the throne, ſhe immediately promoted. She particularly created her favourite *Pandolphello*

A. D. 1415. *Alopo* great chamberlain of the kingdom, whoſe office is to have the charge of the king's domains. *Pandolphello* behaved in his new authority with great arrogance, and ſoon after apprehended *Sforza*, and ſhut him up in the ſame priſon with the *Urſini*, being ſuſpicious, as was ſaid, leſt, with the troops he commanded, he ſhould make himſelf prince of *Capua*;

*who marries the count* de la Marche.

but, according to ſome, leſt he ſhould become too great a favourite with the queen [z]. The f chamberlain likewiſe uſed his utmoſt endeavour to prevent the marriage of the queen, but without ſucceſs; for *Jean*, at the urgent intreaties of her counſellors, contracted an alliance with *James* count *de la Marche*, of the houſe of *Bourbon*, in *France*, who arrived at *Naples* on the 10th of *Auguſt*, when the marriage was celebrated; and, with the conſent of the queen and nobles, he aſſumed the title of king. *Jean* herſelf had been proclaimed queen without ſeeking inveſtiture from the pope [a]. *Pandolphello*, judging that in caſe of the queen's marriage he could not long enjoy her favour, reſolved to ſupport himſelf by powerful alliances, and, before the arrival of king *James*, had prevailed with *Sforza* to marry his niece *Catarinella Alopa*, as a condition of his recovering his liberty. *Sforza* and *Pandolphello* after the

[r] NIEM. Vit. Joan. XXIII. Bzov. hoc an. [s] Pigu. Hiſt. Princ. Ateſt. initio, l. vi. POGG. Hiſt. [t] BONINCONTR. Annal. [u] POGG. Hiſt. ap. MURATOR, t. xx. [w] Idem ut ſupra. NIEM ut ſupra. COLLENUT. & SUMMONT. Hiſt. Neap. [x] MONSTRELET. l. i. c. 129. COLLENUT. & SUMMONT. ut ſupra. & alii. [y] GIANNONE. SPOND. Annal. [z] Giornal. Napol. GIANNONE. [a] Vide auct. ſup. citat.

marriage

a marriage contracted a great intimacy, on which account the barons had conferred the title of king on the count *de la Marche*, that he might be able to counterbalance their influence and authority. The king resolved to crush them immediately, and the day after his marriage he put *Sforza* in chains, and a few weeks after imprisoned *Pandolphello*, when he ordered both of them to be tortured; and *Pandolphello*, in consequence of his confession, was afterwards put to death.

*JAMES* likewise took possession of all the fortresses in the kingdom, which he committed to the care of *Frenchmen*; and conceiving a disgust for his queen, on account of her abandoned life, he deprived her of all share in the government, removed from her all her antient servants, whose places he supplied with *French* people; and placing a guard over her, would b not allow her subjects to speak to her. Being soon after relieved from his apprehensions of a competitor by the news of the death of the duke of *Anjou*, and fearing nothing from the pope, who was too much engaged at the council of *Constance*, he set *Paul Ursini* and his brother *Orso* at liberty; hoping to put an end to the civil dissentions, and to govern the kingdom in a peaceable manner. However, his great partiality to *Frenchmen*, on whom he bestowed all offices, quickly alienated the affections of the barons from him; and the *Neapolitans*, being deprived of the sight of the queen, were filled with discontent, and began openly to murmur. *Jean*, about a year after she had been confined, obtained liberty to dine in a garden belonging to a *Florentine* merchant, which the *Neapolitans* were no sooner informed of, than they flocked thither in great numbers from a curiosity to see her. Two c of the nobles excited the people to take arms in her defence. Accordingly, after she had dined, her guard was compelled to leave her, and she was conducted by the people to the archbishop's palace, and from thence to *Castello di Capuano*. The king immediately retired to *Castel Nuovo*, where he was besieged by order of the queen; but the *Neapolitans*, rather than trust the whole administration to the queen, resolved again to support *James*, and mediated a reconciliation betwixt him and *Jean*. He was allowed the title of king, and a yearly pension of 40,000 ducats; but engaged for the future not to assume the supreme administration. *Jean* immediately promoted several of her favourites to the chief offices, set *Sforza* at liberty, and conferred upon him the office of high-constable; and was very liberal in her favours to the *Neapolitans*, in order to alienate them intirely from the king [b].

*He usurps the whole administration, and imprisons the queen.* A. D. 1416.

*She is set at liberty by the* Neapolitans.

DURING these transactions in *Naples*, *Ferdinand* king of *Arragon* and *Sicily* died in *Cata-* d *lonia*. About three years before he had been chosen king of both these kingdoms, as his uncle *Martin* had left no issue. *Alphonsus*, the eldest of his four sons, was now proclaimed king, and *John*, his second son, arrived in *Sicily* as governor of the island [c].

Alphonsus *of* Arragon *is declared king of* Sicily.

QUEEN *Jean*, in the mean time, resigned herself intirely to the direction of her high-steward *Sergianni Carraccioli*, who was accused of having a criminal intimacy with her. *Sergianni*, in order to secure her favour, dismissed his two greatest rivals, *Sforza* and *Origlia*, from court. *Origlia* was sent ambassador to the council of *Constance*, and *Sforza*, in the end of *January*, marched to the relief of the castle of *St. Angelo*, which was besieged by *Bracchio da Montone*, a soldier of fortune, who, during the absence of the pope in *Germany*, had made himself master of *Rome*. *Sergianni* soon after persuaded the queen to imprison her husband, e and to banish all the *French* from her dominions. Though he had acquired the hatred of the chief nobles by his arbitrary administration, yet he found means of securing a great party among the *Neapolitans*, by distributing the pensions which the *French* enjoyed among the rich citizens, and furnishing the common people with provisions at a low price. *Sforza*, in the mean time, having recovered *Rome*, returned with his forces towards *Naples*, highly enraged against *Sergianni*, who had neglected to send money to pay his soldiers, in order to oblige them to munity, and desert to *Bracchio*. *Sergianni* levied troops in order to oppose him; but *Sforza* investing *Naples*, the queen was obliged to banish her favourite to the island of *Procida*.

A. D. 1417.

*The queen causes her husband to be imprisoned.*

A. D. 1418.

*JEAN* was, at the same time, urged by the duke of *Burgundy* and pope *Martin*, who f had been elected at the council of *Constance*, to set her husband at liberty. *Martin* soon after sent two legates to her, promising to agree to her coronation; and a few months after his nephew *Antonio Colonna* arrived at *Naples* with the form of a defensive alliance betwixt him and the queen, which was soon after published. *Antonio*, in a great measure, reconciled *Sforza* and *Carraccioli*; but the queen, not thinking it safe immediately to recal *Carraccioli* to *Naples*, sent him as her ambassador to the pope, who in the month of *February* had arrived at *Florence*. *Carraccioli*, by her order, restored *Ostia*, *Castel St. Angelo*, and *Civita Vecchia*, to *Colonna*; and then, proceeding to *Florence*, had several conferences with the pope, to whom he promised the assistance of the queen's troops against *Bracchio*, who had usurped the ecclesiastical territories. About the same time the cardinal legate arrived

*She enters into a defensive alliance with the pope.*

A. D. 1419.

[b] Vide auct. citat. ut supra. [c] Fragment. Sicul. Hist. ut supra. SURIT. Indic. l. iii. MARIAN. l. xix.

at *Naples* to perform the ceremony of the queen's coronation; but inſiſting that her huſ- a
band ſhould firſt recover his liberty, ſhe at length entered into an agreement with the king,
who on the 15th of *February* came out of priſon, and went through the city, attended by a
great number of gentlemen, to *Caſtello di Capuano*. He quickly found a great many friends;
and many of the nobility of the *Seggi* waited upon the legate, and upon the pope's brother
and nephew, propoſing that he ſhould be crowned at the ſame time with the queen. This pro-
poſal greatly alarmed *Carraccioli*, who had returned to *Naples*; but by making the queen
promiſe large eſtates to the *Colonnas*, he prevailed on them and the legate to refuſe their
aſſent. *James* ſeeing no proſpect of recovering any authority, and deſpairing of having any
*King* James *recovers his liberty and returns to* France. iſſue by the queen, who was now fifty years of age, reſolved to leave *Italy*; and accordingly,
about two months after, ſecretly hired a *Genoeſe* galley at *Naples*, and embarking with a few b
friends, returned to *France*[d] (T). The queen, after the departure of her husband, was
ſolemnly crowned by the legate on *Sunday* the 28th of *October*, and the feaſting and rejoic-
ings on that occaſion were continued to the end of the year[e].

*The queen and her favourite offend the pope and* Sforza; *A. D.* 1420. THOUGH the queen, by the abſence of her husband, was now her own miſtreſs, and was
ſecured on the throne by the ſanction of a catholic pope, yet ſhe was quickly involved in
greater troubles than ever. Her favourite *Carraccioli*, puffed up with his proſperity, greatly
exaſperated the *Neapolitan* nobles by his inſolence and cruelty. As they were not in a con-
dition to oppoſe him, they privately ſollicited *Sforza* to return to *Naples*. This general had
been employed the whole ſummer in oppoſing the conqueſts of *Bracchio* in the eccleſiaſtical
ſtate; but being diſappointed of money and ſupplies by *Carraccioli*, who even privately ſent c
money to *Bracchio*, he had received a ſignal defeat, and loſt great part of his troops. The
pope likewiſe, having in vain ſollicited ſuccours from *Naples*, by the mediation of the *Flo-
rentines* concluded a peace with *Bracchio*, who delivered up all his conqueſts; but was al-
*who invite* Lewis *of* Anjou *to invade the kingdom.* lowed to retain *Perugia*, *Todi*, *Aſſiſi*, *Rocca-Contrada*, *Jeſio*, and *Monte Abbode*[f]. The pope
and *Sforza* being both irritated againſt the queen and *Carraccioli*, they concluded a treaty
with *Lewis* the ſon of the late duke of *Anjou*, whoſe ambaſſadors were then in *Florence*, ſolli-
citing the intereſt of the pope in favour of their maſter, whom they wanted at leaſt to be
declared heir to the crown, as the queen had no children. The duke's ambaſſadors declar-
ed *Sforza* high-conſtable and commander in chief; and it was agreed, that if the queen, by
her bad counſellors, ſhould reject the reaſonable conditions they would offer her, *Sforza* d
ſhould invade the kingdom by land, and the duke of *Anjou*, in the month of *June*, ſhould
appear with a fleet off *Naples*[g]. *Lewis*, being informed by his ambaſſadors of the treaty
concluded with the pope, immediately requeſted the aſſiſtance of the king of *Arragon*, who,
though he was at war with the *Genoeſe*, promiſed to allow the *Genoeſe* veſſels in his ſervice
to paſs unmoleſted. *Sforza*, in the mean time, advanced with his army towards *Naples*;
and appeared before the city on the 18th of *June*; when the queen, refuſing to agree to the
propoſals offered by him, he ſent her the truncheon and other enſigns of his office, and im-
mediately diſplayed the ſtandard of *Lewis* III. ſo he called the duke of *Anjou*. He inveſted
the city with his army, in hopes of the appearance of the fleet, when the *Anjou* faction would
probably have declared themſelves: but the duke not arriving with the fleet the 19th of e
*Auguſt*, his army, in the mean time, ſuffered greatly, and he loſt his eldeſt ſon, and ſeveral
chief officers.

*The queen adopts* Alphonſus *of* Arragon *for her ſon and heir.* AFTER the arrival of the fleet, the queen ſtill refuſed to ſurrender, and found means of
ſending an ambaſſador to *Florence* to demand the aſſiſtance of the pope. The ambaſſador
receiving only fair words from the pope, immediately, by the queen's command, proceed-
ed to *Sardinia*, and entered into a treaty with *Alphonſus*, whom the queen adopted for her
ſon and heir. *Alphonſus* was then preparing to invade *Corſica*; but embracing the offer of
queen *Jean*, he directly ſent a fleet, with three ambaſſadors, to *Naples*. In conſequence
of this reinforcement, *Sforza* was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and on the 16th of *September* re-
tired to *Averſa*, which had declared for king *Lewis*; while the queen publickly ratified the f
treaty made in *Sardinia*, put the *Arragonian* ambaſſadors in poſſeſſion of the duchy of *Ca-
labria*, and the two caſtles *Nuovo* and *del Ovo*, and ordered the *Seggi* and the people of *Na-
ples* to take the oath of allegiance to *Alphonſus* as heir of the kingdom[h]. However, not
receiving that aſſiſtance from the *Catalonians* which ſhe expected, and the party of the duke

[d] Giornal. Napol. GIANNONE. [e] Giornal. ut ſupra. [f] Annal. BONINCONTR. LEONARD. ARET. Comment. [g] LEODRISII CRIBELLI, de Vit. Sfortiæ Vicecom. ap. MURATOR, t. xix. [h] CRIBELL. ut ſupra. Giornal. ut ſupra. GIANNONE.

(T) After his return to *France* he entered into the order of *Franciſcan* friars at *Beſançon*; and though he was received with great pomp by the magiſtrates, clergy, and people of the cities and towns through which he paſſed, yet ſo great was his humility, that he cauſed himſelf to be carried through the ſtreets in a hand-barrow in the habit of a *Franciſcan* (1).

(1) *Olivar. Marcian. Memor. l.* iii. *Spond. Annal. Coſtanzo Hiſt. Neap.*

of

a of *Anjou* daily growing more powerful, a few months after she made an offer of adopting *Lewis*; but while she was negotiating that affair with a baron of the *Anjou* faction, four *Arragonian* gallies arrived at *Ischia*, on which account she again attached herself to *Alphonsus*, who was then in *Sicily*, making preparations for his *Neapolitan* expedition, and hired *Bracchio* of *Perugia* with 3000 horse. *Bracchio* accordingly, having concluded a treaty with the queen, who promised him the principality of *Capua*, and conferred upon him the office of high constable, on the 7th of *June* entered *Terra di Lavoro*, and soon after arrived at *Naples*[i]. About a fortnight after, *Alphonsus* appeared with seven ships, sixteen gallies, and twenty-six smaller vessels, and was received by the queen with the greatest honours. A. D. 1421.

THE pope, finding the *Durazzo* faction not so easily suppressed as he expected, now b openly declared himself, and sent his general *Tartalia*, with 500 horse and some infantry to the assistance of *Sforza*. But he, being secretly in the interest of *Bracchio*, prevented *Sforza*, during the whole campaign, from effecting any important enterprize, and even formed a design for murdering him. The last action of the campaign was the siege of *Acerra*, which place the inhabitants, though terrified with the battering cannon of *Alphonsus*, defended with the utmost bravery. The besiegers at last, to save their honour, agreed to raise the siege, on condition that the place should be sequestrated into the hands of the pope's legate. *Martin* finding himself unable to support the war, and *Alphonsus* threatening to acknowlege *Benedict*, one of the antipopes, who still resided in *Spain*, he now endeavoured to reconcile the two parties; and though he countenanced *Lewis*, he offered him no c longer any assistance. The two legates that he sent into the kingdom proposed a truce for some months, during which all the towns that had been taken by *Lewis* were sequestrated into their hands. *Alphonsus* and the queen, in the mean time, proposed, if possible, before the opening of the campaign, to reconcile *Sforza* to their party. He having obtained leave from the pope and *Lewis* to make the best terms for himself that he could, in the beginning of summer he had a conference with *Bracchio*, and soon after went to *Gaeta*, where the king and queen then resided, on account of the plague which raged at *Naples*. *Sforza* met with a very gracious reception from the queen, as she and *Carraccioli* began to be very jealous of *Alphonsus*, who had lately reduced *Sorrento*, and detained it in his own name. He received the city of *Manfredonia*, with all its territories, from the queen, promised to endea- d vour to reconcile the barons of the *Anjou* faction, and to assist the queen and *Alphonsus* whenever he should be called, or either of them that should desire him first[k].

*The pope openly assists* Lewis.

A. D. 1422.

Sforza *makes his pence with the queen.*

NOT long after the mutual jealousy of the king and queen broke out into an open rupture. In the end of the year, as the plague had ceased in *Naples*, they both returned to that city. The queen, however, being persuaded by *Carraccioli* that *Alphonsus* designed to seize her and send her a prisoner to *Catalonia*, took up her residence in *Castel Capuano*, and declined going to *Castel Nuovo*, where *Alphonsus* kept his court. *Carraccioli* likewise refused to go thither to the council without a safe-conduct from the king, which was granted him. *Alphonsus*, however, persuaded that the queen was alienated from him by the suggestions of *Carraccioli*, on the 22d of *May* apprehended him, when he came to the *Castle Nuovo*, and e put him in chains, and immediately went with the *Catalans* and *Spaniards* to the *Castel Capuano*, with the intention, as it was believed, of seizing the queen. *Jean*, suspecting his design, ordered the gate to be shut, and obliged him to retire; and immediately sent messengers to *Sforza*, who was then at *Benevento*, to come to her assistance. The king likewise desired the assistance of *Sforza*, and at the same time assembled his troops to besiege the queen. *Sforza* in a few days arrived at *Naples*, and declaring for the queen attacked the *Spaniards*, and after an obstinate dispute obliged them to retire into *Castel Nuovo*. *Alphonsus*, about ten days after, was relieved from his distress by the arrival of a considerable fleet from *Arragon*, which, it was alleged, he had sent for to carry off the queen.

A. D. 1423.

*A rupture betwixt* Alphonsus *and the queen;*

As *Sforza* had then gone to take possession of *Aversa*, the *Spaniards* immediately landed; f and, notwithstanding the opposition of the *Neapolitans*, that same day made themselves masters of almost one-third of the city. A few days after they took possession of the whole city, part of which they burnt, and plundered the houses of those whom they suspected to favour the queen. She, in the mean time, with many *Neapolitan* ladies, retired in great terror to *Aversa*, where, by the advice of *Sforza*, *Carraccioli*, and her other counsellors, she declared the adoption of *Alphonsus* null and void, and adopted *Lewis* of *Anjou*, who was then at *Rome*, but quickly arrived at *Aversa*, where he was received with great honour, and declared duke of *Calabria*. *Lewis* and *Sforza*, a few weeks after, attacked the *Catalans* and *Sicilians* near *Naples*, and repulsed them into the city. *Alphonsus* was highly provoked against the pope and *Lewis*; and being sensible that it would now require great efforts to maintain himself in *Naples*, he left the command of the garrison to his brother the infant

*who adopts* Lewis *of* Anjou.

[i] Vit. Sfort. ut supra. Vit. Bracchii ap. eundem. [k] Vit. Sfort. ut supra. Giornal. Napol. Annal. BONINCONTRII.

*Peter*

*Peter*, and in the end of *October* ſailed to *Spain* to make new preparations. In hopes of obliging *Lewis* to return to *Provence*, upon his return home he landed at *Marſeilles*, and having plundered the city, proceeded to *Barcelona*, where he arrived on the 2d of *December* [l]. a

Upon the rupture betwixt the queen and *Alphonſus*, *Bracchio* had declared for the king: however, he gave him very little aſſiſtance, but ſpent the whole ſummer in the ſiege of *Aquila*, which city had been granted to him according to the agreement betwixt him and the queen; but having declared for *Lewis* of *Anjou*, abſolutely refuſed to ſubmit to him. As *Bracchio* was now an enemy, and the intereſt of the queen and *Lewis* was united, *Sforza* was ordered to the relief of *Aquila*. He accordingly aſſembled all his forces, and marched to *Abruzzo*; but in paſſing the river *Peſcara*, on the 4th of *January*, he was unfortunately b
Sforza *dies.* drowned [m]. The command of the army was immediately aſſumed by *Francis* his baſtard
A. D. 1424. ſon, who thoght proper to return to *Averſa*, where he was received very graciouſly by the queen, and ordered to inveſt *Naples*. The pope, a little before, had prevailed with *Viconti* duke of *Milan* to ſend a fleet to the aſſiſtance of the queen. *Guido Torello* had accordingly arrived with a powerful fleet, and taken *Gaeta* and the iſle of *Procida*, and received the ſub-
*His ſon recovers* Naples *from the* Spaniards. miſſion of a great many barons in the name of *Lewis*. By the aſſiſtance of this fleet, *Sforza*, on the 12th of *April*, obliged the city of *Naples* to ſurrender, and took the greateſt part of the garriſon priſoners, Don *Peter* with a few *Catalans* ſaving themſelves in *Caſtel Nuovo* [n]. The queen, having recovered *Naples*, ordered her generals to march to the relief of *Aquila*. They accordingly being joined by the pope's troops, marched to *Abruzzo*, and c
on the 2d of *June* came to a general engagement with *Bracchio*, who being killed in the action, his troops were entirely routed and diſperſed [o]. The queen, in the mean time, being informed that Don *Peter* had expected to be relieved by an *Arragonian* fleet, immediately aſſembled her barons for the defence of *Naples*. The city having thus received a powerful garriſon, the *Catalans*, who arrived on the 20th of *June*, were prevented from landing; and after continuing ſome weeks before the city, ſailed with Don *Peter* to *Sicily*, leaving the command of the caſtle to one *Dalmeo*.

*ALPHONSUS* being at this time engaged in a war with the king of *Caſtile*, almoſt intirely dropt his pretenſions to *Naples*; and the army of *Bracchio* being diſperſed, the kingdom be-
Carraccioli *aſſumes the ſupreme adminiſtration.* gan again to enjoy tranquillity. *Carraccioli*, however, ſoon occaſioned great murmuring d
A. D. 1430. among the people of *Naples*, by neglecting to beſiege *Caſtel Nuovo*, and conſenting to ſeveral truces with the *Spaniſh* governor, who was even allowed to buy proviſions in the city. He likewiſe irritated many of the barons, by impriſoning ſome of them, and ſtripping others of their eſtates, which were conferred upon the pope's relations. To ſecure his own power and grandeur, he gave one of his daughters in marriage to the ſon of *Caldora* the general, and the other to the brother of the prince of *Tarento*, with the county of *Acerra* as her portion. He likewiſe, by his intereſt with the queen, prevailed upon her to confer upon him the principality of *Capua*, which had devolved to the crown by the rebellion and death of *Bracchio*. In the mean time, being jealous of the harmony betwixt him and *Lewis* of *Anjou*, who was likewiſe greatly beloved by the *Neapolitans*, he would not allow him to con- e
tinue two nights in *Naples*, but ſent him with his own ſon to *Calabria*, where he was employed two years in reducing the barons of the party of *Alphonſus* [p].

Pope *Martin* dying the following year, on the 20th of *February*, he was ſucceeded by *Eugenius* IV. a *Venetian*. A rupture immediately happening betwixt the new pope and the *Colonni*, who were ſuppoſed to be in poſſeſſion of an immenſe treaſure belonging to the church, *Eugenius* aſked the aſſiſtance of the queen againſt them, as they had taken arms, and had endeavoured to ſeize the caſtle of *St. Angelo*. *Carraccioli* eagerly embraced this opportunity of ruining the *Colonni*, that he might raiſe himſelf ſtill higher by their downfal; and prevailing on the queen to diveſt them of the principality of *Salerno*, and all the counties and eſtates they held in the kingdom, he ſent his brother *Marino* with 1000 horſe to the f
aſſiſtance of the pope. In the mean time, though he was in poſſeſſion of the principality of *Capua*, the duchy of *Venoſa*, the county of *Avellino*, and many other lands, he aſked the principality of *Salerno*, and the duchy of *Amalfi*, under pretence that *Capua* would probable be taken from him and annexed to the crown by her ſucceſſion. As the queen was now old and decrepid, the ſtrict connection betwen her and *Sergianni* had long ceaſed. She therefore, by the perſuaſion of her favourites and counſellors, who hated *Carraccioli*, abſolutely refuſed his requeſt, which provoked him to ſuch a degree of inſolence, that he broke
*treats the queen in a contemptuous manner.* out into abuſive language, and, according to ſome authors, even gave her a blow. The ducheſs of *Seſſa*, who was the queen's couſin, and now her chief favourite, urged the neceſſity of curbing his inſolence; and having in ſome meaſure obtained the conſent of the g

[l] Vide auct. ſup. citat. Fragment. Hiſt. Sicul. [m] Giornal. Napol. Vit. Sfor. ut ſupra. [n] Vide auct. ſup. citat. Fragment. Hiſt. Sicul. [o] Vit. Bracchii & Sfort. ut ſupra. [p] Giornal. Napol. Giannone.

a queen, she soon after found an opportunity of putting her design in execution. *Carraccioli* being suspicious of the power of *Caldora*, who lived in *Abruzzo* with 4000 men under his command, resolved to secure his friendship by a second alliance, and accordingly concluded a match betwixt his only son *Trojano* and the daughter of *Caldora*. The duchess of *Sessa* representing to the queen, that *Carraccioli* and *Caldora*, being strictly united by this match, intended to deprive her of the kingdom, she received orders to imprison the high-steward. The conspirators, however, sensible of the queen's fickleness, resolved to put him to death, which resolution they executed on the 18th of *August*, the day of the marriage, which was honoured with the presence of the greatest part of the barons, and celebrated with the utmost magnificence in *Castello di Capuano*. After *Carraccioli* had gone down to bed, one of b the conspirators knocked at the door of his chamber, and desired him to come immediately to the queen, who was seized with an apoplexy. The chamberlains opening the door without suspicion, the conspirators entered, and directly stabbed him. Next day, to prevent a tumult, all the relations of *Carraccioli*, under pretence of the queen's death, were called to the palace, and forthwith imprisoned. Tho' the queen was dissatisfied with his death, yet she ordered all his estates to be confiscated, and granted a full pardon to all the conspirators [q].

A. D. 1432.

*is murdered by means of the duchess of* Sessa.

*LEWIS* of *Anjou*, who was then in *Calabria*, and had fixed his residence in *Cosenza*, hearing of the death of *Carraccioli* expected to be recalled to *Naples*, and made preparations for his return. But the ambitious duchess carved out new business for him in that province, c some of which was still possessed by the *Colonni* [r]; and in hopes of ingrossing the whole direction of affairs, she persuaded the queen not to invite him to *Naples* [s]. *Alphonsus* returning to *Sicily* from an *African* expedition, and hearing of the death of the high steward, and that the duchess of *Sessa*, with whom he had formerly had a great intimacy, was at the head of affairs, he immediately sailed to the island of *Ischia*, and entered into a private correspondence with the duchess, who endeavoured to persuade the queen again to declare him her son and heir. *Alphonsus* likewise prevailed on the duke of *Sessa* to espouse his interest, hoping that his authority would influence other barons; but he was greatly disappointed, for there was none who offered to revolt; and the dutchess, who had long been at variance with her husband, no sooner heard of his correspondence with *Alphonsus*, than she accused d him of rebellion. The king, finding that his plots had miscarried, made a truce with the queen for ten years, and returned the following summer to *Sicily* [t]. A few months after, *Lewis* duke of *Anjou* contracted an alliance with *Margaret* the daughter of the duke of *Savoy*. The queen proposed that the bride should land at *Naples*, but by the advice of her counsellors, who had no desire to see *Lewis* in the capital, the duchess *Margaret* was desired to land at *Sorrento*, whither she arrived the following year, and proceeded to *Cosenza*, where in the month of *July* the marriage was celebrated, with as much magnificence as the place would allow [u].

A. D. 1433.

Lewis *marries the daughter of the duke of* Savoy.

Soon after, the courtiers, who had the intire management of the queen, desirous to ruin the prince of *Tarento*, prevailed upon her to summon him, under pretence that he had not e restored some lands that in the former civil dissensions he had taken from the family of the *Sanseverini*. Without waiting for his appearance, they sent against him the general *Caldora*, whose troops being joined with those of the queen, and *Lewis* of *Anjou*, composed an army of 9500 horse and 3500 foot. As the prince of *Tarento* had always been loyal to the queen, *Lewis* of *Anjou* engaged in the war out of obedience to her, against his own inclination; and contracting an illness from the fatigues of the campaign, he returned to *Cosenza*, where he died on the fifteenth of *November*, after he had spent 100,000 ducats of his wife's portion in the expedition against the prince. His death was greatly lamented by the whole kingdom, but particularly by the queen, who regretted bitterly that she had not honoured and treated him as his great patience and submissive obedience to her had deserved [w]. The f queen survived *Lewis* only a few months, and died on the second of *February*, in the sixty-fifth year of her age, and the twenty-first of her reign, being the last of the first race of the family of *Anjou*. She left behind her a treasure of 500,000 ducats; and as the wife of the late *Lewis* was not with child, by her last will she appointed his brother *Renatus* as her heir, nominating sixteen barons of her council and court as regents of the kingdom till he should arrive [x].

A. D. 1434.

*His death.*

*Queen* Jean *dies.*

A. D. 1435.

Four days after the death of queen *Jean*, the city of *Naples* elected twenty persons out of the nobility and people, who were associated with the regents. They immediately received a nuncio from the pope, who ordered them not to swear allegiance to any prince

[q] Giornal. Napol. Summont. l. iv. c. 3. Marian. l. xxi. c. 5. Annal. Boninconтr. Spond. Annal. Giannone. [r] Annal. Boninconтr. [s] Idem ibid. [t] Giornal. Napol. Fragment. Hist. Sicul. [u] Giornal. Napol. [w] Idem. Annal. Boninconтr. Gianone. [x] Iidem ibid. Summont. Hist. Neap.

till he ſhould be confirmed by the holy ſee, to which the kingdom had devolved by the death of the late queen without iſſue. The regents paid little regard to this command, but declared that they would have no king but *Renatus* of *Anjou*; whoſe ſtandard, with that of the pope, they erected in *Naples*. Mean while *Alphonſus*, who for ſome time paſt had been ſending ſuccours from *Sicily* to the prince of *Tarento*, hearing of the queen's death, immediately came with a fleet to *Iſchia*, and entered into a correſpondence with ſeveral nobles who were not of the regency. By their advice he landed with ſome troops, and many other barons declaring for him, in the beginning of *May* he found himſelf at the head of 15,000 men. *Capua* was likewiſe delivered up to him, and by the advice of ſome barons he inveſted *Gaeta*. The regency, in order to oppoſe him, gave the command of their troops to *Caldora*, and hired *Antonio Pontadero* and *Micheletto da Cotignola*, each of whom commanded 1000 horſe. The duke of *Milan*, who was at this time in poſſeſſion of *Genoa*, and had reduced almoſt all *Lombardy*, declared againſt *Alphonſus*, and ſent aſſiſtance to the *Gaetans*, being ſuſpected of having a deſign to ſeize the kingdom for himſelf. The ſiege ſtill continuing, the *Genoeſe* a few weeks after fitted out ſeventeen veſſels, with ſupplies for the place, which *Alphonſus* being informed of, according to common opinion, by the duke of *Milan*, who deſired the defeat of the *Genoeſe* in order to humble them, he embarked 10,000 men, and ſailed to the iſland of *Poncia*, to intercept the fleet. The *Genoeſe*, who were only 4000, at firſt declined any engagement; but being attacked by *Alphonſus*, they fought for ten hours with ſuch deſpair and fury, that at laſt they gained a complete victory, took all the enemies gallies except one, and made *Alphonſus* priſoner, with his two brothers, the king of *Navarre* and Don *Henry*, with many other *Neapolitan*, *Sicilian*, and *Catalan* knights and barons, to the number of near 1000. The *Cajetans* hearing of the victory, immediately ſallied out upon the beſiegers, whom he entirely routed. The *Genoeſe* fleet, after ſupplying *Gaeta* with proviſions, ſailed to *Naples*, with the deſign of attacking the two caſtles towards the ſea; but the admiral being bribed, it was believed by *Alphonſus*, abſtained from any further hoſtilities, and returned to *Savona*, where he landed his priſoners, who inſtead of proceeding to *Genoa*, were conducted to *Milan*. The duke treated *Alphonſus* with great honour and reſpect, and being ſoon convinced by him, that it was not his intereſt to allow the *French* to get footing in *Italy*, he entered into an alliance with him againſt *Renatus*, and towards the end of the year ſet all his priſoners at liberty.

Renatus *of* Anjou *is declared her ſucceſſor.*

Alphonſus *at the requeſt of many barons arrives in* Puglia.

*He is taken priſoner by the* Genoeſe.

*Concludes an alliance with the duke of* Milan.

*He is ſet at liberty, and returns to* Gaeta. A. D. 1436.

THE *Genoeſe* thinking themſelves ſlighted by this alliance, immediately revolted from the duke, and concluded a treaty with *Renatus*, who was at this time a priſoner to the duke of *Burgundy*. A few months before, he had come to *Anjou*, on parole, where he received the deputies from the regency; but reſolving to fulfil his engagements to the duke of *Burgundy*, he refuſed to proceed to *Naples*, but ſent his wife *Elizabeth*, with his ſecond ſon *Lewis* marquis of *Piedmont*, returning himſelf to priſon, where he continued three years. *Elizabeth* embarking at *Provence* on the firſt of *October*, arrived at *Gaeta*; and a few weeks after proceeded to *Naples*, where ſhe was received with great honours as queen. She immediately ſent *Micheletto* as viceroy to *Calabria*, who being aſſiſted by a fleet under the command of her ſon, quickly reduced that province. *Caldora* and *Antonio* in the mean time, deſirous, for their own advantage, to protract the war, neglected to take poſſeſſion of *Capua*, and allowed the *Arragonians* to ſeize *Gaeta* [y].

*ALPHONSUS* hearing that his brother was in poſſeſſion of *Gaeta*, on the ſecond of *February* arrived in that city with all thoſe barons that had been priſoners in *Milan*. He continued there ſeveral months, and though ſeveral barons of the *Anjou* faction revolted to him, he ſpent the whole year without any enterprize of importance. Being irritated againſt the pope, who refuſed to favour his pretenſions to *Naples*, he declared for the council of *Baſil*, which was then at variance with *Eugenius*, and began hoſtilities againſt the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, under pretence of taking poſſeſſion of it in behalf of the fathers at *Baſil* [z]. *Alphonſus* by this conduct ſtirred up a more formidable enemy againſt him than he expected; for the queen the following year begging aſſiſtance of the pope, he ſent 4000 horſe and 1000 foot to her aid, under the command of *Vitelleſchi*, patriarch of *Alexandria*, who was then greatly diſtinguiſhed for his military talents. *Vitelleſchi* entered the kingdom in the month of *April*, and took *Cepperano*, *Venafro*, and many other places, in his way to *Naples*, where he was received with great honour by the queen, who gave him 26,000 ducats for the payment of his troops. As the cardinal paid his men not only with money but alſo with indulgences, they fought with great bravery; and in a few months recovered many places from the *Arragonians*. The queen, however, refuſing to grant him any ſettlement in the kingdom, and *Caldora*, inſtead of co-operating with him, profeſſing open enmity againſt him, and thwarting him to the utmoſt of his power, ſoon after *Chriſtmas* he embarked on board a ſmall veſſel, and ſailed to *Venice*, and from thence to *Ferrara* to the pope [a].

*The pope ſends ſuccours to the* Anjou *faction.* A. D. 1437.

[y] Idem. ibid. Fragment. Hiſt. Sicul. ut ſupra. [z] SURIT. Hiſt. Arrag. l. xiv. [a] SUMMONT. Giornal. Napol.

*RENATUS*

a *RENATUS* about the same time, upon paying an immense ransom to the duke of *Burgundy*, being at last set at liberty, in the month of *April* arrived at *Pisa*, where he received an offer of assistance from *Francis Sforza*, which he accepted. His council, however, assuring him, that if he hired *Sforza*, *Caldora* would immediately revolt to *Alphonsus*, he afterwards desired *Francis* not to enter the kingdom. Upon his arrival at *Naples* (U), *Renatus* was received with great rejoicings, and it was universally concluded that the war would quickly be at an end; but it was no sooner known that he came without money, than his reputation sunk, and the ardour of the people abated. Soon after his arrival, *Caldora* came to *Naples*, and offered him his service; and he immediately after marched into *Abruzzo*, to defend his own territories from *Alphonsus*, who had reduced great part of the b province. *Renatus* quickly followed him with as many men as he could collect; and at the end of *August* joined him at *Sulmona*, which they besieged. Finding the siege very difficult, and being joined by 7000 *Aquilan* infantry, *Renatus* decamped, and went in quest of *Alphonsus*, to whom he sent a bloody glove, challenging him to an engagement. *Alphonsus* having privately viewed his army, thought proper to decline an engagement, immediately left *Abruzzo*, and marching with all speed to *Naples*, on the twenty-seventh of *September* invested the city by sea and land. Though the city had almost no garrison, yet it made a vigorous opposition; and the infant Don *Peter* being killed by a cannon-ball, *Alphonsus* raised the siege, which had continued thirty-six days, and retired with his army to *Capua*.

A. D. 1438. Renatus *arrives at* Naples.

*Offers battle to* Alphonsus.

*RENATUS* in the mean time had reduced almost all *Abruzzo*, and towards the end of the c year returned to *Naples*. Early in the spring he besieged *Castel Nuovo* by sea and land. *Alphonsus* used his utmost endeavours to relieve the place; and for that purpose marched with 11,000 men to *Naples*. His troops being exposed to the cannon from the castle of *S. Erasmus*, they mutinied, and declared they would not stand to be shot at like dogs; which obliged him to send a message to *Renatus*, desiring him to make war according to the usual manner, and not to fire at night. His message being treated with contempt, and the castle being in want of ammunition and provisions, it was at last agreed to deliver it to the *French* ambassadors, who had lately come to *Naples* to propose an accommodation betwixt the two kings. The *Catalans*, who had been in possession of the castle fifteen years, accordingly marched out the twenty-fourth of *August*, with what effects they could carry with d them. The *French* ambassadors soon after went to wait upon *Alphonsus*, who had given them hopes of agreeing to a truce; but both they and their retinue being intercepted on the road, and beat by the *Catalans*, they returned to *Naples*, and delivered the castle to *Renatus*.

*Recovers* Castello Nuovo.

*ALPHONSUS* in the mean time made himself master of *Salerno*, which he gave, with the title of prince, to *Ursino* count of *Nola*; and immediately after he besieged the castle of *Aversa*. *Renatus* was very solicitous to relieve the *Aversans*, and for that purpose intreated the assistance of *Antonio Caldora*, confirming to him the duchy of *Bari*, which had been possessed by his father, who had died a few weeks before. *Antonio* returning him an evasive answer, by which he appeared to lean to the party of *Alphonsus*, *Renatus* declared publickly, e that seeing his affairs in a desperate situation, he intended to go with his wife and two sons to *Eugenius* of *Florence*; that if the pope would give him assistance he would return to *Naples*, but if not he would proceed to *France*.

*He in vain solicits the assistance of* Caldora.

Being dissuaded from this resolution by the *Neapolitans*, a few weeks after, on the twenty-ninth of *January*, he ventured to leave *Naples*, with some faithful attendants; and though almost all *Terra di Lavora* was in possession of *Alphonsus*, he proceeded through the snow and over the mountains to *Nocera*. He gained great honour by his journey, and was immediately visited by the barons of *Abruzzo*, and some of the family of *Caldora*. Though he received many presents from the barons, he could not raise so much money as would satisfy the demand of the duke of *Bari*, who held him in suspence for f near four months before he would absolutely engage in his service. The duke having at length joined him with his troops, he sent a trumpeter to *Alphonsus*, desiring him not to desolate the kingdom by prolonging the war, but to engage with him in single combat, or with a select troop, or with his army, and that the conqueror should quietly enjoy the crown. *Alphonsus* answering, that it would be imprudent to hazard a battle, as the kingdom was already his own, *Renatus*, on the last of *June*, attacked his camp, which he made himself master of, and would have entirely ruined his army, if *Caldora* had not treacherously refused to join in the pursuit. The king being convinced of his

*Offers battle a second time to* Alphonsus.

*Is betrayed by* Caldora.

(R) *Renatus* brought with him sixty musketeers, who were the first that had ever been in *Naples*. Of these sixty, only two understood the art of making gunpowder. *Alphonsus* caused them to make a great many muskets; but as none of his party knew the art of making gun-powder, the guns were for some time useless, till he happened to seize one of the musketeers of *Renatus* who knew the receipt for making the powder (1).

(1) *Giornal. Napol. ap. Murat. t.* xxi. *col.* 1113.

treachery,

treachery, put him under confinement for ſome time; but his troops mutinying, he was obliged to ſet him at liberty, when he, with all his men, went over to *Alphonſus*. a

*RENATUS* being thus deſtitute of money and troops, ſent his wife and two ſons to *Provence*, and began to treat with his competitor, offering to leave him the quiet poſſeſſion of the kingdom, on condition that he would adopt his eldeſt ſon *John* for his heir. The *Neapolitans* being informed of this negotiation, prevailed upon *Renatus* to break it off, by aſſuring him that the pope, *Francis Sforza*, the *Florentines*, and *Genoeſe*, had concluded a league to drive *Alphonſus* from *Italy*. *Alphonſus* in the mean time allowed the prince of *Tarento* to ſeize the duchy of *Bari*, and the county of *Converſano*, from *Caldora*, who afterwards loſt all his territories, and died a beggar in the march of *Ancona*. He likewiſe took poſſeſſion of *Cajazza*, and the iſland of *Caprea*, where ſoon after he ſeized a *French* galley with 80,000 crowns; and though the cardinal of *Tarento*, and the count of *Tagliacozzo*, by the command of the pope, entered the kingdom with 10,000 men, to the aſſiſtance of the *Anjou* faction, he found means of prevailing on them to agree to a truce, and to retire to the *Campania di Roma*.

A. D. 1442. b

THIS truce proved the entire ruin of the affairs of *Renatus*; for *Alphonſus* having now no enemy to oppoſe him in the field, marched, and inveſted the city of *Naples*; which, after a long ſiege, he at laſt, on the ſecond of *June*, made himſelf maſter of by ſtorm; his ſoldiers having been conducted into the place through an aqueduct. *Renatus* having uſed his utmoſt endeavours to repulſe the enemy, retired to *Caſtello Nuovo*; and two *Genoeſe* ſhips arriving next day with proviſions, he embarked in one of them, and proceeded to *Florence* to the pope, who received him with great kindneſs, and granted him the inveſtiture of the kingdom; but could not prevail on him to continue in *Italy*, in hopes of recovering the kingdom [b].

Alphonſus *takes* Naples *by ſtorm.*

Renatus *leaves the kingdom.* c

THE *Arragonians*, who at firſt broke into *Naples*, pillaged the city for four hours; but *Alphonſus* at length entering, immediately rode through the ſtreets with a detachment of officers and horſe, and prohibited any injury or violence to be done to the inhabitants under the pain of death. He treated all the citizens with great clemency, and having in a ſhort time reduced almoſt the whole kingdom, he aſſembled a parliament at *Benevento*; and that he might not ſeem to annex his new conqueſt to his other hereditary dominions, he cauſed all the barons to ſwear homage to his baſtard ſon *Ferdinand*, whom he legitimated, and created duke of *Calabria*. Although *Arragon*, *Valencia*, *Catalonia*, *Majorca*, *Corſica*, *Sardinia*, *Sicily*, and *Rouſſillon*, were at this time under the dominion of *Alphonſus*, yet he reſolved to fix his royal ſeat at *Naples*; and the following year, having ordered forty yards of the wall to be levelled, he entered the city through the breach in a triumphal chariot drawn by four white horſes, and followed by all the nobles of the kingdom on foot. The day was concluded with tournaments and feaſts, and having granted a pardon to all thoſe of the *Anjou* faction, he was ſo liberal of honours to his friends, that the author of the *Neapolitan* diary obſerves, the number of thoſe who enjoyed titles was then doubled [c].

Alphonſus *enters* Naples *in a triumphal chariot.* A. D. 1443. d

HAVING thus reſtored tranquility to the kingdom, he bent all his thoughts upon a reconciliation with *Eugenius*; but in order to obtain from him the better terms, he at the ſame time entered into a negotiation with the antipope *Felix*, who had been elected about four years before by a few ſchiſmatic members of the council of *Baſil*. As the authority of the council was daily declining, he interrupted his negotiation with *Felix* by ſtarting new difficulties, and about the middle of *June* concluded a treaty with *Eugenius*, by which it was ſtipulated, that the pope ſhould confirm the adoption of *Alphonſus* by *Jean* II. and grant him the kingdom of *Naples* upon the ſame conditions as it had been granted to others by former popes, with the clauſe, *notwithſtanding he had conquered the kingdom with the ſword*; that *Alphonſus* and all his ſubjects ſhould acknowlege *Eugenius* as true pope; that he ſhould ſupport the eccleſiaſtical liberties, and re-eſtabliſh thoſe that had been infringed; that he ſhould reſtore all the places taken from the church; ſhould furniſh ſix gallies againſt the *Turks*, and 4000 horſe and 1000 foot to recover the march of *Ancona* from *Francis Sforza*, and grant the ſame privileges to the barons as they enjoyed during the reign of *William* II. The treaty contained ſome other leſs material articles, which were all confirmed by *Eugenius*, who on the fifteenth of *July* granted the bull of inveſtiture. Tho' it was mentioned in the bull, that if *Alphonſus* left no lawful iſſue the kingdom ſhould revert to the church, the pope nevertheleſs granted another bull of inveſtiture to *Ferdinand*, which it was agreed ſhould not be publiſhed during his life [d].

*Receives the inveſtiture of the kingdom from* Eugenius. e f

*EUGENIUS* about the ſame time publiſhed ſeven or eight bulls, all in favour of *Alphonſus* [e], who a few months after was ſeized with a dangerous illneſs, which occaſioned a

[b] Giornal. Napol. Annal BONINCONTR. SUMMONT. COSTANZO. MARIAN. GIANNONE, ut ſupra. [c] Giornal. Napol. & alii. [d] Giornal. SURIT. Hiſt. SUMMONT. Annal. BONINCONTR. SPOND. Annal. [e] GIANNONE.

a report to prevail that he was dead. The king by this ſickneſs being convinced how little he could truſt to the fidelity of the barons, reſolved to ſecure the intereſt of the prince of *Tarento*, the moſt powerful of them, by contracting a marriage betwixt the duke of *Calabria* and his niece *Iſabella*, whom the prince had propoſed to marry to the brother and heir apparent of the emperor of *Conſtantinople*. *Iſabella* was accordingly conducted to *Naples*, where the marriage with the duke was celebrated without any magnificence, as news arrived of the death of the queens of *Caſtile* and *Portugal*, the king's two ſiſters. *Alphonſus* likewiſe ſecured the fidelity of the duke of *Seſſa*, by marrying his baſtard daughter *Leonora* to the duke's only ſon; and being informed that the troops he had ſent into the march of *Ancona*, in conſequence of his treaty with the pope, had been defeated by *Sforza*,
b he ordered another body of men to march thither, under the command of the count of *Ventimiglia*, and ſent a powerful fleet into the *Adriatic*, to prevent the *Venetians* from ſending ſupplies to the enemy.

*Secures the fidelity of the barons by inter-marriages.* A. D. 1444.

ABOUT three years after *Alphonſus* reſolved to march againſt *Sforza*; but when he had proceeded as far as *Tivoli*, he was informed of the death of *Eugenius*. *Nicholas* V. his ſucceſſor, being of a peaceable diſpoſition, and having no partiality to the *Venetians*, immediately propoſed a general peace, and prevailed on *Alphonſus*, with the *Venetians* and *Florentines*, and the duke of *Milan*, to ſend their plenipotentiaries to a congreſs at *Ferrara*. The conferences were quickly broke off, and all *Italy* was again thrown into confuſion by the death of the duke of *Milan*. As he left no lawful iſſue, the emperor, the duke of *Orleans*
c *Francis Sforza*, and *Alphonſus*, all formed pretenſions to his dominions. *Alphonſus* reflecting on the hazard of exciting the emperor and all *Italy* againſt him, ſoon dropt his claim, but under pretence of ſecuring the peace of *Italy*, he declared war againſt the *Florentines*, and entered *Tuſcany*, in hopes of ſoon making a conqueſt of that province [f]. Having quickly taken ſome few caſtles, in the beginning of the following ſpring he beſieged *Piombino*; but the place being vigorouſly defended, and the plague cutting off a great many of his army, he was obliged to raiſe the ſiege ſeveral months after, and in *September* returned with the remains of his army to *Naples* [g].

*He declares war againſt the* Florentines. A. D. 1447.

A FEW months after his return there happened a rupture betwixt him and the *Venetians*, which almoſt entirely ruined the commerce of the ſubjects in *Abruzzo*, *Puglia*, and *Terra di*
d *Bari*. The war, however, was but of ſhort continuance, for a peace was concluded the year after in the month of *Auguſt* [h]; when the *Venetians* entered into an alliance with the king againſt the *Florentines*, the *Genoeſe*, and *Francis Sforza*, who was now declared duke of *Milan* [i]. This war was carried on but in a languid manner by the king, as he now began to be in love with repoſe, and was at this time enamoured with Donna *Lucretia de Alagno*, a *Neapolitan* lady of great wit and beauty; who is likewiſe celebrated by ſeveral authors for her chaſtity, ſhe having declared that the king with her conſent ſhould never violate her honour, and that if he offered to uſe force, ſhe would not imitate the *Roman Lucretia*, but would prevent the diſhonour by death. According to *Mariana*, however, and ſome others, ſhe was the king's concubine:

*A rupture betwixt him and the* Venetians. A. D. 1449. *He forms an alliance with that republic.* A. D. 1450.

e AFTER the war had continued two years, with various ſucceſs, he ſent 6000 horſe and 2000 foot into *Tuſcany*, under the command of his ſon *Ferdinand*, who took *Fojano* and two other caſtles, while the *Neapolitan* fleet infeſted the coaſt [k]. The *Florentines* immediately ſent an ambaſſador to *France*, deſiring the aſſiſtance of *Charles* VII. and intreating him to ſend *Renatus* with a body of troops into *Italy*, promiſing to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of their power, in recovering the kingdom of *Naples*. *Renatus* accordingly arriving in *Lombardy* the following year, with a conſiderable body of troops, gave ſuch a turn to the war, in favour of the duke of *Milan* and the *Florentines*, that the *Venetians* began to make ſome offers for peace. *Nicholas* V. likewiſe being earneſt to unite the *Chriſtian* princes againſt *Mahomet* II. who a few months before had made himſelf maſter of *Conſtantinople*,
f offered his mediation for a treaty, and ſent for ambaſſadors of all the parties to *Rome*. *Alphonſus*, however, was very deſirous to protract the war, and made large promiſes to the *Venetians* to make them alter their intentions; but the republic, inſtead of hearkening to his propoſals, ſent a ſecret meſſenger to the duke of *Milan*, to ſound his inclinations, and finding him not averſe to peace, they a few months after concluded a treaty with him and the *Florentines*. At the deſire of the *Florentines*, the three parties likewiſe entered into a defenſive alliance; and, that *Alphonſus* might not be offended, they immediately ſent their ambaſſadors to *Naples*, who, with the pope's legate *Simonetus* the hermit, with great difficulty prevailed upon him to enter into the league. As all *Italy* was alarmed with the loſs of *Conſtantinople*, and expected immediately to be invaded by the *Turks*, a defenſive alliance for twenty-five years was accordingly concluded among the *Italian* ſtates, except-

*A general league concluded againſt the* Turks. A. D. 1455.

[f] SURIT. Hiſt. Giornal. Napol. Æn. Europ. Hiſt. Florent. POGG. [g] Annal. BONINCONTR. Giornal. ut ſupra. [h] Idem ut ſupra. [i] Annal. BONINCONTR. POGGII Hiſt. BARTHOL. FACIUS de Geſt. Alphonſ. l. ix. [k] POGG. ut ſupra. Giornal. Napol. FACIUS ut ſupra.

ing the *Genoeſe*, *Sigiſmond Malateſta*, and *Aſtur* of *Faenza*, who were excluded to gratify *Alphonſus* [l]. a

A FEW months after this general peace, *Alphonſus* reflecting that his competitor *Renatus* might be powerfully aſſiſted by the *Italians*, and that his eldeſt ſon *John* was ſtill left in *Italy* and was entertained by the *Florentines*, he reſolved to ſecure the friendſhip of *Sforza* duke of *Milan*, who was likewiſe deſirous of the king's alliance to defend himſelf againſt the pretenſions of the duke of *Orleans*. A double marriage was accordingly contracted; *Hippolita Maria*, the duke's daughter, being betrothed to *Alphonſus*, the duke of *Calabria*'s eldeſt ſon, and *Leonora*, the ſiſter of this *Alphonſus*, to the duke of *Milan*'s third ſon, named *Sforza* [m].

*A rupture betwixt* Alphonſus *and the pope.*

*ALPHONSUS*, however, about the ſame time drew upon himſelf the enmity of the ſucceſſor of *Nicolas*, *Calixtus* III. who had been born his ſubject, and promoted to the cardinalate by his intereſt. The new pope is accuſed by ſome authors of ingratitude, and 'tis ſaid, that being intoxicated with his elevation, he behaved with inſolence to the king. Others allege, that the king, even after his promotion, looked upon him as his ſubject, and was piqued that the pope had rejected ſome arrogant demands made to him in an authoritative manner [n]. However it be, the enmity continued during the reſt of *Alphonſus*'s life; and the following year the king, from his reſentment againſt the pope, aſſiſted *Picinius*, who with a body of troops ravaged the territories of *Sienna* [o]. At the ſame time he continued the war againſt *Malateſta* and the *Genoeſe*; and the year after he ſent a powerful fleet to beſiege *Genoa*. The *Genoeſe* being likewiſe attacked by land, were reduced to great

A. D. 1458. Alphonſus *dies.*

diſtreſs; but the next year they were happily delivered from their enemy by death. *Alphonſus* in the beginning of *May* was taken ill, and after languiſhing a few weeks, died on the twenty-ſeventh of *June*, in the ſixty-fourth year of his age. He is ſaid to have excelled all the princes of his time in the knowlege of the art of war, in his generoſity, magnificence, love of learning, and regard for learned men, particularly *George* of *Trebiſond*, and *Laurentius Valla*. He is, however, blamed for his immoderate ambition, incontinency, paſſion, and diſſimulation, and the ſevere exactions with which he oppreſſed his ſubjects [p]. As he had no lawful iſſue, he left by his laſt will the kingdom of *Naples* to his baſtard ſon *Ferdinand*, and all his other dominions, particularly the iſland of *Sicily*, to his brother *John*, king of *Navarre*, and his poſterity [q] (W).

*His baſtard ſon* Ferdinand *ſucceeds to the kingdom of* Naples.

THE ſame day that *Alphonſus* died, *Ferdinand* ſent to the pope, demanding the inveſtiture of the kingdom. *Calixtus*, however, refuſed his demand, unleſs he would divide the realm with his nephew *Peter Lewis Borgia*, a man of a moſt abandoned character, whom he had created duke of *Spoleto*. Otherwiſe he declared, that he would claim the kingdom as devolved to the church, or give the inveſtiture of it to *John* king of *Arragon* [r]. *Ferdinand* would not hearken to the condition propoſed by the pope; but nevertheleſs endeavoured to mitigate him by reſpectful and ſubmiſſive letters and meſſengers. His endeavours were entirely without effect; for the pope on the twelfth of *July* publiſhed a bull, prohibiting *Ferdinand* to take the title of king of *Naples* under pain of excommunication, and likewiſe, under the ſame penalty, forbidding any of the *Neapolitans* from ſwearing allegiance to him, abſolving all who had already ſworn to him, and affirming that the kingdom had devolved to the church, as *Ferdinand* was not the true ſon of *Alphonſus*, but ſuppoſitious. The king in his defence appealed to a future council, and, as he was informed the pope was endeavouring to excite a rebellion by private emiſſaries, he aſſembled an army and threatened to march to *Rome* [s]. At the ſame time he wrote to the cardinals, to endeavour to mitigate the pope, who was likewiſe importuned by the ambaſſadors of the duke of *Milan*. *Calixtus*, however, ſtill continued obſtinate and implacable; but all his ambitious deſigns were ſoon diſſipated by death, which happened to him on the ſixth of *Auguſt*. His ſucceſſor, the famous *Æneas Sylvius*, who took the name of *Pius* II. immediately declared himſelf favourable to *Ferdinand*, received the homage of his ambaſſador, and notwithſtanding the oppoſition of *Renatus* of *Anjou*, and his ſon *John*, who was then at *Genoa*, granted the bull of in-

[l] Idem ibid. Hiſt. general d'Eſpagne, t. iv. Annal. BONINCONTR. an. 1455. [m] Giornal. ut ſupra. GIANNONE. [n] Æn. Europe. c. 58. GOBELIN. Comment. l. ii. Hiſt. general d'Eſpagne, t. iv. p. 129, 130. Contin. de FLEURY Hiſt. Eccleſ. t. xxii. [o] GOBELIN. Comment. Æn. Europ. [p] Idem ibid. COLLENUT. FAZEL. COSTANZO. SPOND. Annal. BONINCONTR. Annal. Giornal. Napol. [q] SUMMONT. Annal. BONINCONTR. [r] Giornal. Napol. ut ſupra. [s] SURIT. l. xvi. c. 48 & 49. Hiſt. general d'Eſpagne. COSTANZO, l. xix. Giorn. Napol.

(W) Some time before his death, *Alphonſus* adviſed his ſon *Ferdinand* not to imitate three of his maxims of government, but to purſue a different conduct; namely, to diſmiſs all the *Arragonians* and *Catalans* from court, and to employ *Italians*; and to take off all heavy and oppreſſive taxes; and to cultivate peace with the church, and other ſtates of *Italy* (1).

(1) *Antonin. tit.* 22. *c.* 16. *ſect.* 1.

a veſtiture, adding, however, the clauſe, *without prejudice to the rights of another*, and inſiſting on the reſtitution of *Benevento*, and the payment of all arrears of quit-rent [t]. *He receives the inveſtiture from* Pius II.

BESIDES the oppoſition of *Calixtus*, *Ferdinand* had to encounter the fickleneſs and diſaffection of many *Neapolitan* barons. When *Alphonſus* died, *Charles* prince of *Viana*, the ſon of his brother *John*, happened to be then in *Naples*, and privately propagated his claim to the crown, as lawful heir to his uncle. He had ſeveral conferences with the malecontents; but fearing his intentions were diſcovered, and ſeeing no proſpect of ſucceſs, he embarked with many *Catalans* and *Sicilians*, and went over to *Sicily*. After his departure, the diſaffected barons invited his father, *John* king of *Arragon*; but he refuſing their invitation, they ſent for *John* the eldeſt ſon of *Renatus* of *Anjou*, then governor of *Genoa*, which republic had
b ſubmitted to the king of *France*, in order to be protected from the late king *Alphonſus*. During their ſecret intrigues, *Ferdinand* was ſolemnly crowned at *Barletta*, on the fourth of *February*, by cardinal *Latino Urſino*, when he granted many favours to his ſubjects, and honoured many of them with knighthood [u]. *Is crowned at* Barletta. A. D. 1459.

HE appeared now quietly and ſecurely fixed upon the throne, and reſolved to proſecute the war againſt the *Genoeſe* and *Malateſta*. He was, however, prevented by a cruel civil war, which broke out in the kingdom. According to the author of the *Neapolitan* diary, the prince of *Tarento*, who was very powerful by his great number of vaſſals, and beſides, as conſtable of the kingdom, received from the exchequer yearly 100,000 ducats of gold, for the ſupport of the men at arms, ſuſpecting that the king intended to diminiſh his
c grandeur, reſolved openly to take up arms, and ſoon after inveſted *Venoſa*, under pretence of a private quarrel. When the king ordered him to deſiſt, inſtead of obeying, he propoſed conditions to *Ferdinand*, and deſired him to reſtore ſome barons who had forfeited their eſtates during the late reign. According to this author, his requeſt was denied; but others ſay, that thoſe barons he intreated for were reſtored to their eſtates, and that nevertheleſs the prince and they entered into a correſpondence with *John* of *Anjou*, and even prevailed on the prince of *Roſſano*, who had married *Ferdinand*'s ſiſter, to join their party.

*JOHN* of *Anjou*, who for ſome time had aſſumed the title of duke of *Calabria*, being encouraged by their preſſing intreaties, fitted out a fleet of twenty-three gallies at *Genoa* and *Marſeilles*, and hearing that *Ferdinand* had gone to *Calabria*, to prevent a revolt in that province, on the fifth of *October* he arrived before *Naples*, in hopes of being admitted into
d the city. Queen *Iſabel* with great diligence and prudence putting the city in a ſtate of defence, he thought proper to retire, and ſailing to the coaſt of *Seſſa*, landed his troops between the mouths of the rivers *Garigliano* and *Volturno*, and was joyfully received by the prince of *Roſſano* [w]. Many barons immediately joined him, and *Lucera*, *Troja*, *Foggia*, *Sanſevera*, *Manfredonia*, and other cities, declared for him, and ſet up his ſtandard. A few months after he was joined by the prince of *Tarento* from *Puglia*, with a large body of troops, and *Picininus*, who commanded the troops of the late *Bratchio*, and the *Genoeſe* fleet returning to the coaſt, he encamped at *Sarno*, and received the ſubmiſſion of ſeveral cities. *Ferdinand* in the mean time having concluded a peace with *Malateſta*, and received conſiderable reinforcements from the pope, and artillery from the duke of *Milan*, marched
e againſt the enemy, and imprudently attacked their camp, though in a few days he could have forced them to ſurrender. At firſt he gained a conſiderable advantage, but in the end he was entirely defeated, and obliged to fly to *Naples*. John *of* Anjou *is invited by the diſaffected barons to ſeize the the crown. He enters the kingdom.* A. D. 1460. *Defeats* Ferdinand.

DUKE *John* gained ſo great a ſuperiority by this victory, that almoſt all the barons ſeemed to ſtrive who ſhould firſt ſubmit to him, and the cities in the moſt diſtant parts of the kingdom ſet up his ſtandard; ſo that excepting the count of *Fondi*, and a very few barons, and *Naples*, and ſome other chief cities, he ſeemed to be in poſſeſſion of the whole kingdom [x]. If he had marched directly to *Naples*, it was ſuppoſed he would quickly have put an end to the war; but the prince of *Tarento* diſſuaded him from this deſign, having, as was reported, been privately ſolicited by his niece, queen *Iſabella*, who left *Naples* in the
f diſguiſe of a *Franciſcan*, attended by her confeſſor, and threw herſelf at his feet, intreating him, that as he had made her a queen, he would make her die a queen [y]. Duke *John* being accordingly perſuaded by the prince to employ his troops in reducing the towns in *Campania*, *Ferdinand* had leiſure to recruit his forces, and to receive new reinforcements from the pope and the duke of *Milan*. Having thus drawn together a conſiderable body of troops, he left *Naples*, and in the beginning of winter, almoſt in ſight of the enemy, beſieged two towns in *Puglia*, which, after a long ſiege, he obliged to ſurrender.

THIS ſucceſs encouraged a great many barons to return to their allegiance. The *Anjou* faction, however, ſtill continued very powerful, and in the following campaign beſieged the Ferdinand *retrieves his affairs.* A. D. 1461.

[t] GIANNONE, COLLENUT. l. vi. [u] COSTANZO, Giornal. Napol. [w] Idem ibid. GIANNONE. [x] JOAN. SIMONET. Vita Sforz. Duc. apud MURATOR, t. xxi. p. 700, 701, 711, 712, 730. PONTAN. Hiſt. Giornal. Napol. [y] Iidem ut ſupra,

king

king in his camp before *Barletta*. While *Ferdinand* was in this situation, *George Castriota* of *Albania*, surnamed *Scanderbeg*, at the request of the pope, and in return for the succours he had formerly received from *Alphonsus*, crossed the *Adriatic* to his assistance. The news of his arrival surprized all *Italy*, and increased the credit of *Ferdinand*'s party. He immediately obliged the duke to retire from *Barletta*, and with his light horse ravaged the territories of the prince of *Tarento*; but the *Turks* violating the truce they had concluded with him, he was quickly obliged to return to *Albania* [z]. Though *Ferdinand* likewise this year increased his party, by creating one of the most powerful of the *Sanseverini* prince of *Salerno*, yet in the beginning of the next campaign he lost all the towns which he had before taken from the *Anjou* faction. But about the middle of *July*, being joined by *Alexander Sforza*, lord of *Pisaura*, who was sent to his assistance by the duke of *Milan*, a few weeks after he gained a complete victory over the duke in the neighbourhood of *Troja*, the particulars of which are related by *Pontanus*, who was present in the action. Two days after *Troja* surrendered, and afterwards *Foggia*, *Sansevero*, and *Ascoli*. Many of the barons also immediately abandoned the *Anjou* faction, the duke of *Milan* offering himself as guarantee for the performance of all the promises made to them by the king. The prince of *Tarento* likewise seeing the *Anjou* faction ruined, thought proper to make his peace with the king; but survived not much more than a year, being strangled by two of his own servants, who were said to have been bribed by *Ferdinand* [a].

*Entirely defeats* John *at* Troja.

A. D. 1463. *JOHN*, with *Piccininus*, after the defeat at *Troja*, retired with the remains of their army to *Abruzzo*, and offered to conclude a truce with *Ferdinand*; but their proposal was rejected by the king, who the following spring assembled his army near *Capua*, and marched against the prince of *Rossano*, while *Sforza* proceeded to *Abruzzo*. The duke leaving *Arruzzo*, and coming to *Sessa*, to encourage the prince to continue stedfast, in hopes of succours from *Marseilles* and *Genoa*, *Piccininus* during his absence submitted to *Sforza*, and entered into the king's service, being promised a yearly pension of 110,000 ducats. The prince hearing of his submission immediately concluded an accommodation with the king, while duke *John*, being abandoned by all the barons, retired with a few *French* into the island of *Ischia*. *Ferdinand* returning in the end of autumn with his army into *Puglia*, marched against *Manfredonia*, which still held out for the duke. After he had reduced this city, which was pillaged by his army, he was informed of the death of the prince of *Tarento*, and was invited to take possession of his territories and treasures, as he had left no male issue. The king, overjoyed at the news, immediately left the command of his army to *Sforza*, and proceeded with a few troops to *Tarento*, being honourably received by the cities, towns, and castles, through which he passed, as heir of the late prince. He was joined by all the troops of the deceased, to the number of 4000 men, and received in money, jewels, cattle, and furniture, to the value of a million of crowns [b]. *John* of *Anjou* hearing of the death of the prince, with whom he had concerted to renew the war in the spring, lost all hopes of recovering the kingdom; and though he was reinforced with ten gallies from *Provence*, a few weeks after he left *Ischia*, and returned to *Marseilles* [c].

*The barons return to their allegiance.*

John *returns to* Marseilles.

A. D. 1464.

Not many months after, *Ferdinand* lost his great protector *Pius* II. who died at *Ancona*, and in the end of *August* was succeeded by *Paul* II. a *Venetian*. The king at this time had marched with his army into *Abruzzo*, and deprived all the family of *Landola* of their territories. In his way thither, he seized the prince of *Rossano*, and sent him a prisoner to *Naples*. This proceeding being a manifest violation of the treaty concluded with him, *Piccininus*, who had been created prince of *Sulmo*, to avoid the same treatment, fled to *Milan*, where he was honourably received, and married the duke's bastard daughter. Being, however, persuaded the following summer to return to *Naples*, he was apprehended by the king, with his son, and some few others, after he had been treated at his first arrival with the greatest honours. *Ferdinand* excused the proceeding to the duke of *Milan*, under pretence that *Piccininus* was forming a second conspiracy. The duke, however, was so offended with his breach of faith, that he immediately ordered his two sons not to proceed till further orders with their sister *Hippolita*, who had advanced to *Sienna*, on her way to *Naples*, attended by *Frederic*, the king's second son with 600 horse [d]. He likewise sent another of his sons ambassador to the king, to intercede for his son-in-law; but before his arrival *Piccininus* was dead, having accidentally killed himself according to the account published by the king, by falling from a window of the castle. Though the duke did not believe this account of his death, it was reported he had been strangled by the king's order, yet he allowed his daughter to proceed to *Naples*, where she arrived about the middle of *September*, when the marriage was celebrated with *Alphonsus* the duke of *Calabria*.

A. D. 1465.

*The duke of* Calabria *marries the daughter of the duke of* Milan.

*FERDINAND*, by imprisoning the prince of *Rossano*, and destroying *Piccininus*, entirely put an end to the troubles of the kingdom, which for several years after enjoyed a perfect

[z] Gobelin. Comment. l. vi. Vita Sfort. Pontan. ut supra. Vita Scanderbeg. l. x. [a] Giornal. Napol. [b] Vita Sfort. Gobelin. Comment. ut supra. [c] Pontan. l. vi. Giornal. Napol. Vita Sfort. [d] Vita Sfort. ut supra. Giornal. Napol.

a tranquility. As *Alexander Sforza* duke of *Milan* died a few months after the marriage of *Hippolita*, he renewed the league with his ſon *Galeatius* and the *Florentines*, and the year after ſent his ſon, the duke of *Calabria*, with a conſiderable body of troops, to *Tuſcany*, to the aſſiſtance of *Peter Medici*, againſt ſome malcontents, who had prevailed on the *Venetians* to ſupport their party [c]. As the *Turks* had defeated *Scanderbeg*, and poſſeſſed *Albania* and *Epire*, and were making continual conqueſts in *Greece*, pope *Paul* the following year prevailed on the league to conclude a peace with the *Venetians*, and quieted, in ſome meaſure, the civil diſſenſions in *Florence*. A few months after, *Ferdinand* had a diſpute with the pope, about the annual tribute due to the holy ſee, and the cities in the kingdom poſſeſſed by the pope; namely, *Terracina*, *Benevento*, *Civita Ducale*, *Acumoli*, and *Lioneſſa*. A. D. 1467.

*A difference betwixt* Ferdinand *and the pope.*

b The king threatened to begin hoſtilities againſt the eccleſiaſtical ſtate; and in the beginning of *January* ordered ſome troops to march towards *Abruzzo*. He likewiſe ſent his ſon *Alphonſus* to the aſſiſtance of *Robert Malateſta*, whom the pope was then beſieging in *Rimini*. The papal troops were obliged to raiſe the ſiege for want of reinforcements, which they expected from the *Venetians*, who were then chiefly engaged in preparing for the defence of the iſland *Negropont* or *Eubœa* againſt the *Turks*. The following year, on the 12th of *July*, *Mahomet* II. made himſelf maſter of the city and iſland, when he wrote a letter to *Ferdinand*, deſiring him to rejoice on account of his victory. *Ferdinand*, in his anſwer, declared, that he could not rejoice at the taking of the city; and all the ſtates of *Italy*, being greatly alarmed with the loſs, thought proper to accommodate their differences, and on *Chriſtmas-*

A. D. 1469.

c *day* concluded a general peace at *Rome* [f].

About three days after, *Ferdinand* entered into an alliance with *Hercules d'Eſte*, duke of *Ferrara*, and gave him his daughter *Eleonora* in marriage. He likewiſe betrothed his other daughter to *Matthias*, king of *Hungary*, who three years after being crowned queen by cardinal *Caraffa*, embarked in the month of *September*, with the *Hungarian* ambaſſador at *Manfredonia*, on board four gallies, with many other ſhips, and ſailed to *Hungary*. Queen *Iſabella* dying a few months after, *Ferdinand* contracted an alliance with his couſin *Jean*, the daughter of *John*, king of *Arragon*, and ſent the duke of *Calabria*, attended with many nobles, on board ten gallies, and ſeveral other ſhips, to *Catalonia*, to conduct the bride to *Naples*. Upon her arrival, in the month of *September*, ſhe was crowned by cardinal *Borgia* with great pomp and ceremony [g]. *Ferdinand* in the mean time, during theſe years of peace, employed himſelf in enlarging and embelliſhing the city of *Naples*, in reſettling the provinces, publiſhing new laws and regulations, reforming the tribunals and the univerſity, encouraging learning and learned men, and introducing new arts, particularly the art of printing, and the ſilken and woollen manufactories [h].

*The king gives his daughters in marriage to the duke of* Ferrara *and the king of* Hungary. A. D. 1477.

A few months after his marriage, the king concluded an alliance with pope *Sixtus* IV. which in the end proved very fatal to his kingdom. *Sixtus*, the following ſpring, formed a plot to aſſaſſinate *Laurence* and *Julian Medici*, the grandſons of the famous *Coſmo* of *Florence*, in hopes of cruſhing that commonwealth, and enriching his profligate nephew *Jeronimo Ravere*, and perſuaded *Ferdinand* to ſend ſome troops to *Tuſcany*, under pretence of aſſiſting the pope againſt ſome rebels. *Laurence Medici* was ſo fortunate as to eſcape the hands of the aſſaſſins; and the *Florentines*, being inflamed with reſentment againſt the pope, and aſſiſted by the *Venetians* and the duke of *Milan*, defended their territories with great vigour againſt the duke of *Calabria* and the papal troops, with thoſe of *Sienna*. The war continued with various ſucceſs till the end of the following year, when a truce being concluded for three months, *Laurence Medici* came as ambaſſador from *Florence* to *Naples*, and was ſo ſucceſsful as to prevail with *Ferdinand* to conclude a defenſive and offenſive alliance with the *Florentines*, which was publiſhed a few months after, to the great diſpleaſure of the pope, who had not yet been conſulted [i].

*He aſſiſts the pope againſt the* Florentines. A. D. 1478.

The *Florentines*, during the war, to oblige *Ferdinand* to withdraw his troops, ſecretly preſſed the *Turks* to invade *Naples* [k]. The *Venetians* likewiſe, being jealous of the king's power, and having got intelligence by intercepted letters, that he was forming pretenſions to the kingdom of *Cyprus*, excited the infidels, with whom they had then concluded a peace, to invade his dominions [l]. The *Turks*, according to *Giannone*, ſince their conqueſt of *Conſtantinople*, formed pretenſions to all the provinces that had formerly belonged to the *Roman* empire [m]; and *Mahomet*, being irritated againſt *Ferdinand* for having ſent ſuccours to the relief of *Rhodes* [n], was eaſily perſuaded to invade the kingdom of *Naples*. He accordingly fitted out a formidable fleet at *Valona*, anciently called *Apollonia*, on the coaſt of *Epire*,

*The* Florentines *and* Venetians *excite the* Turks *to invade* Naples.

[e] Chron. Eugub. apud Murator, t. xxi. p. 1015. [f] Chron. Eugub. ut ſupra. Papienſ. Epiſt. [g] Giornal. Napol. [h] Giannone Toppi Biblioth. Neap. Summont. [i] Diar. Roman. Volater. ap. Murator. t. 23. Diar. Sanfsi ap. eund. p. 805, &c. Machiavel. Hiſt. Flor. [k] Costanzo, ut ſupra. [l] Storia Veneziana da Andrea Navagiero ap. Murator. t. 23. col. 1165. Krantz Wandal. 19. Saxon. l. xii. c. 28. [m] Giannone, ut ſupra. [n] Camill. Porzio, l. i. in Princ. Congiur. de Baroni.

where the paſſage to *Italy* is only about 50 miles, and, embarking with a formidable army, gave the chief command to baſha *Achmet*, who landed in *Calabria* about the end of *July*, and immediately beſieged *Otranto*. The city had but a ſmall garriſon, and was unprepared for a ſiege. The citizens and ſoldiers nevertheleſs defended themſelves for near three weeks with great bravery, in hopes of being relieved by the king; but no ſuccours arriving, the *Turks* at length took the place by aſſault, when they maſſacred all the aged of both ſexes, and all the clergy, raviſhed the matrons and nuns upon the altars, ripped up the women with child, and made captives of all the youth [o].

*Baſha* Achmet *takes* Otranto. A. D. 1480.

THE news of this invaſion aſtoniſhed and alarmed all *Italy*. The king declaring to the pope, that, if he would not aſſiſt him, he would conclude a peace with the *Turks*, *Sixtus* immediately ordered 24 gallies, which he had deſtined for the relief of *Rhodes*, to ſail to *Naples*. He likewiſe agreed to an accommodation with the *Florentines*; and on the 16th of *September* concluded an alliance againſt the *Turks* with *Ferdinand*, the king of *Hungary*, the dukes of *Milan* and *Ferrara*, and the republics of *Genoa* and *Florence*. The *Venetians* excuſed themſelves from being concerned in the alliance, alleging, that they had carried on a war againſt the infidels for 15 years, without the aſſiſtance of the other Chriſtian powers; and having lately concluded a peace with them, they had yet no reaſon to renew their hoſtilities [p]. The *Turks* in the mean time took ſome other places in the neighbourhood of *Otranto*, and made incurſions along the northern coaſt of *Italy*, as far as *Loretto* [q].

*FERDINAND*, having recalled his troops from *Tuſcany*, ſent the duke of *Alphonſus* into *Calabria* to oppoſe the infidels, and wrote to almoſt all the princes of *Europe* for aſſiſtance. The *Neapolitan* fleet, the following year, being joined by 22 gallies of the pope, and ſome veſſels from the kings of *Portugal*, ſailed round to *Otranto*, and blocked up the harbour, while *Alphonſus* inveſted the city by land with a powerful army, being joined by 900 men from *Florence* [r], 3000 *Caſtilians* [s], and, according to *Bonfinius*, with 2000 *Hungarian* horſe, who wanted to attack the enemy the ſame hour that they arrived at the camp. The *Turks* made a vigorous defence; but in the beginning of *June*, being informed by *Alphonſus* of the death of the emperor *Mahomet*, they conſented to evacuate the place, after they had received a confirmation of the news from *Valona*. The city accordingly, on the 10th of *Auguſt*, ſurrendered to *Alphonſus*, who is accuſed by a certain author of having plundered the garriſon, and taken many of the *Turks* priſoners, contrary to the capitulation [t]. As he did not ſhare this booty with the pope's legate, he withdrew his gallies from the reſt of the fleet, which prevented him from attacking *Valona* as he intended [u]. *Ferdinand* was very deſirous of proſecuting the war, and of invading *Greece* during the diſſenſions betwixt the ſons of *Mahomet*, and, by his ambaſſadors at *Rome*, complained againſt the proceedings of the legate. The cardinal excuſed himſelf, alleging his fleet was very ſickly, and it would require 40,000 crowns to repair the gallies; but one of the *Genoeſe* captains, in a long diſcourſe recorded by *Volaterranus*, publicly accuſed *Alphonſus* of having diſobliged all the ſailors by his deſpotiſm and avarice. The *Neapolitan* ambaſſador, nevertheleſs, ſtill urging the great advantage to the general cauſe, to prevent the united fleet, conſiſting of upwards of 130 ſail, from being ſeparated, and to attack the infidels during their civil diſſenſions, the pope adviſed the legate and the *Genoeſe* to return to *Naples*; but at the ſame time declaring, that he had fulfilled his engagements with the king, and accuſing the king of not having done the ſame towards him in the *Florentine* war, the *Genoeſe* captain and the cardinal abſolutely refuſed to rejoin the fleet.

A. D. 1481. Alphonſus *beſieges* Otranto, *and obliges the* Turks *to ſurrender the place.*

*FERDINAND*, being thus prevented from carrying his arms into *Greece*, a few months after was obliged to employ them againſt the pope and the *Venetians*, in defence of his ſon-in-law the duke of *Ferrara*. The power of the *Venetians* was at this time looked upon with jealouſy by all the *Italian* ſtates, who obſerved that they took every opportunity to extend their dominion on the continent. The republic having entered into a private treaty with *Sixtus*, by which it was agreed to make a partition of the duchy of *Ferrara* betwixt them and the pope's nephew *Jeronimo*, they took an occaſion to quarrel with the duke, and on the 2d of *May* declared war againſt him, and immediately ſeized the greateſt part of his duchy. The pope at the ſame time made great warlike preparations at *Rome* to act in concert with them, and aſſembled an army under the command of his nephew, to prevent the *Neapolitans* from marching to *Ferrara*. The *Colonni* and *Savelli*, however, joining the duke of *Calabria*, and admitting his troops into their towns, the duke quickly advanced with his army, in which were about 2000 janiſaries, and on the 5th of *June* encamped within view of the city. The pope and the *Romans* were in the utmoſt conſternation, eſpecially as it was reported that the emperor was aſſembling a general council at *Baſil*, and that *Ferdinand* had made himſelf maſter of *Benevento* and *Terracina*. As the fields in the neighbourhood of

Ferdinand *aſſiſts the duke of* Ferrara *againſt the pope and the* Venetians. A. D. 1482.

[o] VOLATER. SPOND. Annal. [p] Storia Veneziana, ut ſupra. [q] TURSEL. Hiſt. Lauret. l. ii. c. 4. [r] Storia Venez. [s] Diar. Parmenſ. ap. MURATOR, t. 22. p. 363. [t] Storia Veneziana. [u] Idem ibid.

*Rome*

a *Rome* were ravaged by both parties for ſeveral weeks, the *Romans* openly murmured againſt the pope; but a conſiderable reinforcement of *Venetian* troops joining the papal army, *Alphonſus* on the 21ſt of *Auguſt* was attacked, and intirely defeated.

NOTWITHSTANDING this loſs, *Ferdinand* found means of detaching the pope from the *Venetians*, by promiſing his nephew *Jeronimo* 40,000 crowns for three years. *Sixtus* likewiſe joining in the general alliance, *Alphonſus* entered *Rome*, and, after ſome conferences with his holineſs, on the laſt of *December* proceeded to *Ferrara*. He employed the whole following campaign in raiſing contributions in the *Venetian* territories on the continent, while his brother *Frederic* ſailed into the gulph, and ſeized a great many ſhips belonging to the republic. The *Venetians*, in reſentment, threatened to introduce the *Turks* into *Puglia*,
b and ſent for *Renatus*, duke of *Lorrain*, promiſing to ſupport him in his pretenſions to the kingdom of *Naples*. The duke continued but a ſhort time at *Venice*, and returned to *France*. The republic, being diſappointed in their aſſiſtance from him, reſolved to remove the war, if poſſible, from their own territories, and the following year ordered their admiral to invade *Puglia*. The *Venetian* fleet accordingly arriving on the coaſt, landed their troops, took *Gallipoli* by ſtorm, and afterwards reduced ſeveral caſtles in that neighbourhood. *Policaſtro* and *Cero*, upon the ſame coaſt, being likewiſe ſurpriſed and plundered by the enemy, *Ferdinand* immediately fitted out 38 gallies, and ſent them round to the gulph, under the command of his ſon *Frederic* and *Bernard Villamarino*. But as all parties began now to be tired of the war, a general congreſs was agreed to at a village in the neighbourhood of *Breſ-*
c *cia*, when the governor of the duke of *Milan* concluding a ſeparate peace with the *Venetians*: the allies were obliged to accede to the treaty, though the terms were not ſo favourable to them as they might have expected. By the treaty, which was concluded on the 7th of *Auguſt*, all conqueſts were to be reciprocally reſtored, excepting ſome places, that the *Venetians* and *Lewis Sforza* were allowed to retain, and *Ferdinand* promiſed to grant the *Venetian* merchants in his dominions the ſame privileges as they had always enjoyed [w].

*The pope agrees to a peace with* Ferdinand. A. D. 1483.

*The* Venetians *invade* Puglia. A. D. 1484.

*A peace concluded.*

A FEW days after the concluſion of this treaty, *Sixtus* IV. died at *Rome*, and on the 27th of the ſame month was ſucceeded by *Innocent* VIII. a *Genoeſe*. Though this pope had been long in the ſervice of *Ferdinand* and of his father *Alphonſus*, yet ſoon after his promotion to the pontificate he became the king's bitter enemy, and encouraged another formidable
d rebellion in the kingdom. A few weeks after the general peace, the *Florentines* having declared war againſt the *Genoeſe*, *Ferdinand* granted them ſome aſſiſtance, and ſent a conſiderable fleet againſt *Genoa*. The pope interceded for his native country, and prevailed with the king to promiſe to embrace a neutrality; notwithſtanding which promiſe, *Ferdinand* ſtill continuing to ſend ſuccours to the *Florentines*, *Innocent* reſolved to ſeize the firſt opportunity of ſhewing his reſentment, and the following year openly eſpouſed the cauſe of ſome diſcontented barons [x]. *Ferdinand* for ſeveral years had reſigned almoſt the whole adminiſtration of the government to *Alphonſus*, who, being of an arbitrary and cruel diſpoſition, was diſ-
e ſatisfied with the independence which the barons enjoyed, and had formed a deſign of ſtripping them of their privileges; which purpoſe he was imprudent enough to diſcloſe to his confidents and favourites, and in a manner publiſhed to the whole kingdom, by wearing, as a device, a beſom upon his helmet [y]. The barons, by the alteration of his behaviour ſince the recovery of *Otranto*, and his retaining a body of *Turks* in his pay, had for ſome time been ſuſpicious of his deſigns, and perceiving the bad correſpondence betwixt the king and the pope, they judged the opportunity favourable for a revolt, as they would be ſure of the protection of his holineſs. Mean while *Innocent* was engaged in diſputes with *Ferdinand* about the uſual tribute for the kingdom, and at the ſame time held a ſecret correſpondence with the malcontents.

*Difference betwixt* Ferdinand *and* Innocent.

*The barons revolt againſt the king.*

*ALPHONSUS*, having diſcovered the ſecret practices of the barons, reſolved by his diſpatch to break their meaſures, and in the end of *June* took poſſeſſion of *Nola*, and ſeized
f the count of *Montario* and the ſons of the duke of *Aſcoli* and of the count of *Nola*, who were impriſoned in *Caſtel Nuovo*. The pope immediately declared himſelf arbitrator, and cited the king to appear at *Rome*, while the other conſpirators appeared in arms in different parts of the kingdom, and the city of *Aquila* raiſed the ſtandard of the church. *Ferdinand* endeavoured at firſt to quiet the commotions by a treaty, and ſent his ſon *Frederic* to *Salerno* to conclude a peace, which for a few weeks had been negotiated with the rebels. The prince of *Salerno*, however, and the other malcontents, inſtead of ſubmitting, offered the crown to *Frederic*, and, upon his refuſing to accept of it, made him a priſoner. All hopes of an accommodation vaniſhing, hoſtilities were again renewed. The pope eſpouſed the cauſe of the barons with great zeal; and reſolving, if poſſible, to dethrone the king, made
g an offer of the inveſtiture to *Renatus* of *Lorrain*, who, in right of his mother, ſiſter to the

A. D. 1485.

[w] Storia Veneziana. PETR. Cyrn. de Bell. Ferrar. ap. MURAT. t. 21. VOLATER. ut ſupra. Diar. Parmenſ. Vite de Duchi de Venez. ap. MURAT. t. 22. [x] Storia Venez. [y] CAMILL. PORZIO. GIANN. ut ſup.

late *John* of *Anjou*, kept up a claim to the kingdom. *Renatus* neglecting the preſent offer, a *Innocent* earneſtly ſolicited the aſſiſtance of the *Venetians*, who, though they were promiſed a large ſhare of the kingdom, refuſed to declare openly againſt *Ferdinand*.

THE king in the mean time concluded a treaty with the *Urſini* family, who had then revolted from the pope, and conferred upon them the counties of *Nola*, *Tripalda*, and *Valentino*, and the city of *Aſcoli*. He likewiſe aſſembled three armies, one of which, under the command of the duke of *Calabria*, invaded the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and made incurſions as far as *Rome*, whilſt the other two armies attacked thoſe of the barons, and gained ſeveral advantages over them. The pope, finding the efforts of the malcontents not ſo conſiderable as he expected, ſoon began to think of peace, and propoſed to the barons to come to an agreement with the king, promiſing to obtain good conditions for them. As they diſ- b
truſted the king's diſpoſition, they at firſt were averſe to a treaty; but the king of *Arragon*, and his ſon the king of *Sicily*, with the duke of *Milan* and the *Florentines*, offering to be-
*A peace concluded.* A. D. 1486. come guarantees, the peace was at laſt concluded on the 12th of *Auguſt*, when *Ferdinand* agreed to pay all the arrears of his tribute at a convenient time, and to pardon all thoſe that had been concerned in the rebellion. It was likewiſe ſtipulated, that the city of *Aquila* ſhould be at liberty either to ſubmit to the pope or the king; that the pope ſhould have the power of conferring all the benefices in the kingdom; and, what is ſomewhat remarkable, ſhould be at liberty to furniſh proviſions and a free paſſage to the *French*, if they ſhould attempt to invade *Naples* [z]. Some of the barons, particularly the prince of *Salerno*, refuſed to truſt to the king's pardon, and went to *France* and *Rome*. Thoſe who remained were c
ſoon ſadly convinced of the king's perfidy; for in a few months the greateſt part of them
*Notwithſtanding which, the barons are put to death.* A. D. 1487. were ſeized and impriſoned, with their wives and children, ſome of them being condemned by a formal trial, and executed publicly, while the reſt were privately put to death in priſon, without any regard to the remonſtrances of the pope, the duke of *Milan*, or the other guarantees [a].

*FERDINAND*, on account of this and many other acts of tyranny, began now to be regarded not as a lawful prince, but as a deſpotic tyrant, hated and deteſted by all his ſubjects. Though by the many forfeitures of the late rebellious barons he had amaſſed a great treaſure, and increaſed the number of fortified places in the kingdom, yet he was diſtruſtful of his own ſafety, as he was informed that both *Ferdinand*, now king of *Spain*, and d
*Charles* VIII. of *France*, formed pretenſions to his dominions. *Charles* VIII. alleged, that he was heir to the late *John* of *Anjou*; and the king of *Spain*, as guarantee of the late treaty
r which had been ſo baſely violated, threatened to declare war againſt *Ferdinand*, but was prevented by a rebellion in *Sardinia*, and an irruption of the *Moors* of *Granada*.

*A new rupture betwixt the king and the pope.* A. D. 1489. ABOUT two years after, the pope, not being able to obtain from him either the arrears of tribute, or ſatisfaction for the violation of the treaty concluded with the barons, denounced a ſentence of excommunication againſt him, if he did not repent in two months. This fulmination not producing the deſired effect, on the 11th of *September* he ſolemnly excommunicated him, and depoſed him from the kingdom of *Naples*, at the ſame time publiſhing a cruſade againſt him, and appointing the king of *France* general of the cruſards. *Ferdi-* e
*nand*, being ſenſible that the pope and the *French* king were not then able to offend him with temporal arms, paid no regard to the ſpiritual; but a few months after, being informed that *Charles* VIII. was making great preparations for an expedition to *Italy*, he began to think ſeriouſly of a reconciliation with the pope. For that purpoſe, he began a
*They are again reconciled.* A. D. 1491. treaty at *Rome*, which, by the mediation of the king of *Arragon*, was concluded the following year on the 28th of *January*. Towards the end of *May*, the king ſent his grandſon the prince of *Capua* to *Rome*, who aſked pardon of *Innocent*, and promiſed, in the name of his grandfather and father, to pay the uſual tribute to the holy ſee, not to uſurp the collation of benefices, and to make ample ſatisfaction to the ſons or heirs of the barons who had been put to death in violation of the general pardon. *Innocent* received the young *Ferdinand* f
with great honour, and on the 4th of *June* granted a bull, ſecuring the ſucceſſion of the kingdom to *Alphonſus*, or to the prince of *Capua*, in caſe *Alphonſus* ſhould die before his father [b]. For a further ſecurity of the pope's favour, a marriage was contracted betwixt one of the king's relations, and *Baptiſtina*, the pope's niece [c].

Alexander VI. *ſucceeds to the pontificate.* A. D. 1492. THESE precautions, however, were of very little conſequence; for the following year *Innocent* died, and on the 10th of *Auguſt* was ſucceeded by *Alexander* VI. who, by his wicked ambition, and deſire of aggrandizing his baſtard ſon *Cæſar Borgia*, not only diſturbed the tranquility of *Naples*, but of all *Italy*. *Ferdinand* is ſaid by *Guicciardini* to have lamented the promotion of *Alexander* with tears, as he was informed that *Charles* VIII. was ſtill intent upon invading *Naples*, and was apprehenſive that the new pope would eſpouſe the cauſe of g

[z] Auct. ſup. citat. ONUPHR. & CIACON. vit. Innoc. RAINALD. Annal. Iſtoria Napolitana ap. MURATOR. t. 23. [a] GIANNONE Iſtoria Napol. [b] VIALARD. in vit. Innocent. VIII. BZOV. SURIT. Hiſt. l. xx. MARIAN. Hiſt. [c] Spond. Annal.

a the *French*. Soon after his elevation to the pontificate, he ſent an ambaſſador to congratulate him at *Rome*, and a good correſpondence ſeemed eſtabliſhed betwixt them; but in the beginning of the following year, *Alphonſus* rejecting the offer of an alliance betwixt one of his ſons and the pope's baſtard daughter, *Alexander* immediately entered into a treaty with the *Venetians*, and with *Lewis Sforza*, uncle of the duke of *Milan*, who had uſurped his nephew's dominions, and preſſed the king of *France* to invade *Naples*, as *Alphonſus* had threatened to aſſiſt the young duke, who was his ſon-in-law, to obtain poſſeſſion of his duchy. *Ferdinand*, alarmed with the deſigns of the pope and *Sforza*, immediately endeavoured to be reconciled to them: he offered to confirm the government of *Milan* to *Lewis Sforza*, and was ſo fortunate as to recover *Alexander*'s favour by creating his youngeſt ſon
b *Geoffry* count of *Squillace*, with a yearly revenue of 10,000 ducats, and giving him in marriage a baſtard daughter of *Alphonſus* [d]. The king of *France*, however, at the inſtigation of the prince of *Salerno* and other exiles, ſtill continuing his preparations, and ordering the *Neapolitan* ambaſſador to leave his court, *Ferdinand* exerted himſelf to put his kingdom in a poſture of defence; but by his extraordinary fatigues he contracted an illneſs, of which he died on the 25th of *January*, more oppreſſed with cares than age, though he was then in his 71ſt year. According to *Guicciardini*, *Ferdinand* would have been accounted a good prince, if he had continued to govern by the ſame maxims which he uſed in the beginning of his reign. Although by his arrogance, oppreſſion, and breach of faith, he had acquired the hatred of his ſubjects, yet by his prudence and abilities he raiſed the kingdom to a greater
c pitch of grandeur than any of his predeceſſors. He was a great patron of learning, which, by the loſs of *Conſtantinople*, began to revive and flouriſh during his reign in *Italy*. He reſtored the univerſity of *Naples*, and publiſhed many wiſe laws, which are in force to this day, and greatly eſteemed [e].

Ferdinand *dies at* Naples. A. D. 1494.

Some time before the death of *Ferdinand*, *Alexander* threatened again to join the king of *France*; but *Alphonſus*, immediately after his ſucceſſion, ſending ambaſſadors to *Rome*, by large conditions ſtill retained him in his intereſt. He granted him the inveſtiture, with a diminution of the yearly tribute during his life, and ſent his nephew *John Borgia* to *Naples*, to perform the ceremony of his coronation. *Alphonſus* likewiſe concluded a defenſive alliance with the pope, who refuſed the inveſtiture to the *French* ambaſſadors, and deſired
d the *French* king to lay aſide all warlike preparations, and refer his claim to the deciſion of the holy ſee. *Ferdinand* of *Spain*, the *Venetians*, and *Bajazet*, emperor of the *Turks*, were alſo ſolicited to join in the alliance, but only *Ferdinand* promiſed to ſend a fleet to the aſſiſtance of the pope [f]. *Charles* VIII. in the mean time being continually ſolicited by his favourites, the *Neapolitan* exiles and *Lewis Sforza*, reſolved to proceed in the expedition, contrary to the advice of his wiſeſt counſellors, and ſent the duke of *Orleans* with a conſiderable body of men to *Genoa* (X). He himſelf, leaving *Vienne* on the 23d of *Auguſt*, paſſed the *Alps* with his army, and on the 9th of *September* arrived at *Aſti*. This invaſion, according to *Guicciardini*, was the ſource of innumerable calamities to *Italy*, occaſioning the
e revolutions of ſtates, the ravaging of provinces, the deſtruction of cities, cruel ſlaughters, new manners and factions, bloody methods of carrying on war, and unheard-of diſtempers [g].

Alphonſus II. *ſucceeds to the throne.*

*The king of* France *enters* Italy *with an army.*

*ALPHONSUS* endeavoured, if poſſible, to prevent the enemy from entering the kingdom, and for that purpoſe ſent his ſon *Ferdinand*, duke of *Calabria*, with an army to *Romagna*, and gave the command of a powerful fleet to his brother Don *Frederic*, to protect the coaſt, and prevent the enemy from receiving any ſuccours by ſea. Notwithſtanding the endeavours of *Ferdinand*, the *French* army, on the laſt of *December*, entered *Rome*, which the pope immediately quitted, flying for ſecurity to the caſtle of *St. Angelo*. Eighteen of the cardinals declared for *Charles*, and preſſed him in the moſt earneſt manner to reform the church, and depoſe the pope. The king, however, perſuaded by his favourites, who were bribed by *Alexander*, entered into a treaty with his holineſs, who, among other mat-

[d] Guicciard. Hiſt. l. i. Diar. Sanesi ap. Murator. t. 23. Storia Veneziana. Vite de Duchi, ut ſupra. Mem. de Commin. Cor. par. 7. [e] Guic. l. i. Giannone, l. xxviii. [f] Diar. Burchard. Mem. de Commines. [g] Guicciard. l. i.

(X) *Charles* founded his pretenſions to the kingdom of *Naples* upon the ceſſion made to his father *Lewis* XI. by the ſon of the count of *Maine*, who was nephew of *Renatus* of *Anjou* by his brother. This nephew was left heir by the laſt will of *Renatus*, and, having no iſſue, transferred his rights to *Lewis*, who was likewiſe the nephew of *Renatus* by a ſiſter. The duke of *Lorrain*, who was grandſon to *Renatus* by a daughter, alleged, that he had the moſt juſt claim to ſucceed his grandfather in all his poſſeſſions. He, however, received only the duchy of *Bar*, and it was decided that women could not ſucceed to *Provence* and *Sitily* while there were males of the deſcent (1).

(1) *Sleid. in Phil. de Commints. Giannon.*

ters, promiſed to grant the inveſtiture of the kingdom to him, and to put ſeveral cities of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate into his poſſeſſion. Mean while *Alphonſus*, hearing that his ſon *Ferdinand* had abandoned *Rome*, and retired before the *French*, that *Aquila* and almoſt all *Abruzzo* had ſet up the ſtandard of king *Charles*, and that in many other parts of the kingdom the people openly eſpouſed the *French* intereſt, he was ſtruck with ſuch a panic, that on the 22d of *January* he made a ſolemn renunciation of his crown in favour of his ſon *Ferdinand*, who was generally eſteemed, and, almoſt diſtracted with apprehenſions, fled with the queen dowager, his mother-in law, to *Mazara*, a town in *Sicily*, formerly given to the queen by her brother the king of *Spain* (Y). King *Charles* a few days after left *Rome*, and entered the kingdom. *Ferdinand*, upon the news of his approach, abandoned *San Germano* with his army, and flying to *Naples*, where perceiving the univerſal defection of the people, he embarked with a few followers on board ſome gallies, and ſailed over to the iſland of *Iſchia*. The *French* king, meeting with no oppoſition, advanced with his army, and on *Sunday* the 22d of *February* entered *Naples* in a triumphant manner, and ſoon after received the ſubmiſſion of the whole kingdom, except a few places in *Calabria*.

Alphonſus *reſigns the kingdom to* Ferdinand, *and flies to* Sicily.

Ferdinand *likewiſe flies to* Iſchia.

Charles VIII. *enters* Naples. A. D. 1495.

a

b

THIS unexpected revolution not only alarmed all the ſtates of *Italy*, but alſo the emperor *Maximilian* and the king of *Spain*, who were jealous of ſuch an acquiſition to the *French* power. Accordingly, before *Charles* had been ſix weeks in *Naples*, theſe two princes, with the pope, the *Venetians*, and *Lewis Sforza*, who had now uſurped the title of duke of *Milan*, entered into an alliance againſt him, the emperor and the king of *Spain* promoſing to invade *France*, and *Sforza* engaging to prevent any *French* reinforcements from entering *Italy*. *Charles* in the mean time minded nothing but his pleaſures in *Naples*, while his officers and ſoldiers inſulted and plundered the *Neapolitans*. He treated the nobility of the kingdom with diſdain and contempt, and conferred all offices and dignities on a few *Frenchmen*. Having, according to *Spondanus*, been declared emperor of *Conſtantinople* by the pope, in conſequence of a ceſſion made to him by the deſpote *Palæologus*, *Charles* vainly meditated the conqueſt of the *Greek* empire from the *Turks*, and ſent over the archbiſhop of *Durazzo* to tempt the *Greeks* to revolt; but, hearing of the formidable league concluded againſt him, he reſolved with the utmoſt diſpatch to return to *France*[h]. Having cauſed himſelf, on the 12th of *May*, to be ſolemnly crowned, and appointed *Gilbert Montpenſier* viceroy, eight days after he left *Naples*, and marched in great haſte to *Lombardy*, where his camp was attacked by the *Venetians*; but, having cut his way through the enemy, he ſoon after arrived at *Grenoble*.

*He returns with precipitation to* France.

c

d

BEFORE he left *Naples*, *Gonſalvo Hernandes*, known by the name of the *Great Captain*, had landed with ſome *Spaniſh* troops in *Calabria*, where he obtained ſome ſignal advantages over the *French*, and ſoon after his departure the *Neapolitans* received *Ferdinand* into their city with univerſal acclamations. At the ſame time a *Venetian* fleet arriving on the coaſt of *Puglia*, great part of the kingdom immediately revolted from the *French*, whoſe numbers were very inconſiderable, being, according to *Commines*, only 500 cuiraſſiers, 2500 *Swiſs*, with a ſmall body of infantry. *Ferdinand*, being aſſiſted by the *Great Captain*, the following ſummer recovered the whole kingdom, except *Tarento* and *Gaeta*; and, in order to enter into a ſtricter friendſhip with the king of *Spain*, he married his niece, who was at the ſame time his own aunt, being the daughter of his grandfather by his ſecond marriage. He now promiſed himſelf a return of his former proſperity; but while he was diverting himſelf with his new ſpouſe at *Somma*, near the foot of mount *Veſuvius*, he fell dangerouſly ill, and, his life being deſpaired of, he was carried to *Naples*, where he died on the 7th of *October*, in the 28th year of his age, and the 2d year of his reign, being greatly regretted not only by the *Neapolitans*, but by all *Italy*[i].

Ferdinand *recovers the kingdom, and dies.* A. D. 1496.

e

*He is ſucceeded by his uncle* Frederic. A. D. 1497.

*FERDINAND*, leaving no iſſue, was ſucceeded by his uncle *Frederic*, a moſt prudent prince, of a mild diſpoſition, and a great encourager of learning, who, being aſſiſted by *Gonſalvo*, quickly made himſelf maſter of *Tarento* and *Gaeta*, and obliged the *French* wholly to evacuate the kingdom. A few months after his acceſſion, he received an affectionate letter from the pope, with the bull of inveſtiture, and on the 10th of *Auguſt* he was ſolemnly crowned by cardinal *Borgia*, in the cathedral church of *Capua*. As the king of *France* had for ſome time threatened a ſecond and more powerful invaſion, *Frederic* was very aſſiduous

f

[h] SPOND. Annal. COMMINES, Addit. in Monſtrel. TILIUS in Chron. SANESI, Diar. FERRAR. ut ſupra. Chron. Venet. ap. MURATOR. t. 24.

[i] GUIC. COMMINES, BELCAR. Diar.

(Y) He went ſoon after to *Meſſina*, where he lived with the monks of the order of *St. John of God*, according to their rules and auſterities. *Commines* relates, that he reſolved to proceed to *Valentia*, and to ſpend the remainder of his days in a monaſtery; but not many months after his arrival in *Sicily*, he was ſeized with the tormenting diſtemper of the gravel, of which he died on the 19th of *November*, profeſſing great remorſe for his paſt wicked life (2).

(2) *Mem. de Commines, l.* vii. *c.* 11.

a in putting the kingdom in a ſtate of defence; beginning likewiſe to ſuſpect the deſigns of his two allies the *Venetians* and *Spaniards*, who, under different pretences, kept poſſeſſion of the places that they had recovered from the *French*. *Ferdinand* of *Spain*, inſtead of proſecuting the war againſt king *Charles* in *France*, agreed to a truce with him, and even entered into a negotiation for making a partition of the kingdom of *Naples*. This negotiation, however, was prevented from being concluded by the death of *Charles*, who died of an apoplexy in the month of *April*. He was ſucceeded by his couſin *Lewis*, duke of *Orleans*, then in the 37th year of his age, who immediately aſſumed the title of king of *France*, *Jeruſalem*, and the *Two Sicilies*, and duke of *Milan*, which duchy he claimed in right of his grandmother.

*Lewis, king of France publiſhes his pretenſions to Naples.* A. D. 1498.

b *ALEXANDER* VI. who knew that his ambition and covetouſneſs could not be ſatiated while *Italy* was in peace, had entered into a private negotiation with the late king *Charles*, inviting him again to croſs the *Alps*; but hearing of his ſudden death, he made an offer of his friendſhip to *Frederic*, on condition that he would give his daughter *Charlotte*, then in *France*, in marriage to *Cæſar Borgia*, who intended to renounce the eccleſiaſtic life, and grant him the inveſtiture of the principality of *Tarento* as her portion. *Frederic*, perſuaded that the next ſtep the pope would take would be to deprive him of the kingdom, and to give the inveſtiture of it to his ſon, abſolutely refuſed to hearken to his propoſal, though he was earneſtly preſſed by the duke of *Milan*, who was greatly afraid of the king of *France*. The pope, highly provoked with this repulſe, immediately had recourſe to *Lewis*, who,
c being wholly intent upon an expedition to *Italy*, and deſiring a divorce from his wife, readily concluded the alliance, and granted large conditions to *Alexander*, creating his ſon *Borgia*, upon his arrival in *France*, duke of *Valentinois*, with a revenue of 20,000 franks, beſides other 20,000 as captain of 100 ſpearmen [k].

*Enters into an alliance with the pope, and conquers* Milan. A. D. 1499.

*LEWIS*, the following year, in the month of *Auguſt*, ſent a powerful army into *Italy*, under the command of the duke of *Luxemburg*, *Edward Stewart*, duke of *Aubigny*, and one *Triulzi*, an *Italian*, who in leſs than three weeks made themſelves maſters of the whole *Milaneſe*. He himſelf arrived at *Milan* on the 6th of *October*, and, after giving a body of troops to *Borgia* to conquer *Romagna*, and receiving embaſſies of congratulation from the *Italian* ſtates, he returned in the month of *December* to *France*. By this imprudent conduct, *Lewis*
d *Sforza* was encouraged a few weeks after to return from *Germany*, whither he had fled, with a conſiderable body of *Germans* and *Burgundians*. Upon his arrival, the whole duchy revolted from king *Lewis*, and he was received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy into *Milan*. But ſoon after he was betrayed by the *Swiſs* in his own pay, and delivered to the *French*, who by that means again became maſters of the whole duchy. Notwithſtanding this conſiderable acquiſition, *Lewis* delayed invading the kingdom of *Naples*, till he had concluded a treaty of partition with *Ferdinand* of *Spain*. The *Spaniſh* monarch had long formed a claim to *Naples*, in conſequence of the conqueſt of his uncle *Alphonſus* I. whoſe right he alleged he was heir to; but obſerving the kingdom in the poſſeſſion of the baſtard *Ferdinand* and his ſons, he had hitherto craftily concealed his pretenſions: he even, at the
e deſire of *Frederic*, ſent freſh ſuccours to *Naples*, under the command of the *Great Captain*. *Frederic*, however, was very ſuſpicious of his deſigns, and, rather than rely intirely upon his aſſiſtance, earneſtly ſolicited ſuccours from *Bajazet*; but being diſappointed at *Conſtantinople*, he made an offer to the king of *France* of becoming his tributary, and of paying him annually a large ſum of money; which was rejected by *Lewis*, who, rather than be the ſupreme power in *Italy*, and have a king tributary to him, imprudently, as *Guicciardini* obſerves, introduced his cunning, ambitious, and powerful rival.

A. D. 1501.

THE two kings, being both covetous of the poſſeſſion of *Naples*, and mutually awed by each other's power, agreed to divide the kingdom in the following manner: That the king
f of *Spain* ſhould have the poſſeſſion of *Apulia* and *Calabria*, and that all the reſt of the kingdom, with the title of king of *Naples* and *Jeruſalem*, ſhould belong to the king of *France*. *Alexander* VI. in hopes of obtaining a part of the prey, to the aſtoniſhment of all *Italy*, confirmed the treaty, and on the 25th of *June* gave each of the princes the inveſtiture of their ſhare, all the three potentates cloaking their ambition with the pretence of religion, profeſſing that they intended the conqueſt of *Naples* only with the view of being the more able by that means of diſtreſſing the *Turks*. *Frederic* had already put *Gonſalvo* in poſſeſſion of ſeveral places in *Calabria*, and had prepared an army to oppoſe the invaſion of the *French*; but hearing of the league betwixt *Ferdinand* and *Lewis*, he did not think proper to wait the arrival of the *French* army, but put a ſtrong garriſon into *Capua*, and retired with the reſt of his army towards *Naples*. The *French* advanced without any oppoſition, and on the 25th of
g *July* took *Capua* by ſtorm, which they plundered with the greateſt barbarity. About a fortnight after they took poſſeſſion of *Naples*, when *Frederic* retired to *Caſtel Nuovo*, but, de-

*The kings of* France *and* Spain *invade* Naples.

[k] BELLEFOR. l. vi. GUICCIARD. TOMASO TOMASI, BURCHARD.

ſpairing

ſpairing of relief, in a few days he ſurrendered all the forts and caſtles that held out for him in the *French* diviſion to *Aubigny*, excepting the iſland of *Iſchia*, whither he himſelf retired.

Frederic *retires to* France, *and reſigns the kingdom to* Lewis.

Soon after, reflecting on the perfidy of the *Spaniards*, he reſolved to reſign his whole kingdom to *Lewis*; and, having obtained a ſafe-conduct from him, he went to *France*, where he was created duke of *Anjou*, with a yearly penſion of 30,000 ducats. His eldeſt ſon was then beſieged by the *Spaniards* in *Tarento*, and ſoon after being obliged to ſurrender, was detained priſoner, contrary to the articles of capitulation, and ſent by *Gonſalvo* to *Spain*, where he was treated at firſt with royal honours[l]. Thus the *Neapolitans*, by their internal factions, became a prey to foreign invaders, having tamely ſubmitted to allow their kingdom, formerly one of the moſt powerful in *Europe*, to be ſplit into two inconſiderable provinces, which diſgrace they might eaſily have prevented, if they had adhered with fidelity to their prince. From this period their national dignity and reputation daily declined, and the kingdom ſoon began to be conſidered only as a branch of the monarchy of *Spain*, to which it continued ſubject during the two following centuries.

The *French* and *Spaniards* having without any difficulty each conquered their own ſhare of the kingdom, *Gonſalvo* was appointed governor and commander in *Puglia* and *Calabria*, and *Lewis d'Arminac*, duke of *Nemours*, as viceroy, took up his reſidence in *Naples*. As the

*A difference betwixt the* French *and* Spaniards *about the limits of their ſhares.*
A. D. 1502.

terms of the partition-treaty, ſpecifying the limits of the two diviſions, were not explicit, diſputes immediately aroſe betwixt the two governors about the extent of their reſpective territories. Though *Puglia* had always been divided into three parts, namely, *Terra d'Otranto*, *Terra di Bari*, and *Capitanata*, yet the *French* inſiſted that *Capitanata* belonged to *Abruzzo*, groundleſly alleging, according to *Guicciardini*, that they were not obliged to ſtand to the modern diviſion made by *Alphonſus* of *Arragon*, eſpecially as *Capitanata* was disjoined from the reſt of *Puglia* by the river *Ophanto*[m]. Theſe diſputes ſoon branching out into others, the viceroy went to *Melphis*, and the governor to *Attela*, and entered into a negociation for terminating all differences; but not being able to come to any agreement, it was reſolved to wait the deciſion of *Lewis* and *Ferdinand*, and in the mean time to make no innovation. The viceroy, however, conſcious of his own ſuperiority of force, a few days after publiſhed an imperious declaration, threatening *Gonſalvo* with hoſtilities if he did not quickly renounce all pretenſions to *Capitanata*.

*The* French *begin hoſtilities againſt the* Spaniards.

Immediately after the publication of this declaration, on the 9th of *June* the *French* troops began to ſeize the towns belonging to the *Spaniards*. *Lewis*, inſtead of reproving the viceroy, took the princes of *Salerno* and *Biſignano*, and ſome other of the chief barons, into his pay, and ſent a reinforcement of 2000 *Switzers* to *Naples*, ſo that in a ſhort time the *French* reduced almoſt the whole kingdom, *Gonſalvo* retiring with his army into *Barletta*, without money, and with little proviſions. The *French*, being elated with their ſucceſſes,

A. D. 1503.

towards the end of the year began to be leſs attentive to the war; and *Gonſalvo* receiving freſh ſuccours from *Sicily* and *Spain*, the following ſpring he was again able to appear in the field, and gained ſeveral conſiderable advantages over the *French*[n]. Mean while *Philip*, archduke of *Auſtria*, and ſon-in-law of *Ferdinand*, paſſing through *France* in his return from *Spain* to *Germany*, had an interview with *Lewis* at *Lyons*, and, contrary to the inclination of his father-in-law, negociated a peace with regard to *Naples*, by which treaty it was ſtipulated, that the former diviſion of the kingdom ſhould again take place, but the provinces in diſpute ſhould be conſigned in truſt to *Philip*; that *Philip*'s ſon *Charles* ſhould marry *Claudia*, the daughter of *Lewis*; that for the future *Naples* ſhould be governed in the name of the two children, who ſhould aſſume the titles of king and queen of *Naples*, and duke and ducheſs of *Apulia* and *Calabria*.

*A peace propoſed by the archduke* Philip.

*The* French *are entirely defeated by the* Spaniards.

This peace was immediately publiſhed in *Naples*, and the *French* general propoſed a ceſſation of arms till the ratification of the treaty ſhould come from *Ferdinand*. *Gonſalvo*, however, rejected this propoſal, reſolving to make the beſt advantage of his preſent ſuperiority; and on the 27th of *April* gained a deciſive victory over the *French* in *Apulia*, when the duke of *Nemours* was ſlain. After this victory, all the cities of the kingdom ſurrendered to the *Spaniards*, and on the 14th of *May Gonſalvo* entered *Naples* in triumph. *Ferdinand*, upon hearing of the ſucceſs of his arms in *Naples*, abſolutely refuſed to ratify the treaty concluded by his ſon-in-law, and accuſed him of having exceeded his commiſſion and inſtructions. The king of *France*, thinking that he had been baſely over-reached, reſolved to continue the war with greater vigour, and even to invade *Spain* by *Rouſſillon* and *Fontarabia*. In the mean time he ordered an army to march from *Milan* to *Naples*, and ſent ſuccours by ſea to *Gaeta*, whither the remains of the *French* had retired, and were beſieged by

[l] Guicciard. lib. v. Thuan. lib. i. Marian. Hiſt. [m] Guicciard. l. v. [n] Bellefor. l. vi. c. 8, & 9. Marian. l. xxvii. c. 10, & 13. Giannone.

the

a the *Spaniards*; but the veſſel loaded with cannon and ſtores was loſt in the mouth of the *Garigliano*, and on the 26th of *December Gonſalvo* intirely routed and diſperſed the *French* army, and ſix days after obliged *Gaeta* to ſurrender, when the *French* agreed to evacuate the kingdom, except a few places in *Calabria* and *Puglia*. A. D. 1504. *They quit the kingdom of* Naples.

*LEWIS* XII. having loſt his friend *Alexander*, thought proper to agree to a truce, when it was concluded that each party ſhould keep what they poſſeſſed, without however having any mutual intercourſe or commerce in *Naples*. *Gonſalvo*, under pretence of this article, blocked up the towns belonging to the *French*, who, for want of proviſions, were obliged intirely to quit the kingdom (Z). The following year, *Ferdinand*, who had been a widower for ſome months, renewed his negociations with *Lewis*, and contracted an alliance b with his niece *Germana*, when it was ſtipulated, that the kingom of *Naples* ſhould be accounted her dowry; but if ſhe had no iſſue it ſhould return to *Ferdinand*, and his heirs, and that *Ferdinand* in ten years ſhould pay to *Lewis* 70,000, or, according to *Mariana*, 50,000 crowns for the expences of the war °. The barons likewiſe, who had eſpouſed the *French* party, being reſtored by this treaty to their liberty, their native country, eſtates, dignities, and goods, and all confiſcations made by the king of *Spain* or *Frederic* were annulled. Lewis *renounces his claim to* Naples. A. D. 1505.

THOUGH *Ferdinand* claimed the kingdom as heir to *Alphonſus* I. who was his father's brother, yet reckoning the four preceding princes lawful kings, on account of the pope's inveſtiture, he aſſumed the name of *Ferdinand* III. and after *Lewis* had renounced his pretenſions, he publiſhed an edict, wherein, reputing them lawful kings, and his predeceſſors, he c confirmed all their deeds, conceſſions, and privileges. A few months before he thus acquired the kingdom of *Naples*, *Ferdinand* loſt the kingdom of *Caſtile* by the death of his queen *Iſabella*, the heireſs of that kingdom. She indeed, by her laſt will, left her huſband regent of the kingdom during his life; but the archduke *Philip*, who had married their daughter *Jean*, arriving in *Spain* the following year, and inſiſting upon the adminiſtration, *Ferdinand* was obliged to quit *Caſtile*, and retire to *Arragon*. *Acknowleges* Ferdinand as *king*. A. D. 1506.

AFTER his return to *Arragon*, being jealous of the authority and influence of *Gonſalvo*, who, though ſeveral times recalled to *Spain*, had ſtill formed excuſes for continuing in *Naples*, he reſolved to proceed thither, under pretence of ſeeing the kingdom, and ſettling the form of government, but in reality with a deſign of ſeizing *Gonſalvo*, who he ſuſpected had d a deſign either of uſurping the kingdom to himſelf, or delivering it to *Philip*, who alleged that it ought to be annexed to *Caſtile*, by the forces of which it had lately been conquered. On the 4th of *September*, *Ferdinand*, with his queen *Germana*, accordingly ſailed from *Barcelona* with 50 ſhips, and, coaſting along *Provence*, upon their arrival at *Genoa* they were met by *Gonſalvo*, whom the king treated with great diſtinction. On the 1ſt of *November* he entered *Naples*, when he created *Gonſalvo* duke of *Seſſa*, having before confirmed to him the office of high conſtable, the duchy of *S. Angelo*, *Terranova*, and other eſtates, amounting to above 20,000 ducats of yearly revenue, and given him a promiſe under his hand of the maſterſhip of the order of *St. James*, upon his arrival in *Spain*. Ferdinand, *being jealous of* Gonſalvo, *comes to* Naples.

THE *Neapolitans* expected great things from the preſence of *Ferdinand*; but as he was e obliged, by his treaty with the king of *France*, to reſtore the *Anjouvian* barons to their eſtates, his royal revenues were exhauſted in procuring equivalents for thoſe of his own party; ſo that, contrary to the cuſtom of new kings, he was forced to deny granting favours and exemptions, and exacted new ſubſidies from the people, who had vainly expected to be eaſed, and to have all their grievances redreſſed. By this conduct he diſobliged both parties; and by refuſing to pay the annual tribute to the holy ſee, he alſo offended the pope, who denied to grant him the bull of inveſtiture. *Philip*, king of *Caſtile*, in the mean time dying at *Burgos*, *Ferdinand* reſolved as ſoon as poſſible to return to *Spain*, to reſume the government of that kingdom, to which he was invited by the grandees, and by his daughter *Jean*, who was ſo affected with grief for the loſs of her huſband, as to be incapable of f the adminiſtration. Having granted ſome new privileges to the city of *Naples*, and to the *Seggio del Popolo*, and appointed Don *John* of *Arragon*, count of *Ribagorſa*, viceroy of the kingdom, on the 4th of *June* he left *Naples*, taking along with him the *Great Captain Gonſalvo*, and about three weeks after landed at *Savona*, where he had ſeveral conferences for three days with the king of *France*, who, as a teſtimony of his reſpect for *Gonſalvo*, took g gold chain which he himſelf wore, and put it about his neck, and prevailed with *Ferdi-* A. D. 1507. *He ſets out on his return to* Spain.

° GUICCIARD. l. vii. MARIAN. l. xxviii. c. 14.

(Z) Soon after *Frederic* the late king of *Naples* died at *Tours*, in the 52d year of his age, having been for ſome time flattered with the deceitful promiſes of *Ferdinand*, who, to amuſe the king of *France*, pretended a deſire to reſtore him to the kingdom. *Frederic*, by his wife *Iſabella*, left three ſons and two daughters, who all died without iſſue (1).

(1) *Giannone. Guicciard.*

Gonſalvo *diſgraced.*

*nand* to allow him to ſup at the ſame table with themſelves and the queen. This was the a
laſt of the *Great Captain*'s glorious days; for immediately upon his landing in *Spain*, *Ferdinand* ordered him to quit the court, to retire to his own eſtate, and not to depart from thence without leave [p].

THE kingdom of *Naples*, from its firſt eſtabliſhment under the *Normans*, and during the reign of the family of *Anjou*, had continued hitherto framed according to the model of the kingdom of *France*, from which it derived many maxims and cuſtoms; but from this period a new polity, and new magiſtrates and laws, agreeable to the *Spaniſh* cuſtoms and principles, were introduced. The new viceroy *Ribagorſa*, being aſſiſted by two eminent lawyers who were called collateral regents, governed the kingdom for two years and four months with great wiſdom and diſcretion. As *Ferdinand*, the year after his return to b
*Spain*, in the month of *December*, entered into the general league of *Cambray* againſt the *Venetians*, who retained ſeveral towns in *Naples*, on the coaſt of the *Adriatic*, as pledges for the money which they had formerly ſpent in aſſiſting the *Arragonian* kings againſt the *French*, the viceroy the following ſpring ſent *Fabrizio Colonna*, duke of *Tagliacozzo*, to recover thoſe cities. *Fabrizio* marched with his army againſt *Trani*, which without making any oppoſition, immediately ſurrendered. With the ſame eaſe he made himſelf maſter of *Monopoli*, *Mola*, *Polignano*, *Brindiſi*, and *Otranto*, and reunited them to the crown of *Naples*, as the *Venetians*, who were at the ſame time attacked by the king of *France*, the pope, and the emperor, deſpairing of defending the cities they poſſeſſed on the continent, had given orders to the governors to withdraw the garriſons [q]. The count of *Ribagorſa* ſoon c
after being recalled to court by the king, Don *Ramonda de Cardona*, on the 24th of *October* arrived at *Naples* as his ſucceſſor, and continued viceroy during the life of *Ferdinand*, who died on the 21ſt of *January*, about ſeven years after [r].

*The count of* Ribagorſa *ſucceeds as viceroy.*

*The* Venetians *obliged to deliver up the cities they held in the kingdom.*

A. D. 1509. UPON the death of *Ferdinand*, *Charles*, archduke of *Auſtria*, then in the 16th year of his age, ſucceeded to the whole *Spaniſh* monarchy, taking the title of king without the conſent of the ſtates, his mother *Jean* being ſtill alive, and in vain preſſed by ſeveral of the grandees to aſſume the adminiſtration in her own right. *Charles* was then in *Bruſſels*; and, having written an affectionate letter to the *Neapolitans*, promiſing them his friendſhip, and enjoining them to obey Don *Raimonda de Cardona*, whom he confirmed viceroy, he ſet out for *Spain*, where he arrived about the end of the year following. Before he left *Flanders*, d
he concluded an alliance with *Francis* I. who had lately ſucceeded to the crown of *France*, and for ſome years had ſeemed inclined to undertake an expedition againſt *Naples*. *Charles*, having ſome difficulty in the ſucceſſion to the kingdom of *Arragon*, as being the ſon of the female line, which, according to the ancient cuſtom of that nation, had no claim while any of the male branch exiſted, *Francis* expected that he would reſign the kingdom of *Naples* to him, to avoid a ſecond conteſted ſucceſſion. The ſucceſſion, however, to *Arragon*, was ſecured to *Charles* by a law made by *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*, upon an ancient precedent; and *Francis* being alarmed with the report that the emperor intended to invade the duchy of *Milan*, he thought proper to propoſe a treaty with *Charles*, who, to avoid a war in the beginning of his reign, and prevent the *Arragonian* malecontents from making any oppoſition e
in expectation of foreign aſſiſtance, readily agreed to the propoſal. The treaty was accordingly concluded on the 13th of *Auguſt* at *Noyon*, when, with regard to the kingdom of *Naples*, *Francis* agreed to give his daughter *Louiſa*, then only a year old, in marriage to *Charles*, giving for her dowry all that part of *Naples* which had been aſſigned to the late king of *France* by the partition betwixt him and *Ferdinand*. *Charles* promiſed to pay yearly 100,000 crowns to the king of *France* for the maintenance of his bride, till ſhe ſhould be fit for marriage. It was farther ſtipulated, that if the intended ſpouſe ſhould die before marriage, *Charles* ſhould marry any future daughter under the ſame conditions, and, in caſe of want of iſſue, the part of the kingdom of *Naples*, now in diſpute, ſhould return to *France* [s]. f

*Concludes a treaty with the king of* France.

A. D. 1519. ABOUT fourteen months after *Charles* arrived in *Spain*, the *German* empire became vacant by the death of his grandfather *Maximilian*, who died on the 12th of *January*. *Charles* all the preceding year had endeavoured to prevail with the electors to chuſe him king of the *Romans*, and had ſent 200,000 ducats to *Germany* to purchaſe their votes, the king of *France* in the mean time uſing his utmoſt endeavours to prevent the imperial dignity from being united to the power of *Spain*. Upon the death of *Maximilian*, both *Charles* and *Francis* openly aſpired to the imperial dignity; but the intereſt of *Charles* prevailing, on the 28th of *June* he was elected emperor. His promotion was not very agreeable to *Leo* X. who, for the ſecurity of the apoſtolic ſee, wanted a prince of ſmall authority to be elected em-

*Is choſen emperor of* Germany.

[p] Auct. ſup. citat. Jov. Elog. [q] GUICCIARD. l. viii. SENAREG. de reb. Genuenſ GIANNONE. [r] GUICCIARD. l. xii. MARIAN. l. xxx. [s] GUICCIARD. l. xii. FED. LEONARD. tom. ii. p. 144.

peror;

peror; however, he diſſembled his diſſatisfaction, and even before the election granted him
a a bull, diſpenſing with the inveſtiture of *Naples*, and allowing him to accept of the imperial dignity. *Charles* the year following, in the month of *October*, was crowned at *Aix la-Chapelle*. The *Spaniards*, in the mean time, who was diſguſted with his promotion to the empire, and oppreſſed by the governors whom he had left in *Spain*, openly took arms againſt them, and formed the government upon a new model, which they adminiſtered under the name of the *Holy Junto*.

WHILE the *Spaniſh* governors were employed in quelling theſe revolters, *Francis* I. who was envious of the emperor's greatneſs, ſent a powerful army into *Navarre*, which, after conquering that kingdom, penetrated into *Spain*. The *Spaniards* did not concern themſelves with the invaſion of *Navarre*; but when the *French* entered *Caſtile*, both factions united;
b and intirely defeated the invaders. According to *Guicciardini*, the king of *France* undertook this expedition at the inſtigation of pope *Leo*, who was likewiſe jealous of the power of the emperor *Charles*, and entered into a private negotiation with *Francis* for driving the *Spaniards* out of *Naples*. They agreed to invade the kingdom with joint forces, on condition that *Gaeta*, and all the territory betwixt the *Garigliano* and the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, ſhould be given to the church, and the reſt of the kingdom to the king of *France*'s ſecond ſon; and that both he and the kingdom ſhould be governed by the pope's legate reſiding in *Naples*, till he ſhould be of age. *Francis*, afterwards reflecting that the pope hitherto had ſhewed himſelf no friend to him, that he had oppoſed him in recovering *Milan*, and probably would not wiſh to ſee him in poſſeſſion of *Naples*, and that if he ſhould join the *Spaniards* after
c his troops had entered *Naples*, he would not only loſe that kingdom, but would likewiſe be obliged to abandon *Milan*, put off ratifying the treaty for theſe reaſons, which inſtigated the pope to have recourſe to the emperor againſt him. As the emperor and *Francis* began now to be jealous of each other's power, *Leo* earneſtly deſired to occaſion a rupture betwixt them, and ſoon after entered into a defenſive alliance with *Charles*, who was greatly irritated againſt the *French* on account of the late invaſion of *Navarre*. In conſequence of this league, *Charles* invaded the duchy of *Milan*, which in a few months he made himſelf maſter of [t].

Francis I. *invades* Spain. A. D. 1521.

Charles *enters into an alliance with the pope againſt the king of* France. A. D. 1524.

ABOUT three years after, *Francis* marched in perſon with a powerful army into *Italy*,
d and, quickly recovering the greateſt part of the *Milaneſe*, ſent a conſiderable body of men to invade *Naples*, under the command of *Stewart*, duke of *Aubigny*. Don *Carlos de Lanoja*, a *Fleming*, who about two years before had ſucceeded *Ribagorſa* as viceroy, put the kingdom in a ſtate of defence; and, leaving a deputy in *Naples*, proceeded to *Lombardy*, where he took the command of the imperial army, and on the 24th of *February* intirely defeated the *French* in the neighbourhood of *Pavia*, and took the king of *France* priſoner, whom he afterwards conducted to *Spain*. *Francis* continued a priſoner more than 12 months, but at laſt recovered his liberty upon very hard conditions, by which, among other matters, he intirely renounced all pretenſions to the kingdom of *Naples*, in favour of the emperor. Tho' he gave his two eldeſt ſons as hoſtages for the performance of the conditions, yet, upon his return to *France*, he abſolutely refuſed to fulfil his engagements, and renewed his pre-
e parations for invading *Italy*. A few weeks after, on the 17th of *May*, he concluded an alliance againſt *Charles* with the pope, the *Venetians*, and *Sforza*, who claimed the duchy of *Milan*. By this treaty the kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily* were to be conſigned to pope *Clement*, who, with the *Venetians*, and ſeveral other princes of *Europe*, began to be alarmed at the proſperity of *Charles* [u].

Francis *is taken priſoner, and carried to* Spain.

*A league againſt the emperor.* A. D. 1526.

*CLEMENT* a few weeks after wrote to the emperor, excuſing himſelf for entering into the treaty, and accuſing *Charles* of having done many things to the prejudice of the apoſtolic ſee [w]. *Charles* juſtified his proceedings in a long letter to the pope [x], and immediately ſent back *Lanoja* to *Naples*. The viceroy, upon his arrival, cauſed the fortifications of
f many cities to be repaired, and particularly fortified the cities on the coaſt of the *Adriatic*, to prevent any invaſion from the *Venetians*. The *Spaniards* in the mean time, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the *Venetians* and papal forces, made themſelves maſters of the caſtle of *Milan*; and the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador at *Rome*, Don *Hugo Monçada*, perſuaded the *Colonni* to ſurprize and ſeize the pope in the *Venetian* palace. *Clement* ſaved himſelf in the caſtle of *St. Angelo*; but the *Colonni* ſeizing and plundering the *Vatican*, he agreed to a truce with the emperor, promiſing to recal his troops from *Milan*, and to pardon the *Colonni*. During theſe tranſactions at *Rome*, continual reinforcements from *France* and *Germany* were pouring into *Lombardy*, in order to ſtrengthen the armies for the following campaign. The pope, having recovered his liberty, refuſed to agree to a truce; but, being greatly irritated againſt the emperor, he invited into *Italy* prince *Vaudemont*, who pretended

*The pope invites prince* Vaudemont *to invade* Naples. A. D. 1527.

[t] GUICCIARD. l. xiv. [u] GUICCIARD. l. xvi. BELLEFOR. l. vi. c. 36. Epiſt. Princip. t. i. & ii. [w] SLEIDAN. l. vi. [x] GOLDAST. Conſt. Imper.

to

to be heir to the houſe of *Anjou*, that he might raiſe the *Anjou* faction in the kingdom of a *Naples* againſt the *Spaniards*.

The viceroy *Lanoja*, being informed of the invitation given to *Vaudemont*, reſolved to begin hoſtilities againſt the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and in the end of *December* advanced with an army to *Ceſano* and *Cepperano*. The pope, to oblige him to withdraw his troops, in the beginning of the year, ſent *Renza di Ceri* into *Abruzzo* with 6000 foot, who took poſſeſſion of *Aquila*, and ſeveral other places in that neighbourhood. About the ſame time *Vaudemont* arriving with twenty-four gallies, and being joined by thoſe of the pope and the *Venetians*, began to infeſt the *Neapolitan* coaſts. He aſſumed the title of king of *Naples*, and was appointed the pope's lieutenant. In the beginning of *March* he pillaged *Mola di Gaeta*, and afterwards took *Caſtello a Mare*, *Torre del Greco*, *Sorrento*, and *Salerno*. The imperialiſts, b however, were ſuperior in *Lombardy*; and as the other army undertook no enterprize, but only followed their motions, the duke of *Bourbon*, the imperial general, began his march for *Rome*.

*CLEMENT*, confounded with this news, immediately ſent for *Lanoja*, with whom he agreed to a truce for eight months, promiſing to deliver up all the places his troops had conquered in *Naples*, and to give 60,000 ducats to the imperial army, on condition it would not enter into the territories of the church, or of *Florence*. In conſequence of this truce, he recalled his ſea and land forces from *Naples*, and diſbanded his troops. *Lanoja* accordingly proceeded to *Bourbon*, who abſolutely refuſed to agree to a truce; and, advancing with his army, on the 6th of *May* attacked the city. He himſelf was killed in the beginning of the c attack; but his army took and pillaged the city, and a few weeks after forced the pope to deliver up the caſtle of *St. Angelo*, and ſurrender himſelf a priſoner *y*. *Lanoja* not having been able to diſſuade *Bourbon* from this enterprize, left him before his arrival at *Rome*, and by another route returned towards *Naples*; but, falling ſick in *Averſa*, died in that city, not without the ſuſpicion of poiſon. His corpſe, being carried to *Naples*, was buried in the church of *Monte Oliveto*; and the collateral regents governed the kingdom till towards the end of the year, when Don *Hugo di Monçada*, a *Spaniard*, was appointed viceroy *z*. As *Lautrech*, the *French* general, had entered *Italy* with an army, with a deſign of relieving the pope, and attacking *Naples*, the imperialiſts at laſt concluded a treaty with *Clement*, which in the beginning of *December* was ratified by Don *Hugo*, when the pope obtained his liberty, tho' d upon very hard conditions.

*Is made a priſoner by the imperial army.*

Monçada *ſucceeds* Lanoja *as viceroy.*

*The pope obtains his liberty.*

*LAUTRECH* about two months after advanced with an army of 30,000 foot and 5000 horſe to *Abruzzo*, all the cities in that province, from their natural fickleneſs, or averſion to the *Spaniards*, declaring for him before his army appeared. He afterward took *Melphis* by ſtorm, and *Aſcoli*, *Barletta*, *Veroſa*, *Capua*, *Nola*, *Acerra*, and *Averſa*, ſubmitted to him without oppoſition, whilſt the *Venetians* took poſſeſſion of *Trani* and *Monopoli*, and the *French* fleet infeſted the ſouthern coaſt. The *Venetians* a few weeks after took *Polignano*, *Otranto*, and *Brindiſi*, and, landing their troops, took *Lecce*, the metropolis of *Otranto*, when all the neighbouring cities ſurrendered. The imperialiſts in the mean time, having put a ſtrong garriſon into *Gaeta*, aſſembled their chief force in *Naples*, where all were in e the utmoſt confuſion and conſternation, the enemy appearing on the laſt of *April* before the walls, and the people believing themſelves abandoned by their tutelar ſaint *Januarius*, whoſe blood, when produced on the 2d of *May*, refuſed to liquify. The viceroy was obliged to prohibit the public proceſſions, and uſed all diligence to ſupply the city with proviſions, and reinforced the garriſon by inliſting the citizens. He had ſeveral diſputes about the chief command with the prince of *Orange*, who had ſucceeded *Bourbon*, and was chiefly intent upon keeping the communication open with the ſea, for which purpoſe he fitted out a ſmall number of gallies, and imprudently attacked the *French* fleet, though greatly ſuperior, in which action he was killed, having enjoyed the government only about ſix months. Upon his death, *Philibert* of *Chalons*, prince of *Orange*, aſſumed the office of viceroy. Notwith- f ſtanding this conſiderable victory, the *French* were ſoon after obliged to raiſe the ſiege with great loſs; for *Andrew Doria*, being diſſatisfied with the king of *France*, on the 4th of *July* left *Naples* with ſeveral gallies; and ſome people, infected with the plague which raged in the city, being ſent into the camp, the *French* were almoſt totally deſtroyed, *Lautrech*, prince of *Vaudemont*, and many other perſons of diſtinction, being likewiſe cut off. The marquis of *Saluce*, who ſucceeded *Lautrech*, endeavoured to ſave the remains of the army in *Averſa*, but was defeated on his march by the garriſon, and on the 1ſt of *September* was obliged to deliver up *Averſa*. The prince of *Orange* a few days after received the ſubmiſſion of *Capua*, *Nola*, and all the other towns of *Terra di Lavoro*, and proceeding to *Abruzzo* and *Puglia*, g drove the *French* intirely out of thoſe provinces *a*. The *French* being thus expelled from *Naples*, the pope a few months after intirely abandoned their party, and agreed to an alli-

*Beſieges the capital.*

Monçada *is killed.*

*The* French *raiſe the ſiege of* Naples.

*The emperor and pope are reconciled.*

A. D. 1529.

*y* Guicciard. lib. xvii. Bellai, lib. iii. Belcar. lib. xiii. *z* Giannone. *a* Idem ibid.

a ance with the emperor, who, to make him forget the bad uſage he had received from *Bourbon*'s army, promiſed to oblige the *Venetians* to deliver up the places they held in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and engaged likewiſe to re-eſtabliſh his family in *Florence*.

*The* Neapolitans *oppreſſed by the prince of* Orange.

THOUGH the kingdom was now delivered from a foreign enemy, yet tranquility was far from being reſtored; for the prince of *Orange*, prompted by his avarice, rigorouſly oppreſſed thoſe barons that had declared for the *French*. The late viceroy *Monçada*, upon finding himſelf unable to oppoſe *Lautrech*, had given permiſſion to many of the barons, in caſes of neceſſity, to ſet up the *French* ſtandard, and open their gates to the enemy, in conſideration of large ſums of money he received from them. The prince of *Orange*, however, alleging that *Monçada* had no authority to remit the allegiance due from ſubjects to
b their ſovereign, would not admit the excuſe of the barons, and began to puniſh them as rebels, ſome with death, and others with forfeitures. The duke of *Bojano* and the count of *Morone* were executed, and the prince of *Melphis*, the duke of *Somma*, the marquis of *Monteſarchio*, and the counts of *Nola*, *Caſtro*, and *Converſano*, with many others, loſt their eſtates. The new viceroy alſo, with the connivance of the emperor, who was always wanting money for the wars he maintained, obliged very many, who were barely ſuſpected of favouring the *French*, to purchaſe their ſecurity by the payment of large ſums [b]. The emperor, a few months after his treaty with the pope, having concluded a peace with the king of *France* at *Cambray*, *Francis* thereby engaged to evacuate *Barletta*, the only place he held in *Naples*, to renounce all claim to that kingdom, and to aſſiſt *Charles* in obliging the
c *Venetians* to deliver up all the places they had ſeized in the kingdom. The prince of *Orange*, in the mean time, by the emperor's orders, had proceeded with the greateſt part of his army to *Tuſcany*, in order to oblige the *Florentines* to accept of *Alexander Medici*, grand-nephew of the pope, as their ſovereign [c]. While the prince was beſieging *Florence*, the emperor arrived at *Genoa* with a powerful fleet, on board of which were 1000 horſe and 9000 foot, and about the ſame time the duke of *Wirtemberg* entered *Lombardy* with 8000 *German* infantry. *Charles*, by theſe numerous forces, rendered himſelf very formidable to the *Italian* ſtates, ſo that the *Venetians* thought proper to agree to an accommodation with him, by which they engaged to reſtore to him all that they poſſeſſed in *Naples*, and to aſſiſt him with fifteen light gallies, in caſe any Chriſtian prince ſhould attack that kingdom. This peace
d was ſolemnly publiſhed on the firſt day of the following year at *Bologna*, where *Charles* a few weeks after received the imperial crown from the pope, and then ſet out for *Germany*.

*The* French *renounce all pretenſions to* Naples.

A. D. 1530.

*Cardinal* Colonna *ſucceeds the prince of* Orange *as viceroy.*

THE kingdom of *Naples* in the mean time was oppreſſed by cardinal *Pompeo Colonna*, who, upon the departure of the prince of *Orange*, had been appointed viceroy. The cardinal had ſerved the emperor in his diſputes with the pope, who had been provoked to deprive him of his hat for the inſult he had lately received from his family in *Rome*. *Colonna* was afterwards reſtored to his dignity, but not to the pope's favour; and as it was common, ſince the times of *Alexander* VI. for cardinals to intermeddle in ſecular affairs, he neglected all care of religious matters, and gave himſelf intirely to arms and love intrigues. Upon
e his arrival at *Naples*, he found the kingdom drained of money, and full of diſorders and irregularities, which at firſt he did not give himſelf any trouble to reſtrain, but was wholly occupied in raiſing taxes and donations to ſupply the emperor's neceſſities. The prince of *Orange*, by his own example, had introduced an intolerable licentiouſneſs and debauchery among the young nobility, who, in contempt of the law, openly reſcued malefactors from the hands of juſtice, defrauded tradeſmen, oppreſſed the common people, and gave protection to the moſt enormous villains in their palaces, where they kept bravoes to execute their wicked purpoſes.

THE cardinal, without regarding theſe enormities, employed himſelf in extorting a donative for *Charles*, on account of the birth of a young prince, and ſoon after ſent 300,000
f ducats to *Bologna*, to help to defray the charges of the emperor's coronation. As *Solyman*, emperor of the *Turks*, the following year, threatened to invade *Auſtria*, *Charles* ordered the cardinal to aſſemble a parliament, and to require a donative of 600,000 ducats. The repreſentatives at firſt remonſtrated againſt this demand, as the kingdom had lately been afflicted with war, famine, and peſtilence; but the viceroy being inflexible, it was at laſt reſolved to raiſe the 600,000 ducats by a tax on houſes, and to pay the ſum within four years. Upon the payment of the firſt quota, the prince of *Salerno*, who carried the money, obtained a confirmation of the old privileges, and likewiſe ſeveral new grants. The cardinal about this time, rouſed by the univerſal diſſoluteneſs that prevailed through the kingdom, began to act with vigour againſt criminals of all ranks, and, by ſeveral ſevere
g examples of juſtice, in ſome meaſure reſtored order to the ſtate; but, before he could ac-

A. D. 1532.

[b] Giornal. nel Rosso. [c] GUICCIARD. l. xix.

*His death.* compliſh the reformation he intended, he was cut off by death, which happened to him a in the beginning of *July*.

*Don* Pedro di Toledo *appointed viceroy.* THE cardinal was ſucceeded in the government by Don *Pedro di Toledo*, a *Caſtilian*, marquis of *Villa Franca*, who arrived at on *Naples* the fourth of *September*. He no ſooner entered upon the government, than he began to reform the tribunals in *Naples*; and, having called before him the king's council, the magiſtrates, and other officers, he charged them to have the right adminiſtration of juſtice always before their eyes. He gave acceſs and audience to all without exception; and, to ſtrike a terror into offenders, executed ſome perſons of

*He reforms ſeveral abuſes.* note, who, preſuming upon their great alliance, had committed many crimes. By an edict, he prohibited every one, of what quality ſoever, from keeping any arms in the ſtreets, except ſwords, and ordered that none ſhould go abroad even with a ſword from b about two hours after ſun-ſet till next morning. Night robberies in the city he puniſhed with death, and ordered the bulk-heads and benches of artificers, and ſeveral dark porches, which ſerved as a receptacle for rogues, to be removed. He appointed new captains of the watch, deprived the nobility of the privilege of granting a ſanctuary in their palaces to malefactors, and publiſhed ſeveral edicts againſt duelling, and thoſe who ſhould be found at night uſing ladders of ropes, wood, or any other matter [d].

A. D. 1534. WHILE he was thus employed in reforming abuſes, the emperor had returned to *Italy*; and, after having a conference with the pope at *Bologna*, had proceeded to *Spain*. The coaſts of *Naples* likewiſe were infeſted by the pirate *Barbaroſſa*, who had entered into the ſervice of the emperor *Solyman*. In the ſecond year of Don *Pedro*'s government, being or- c dered to reſtore *Ariendino Baroſſo*, by ſome called *Molireſetto*, who had been expelled from the kingdom of *Tunis* by his brother *Muleaſſen*, he paſſed the *Pharo* of *Meſſina* about the end of *July* with a fleet of eighty gallies. He made a deſcent in *Calabria*, burnt ſome ſhips,

Naples *threatened by the pirate* Barbaroſſa. and carried off the whole inhabitants of *St. Lucido*. He afterwards burnt *Cetrano*, together with ſix gallies then on the ſtocks, and, paſſing in the ſight of *Naples*, landed ſome of his troops on the iſland of *Procida*, which he pillaged. *Fondi* was alſo pillaged, and many of the inhabitants of *Sperlonga* were made captives. The *Neapolitans*, in order to protect their coaſts from the inſults of the *Turks*, met in parliament on the 20th of *Auguſt*, and gave the emperor a donative of 150,000 ducats [e].

*CHARLES* in the mean time formed a reſolution of reducing the naval power of the d infidels, as *Barbaroſſa*, who had uſurped the government of *Algiers*, and reſtored *Muleaſſen* to the kingdom of *Tunis*, continued to infeſt all the coaſts of *Spain*, *Italy*, and *Sicily*. He employed the whole winter in making preparations for an expedition to *Africa*; and, reſolving to go thither in perſon, his ardour was imitated by the grandees of *Spain* and the *Neapolitan* nobility, who intended to accompany him. The viceroy and the princes of *Salerno* and *Biſignano*, the dukes of *Caſtrouillaro* and *Nocera*, the marquiſes of *Caſtelvetere* and *Della Valle*, each built a galley at his own expence, and, when the fleet ſailed from *Naples*

A. D. 1535. on the 17th of *May* to *Cagliari*, the general rendezvous, many of the nobility embarked, and, with them, the two ſons of Don *Pedro*. *Charles*, with great ſucceſs, having defeated the *Moors*, and reſtored *Muleaſſen*, whom he made tributary, left a *Spaniſh* garriſon in *Go-* e *letta*, a ſtrong fort which commanded the harbour, and about the middle of *Auguſt* ſet ſail for *Sicily*, where he arrived a few days after, and diſmiſſed the greateſt part of his fleet. Having afterwards made a progreſs through the iſland, he paſſed the *Pharo* of *Meſſina*,

*The emperor arrives at* Naples. and landed at *Reggio*, from whence he proceeded through *Calabria* and *Baſſilicata* to *Naples*, which he entered in a triumphant manner on the 25th of *November*, and, during his

A. D. 1536. reſidence, was entertained by the viceroy with feaſting, plays, tiltings, and tournaments.

UPON the emperor's arrival in *Sicily*, the marquis *del Vaſto*, the prince of *Salerno*, and many others of the nobility, earneſtly ſolicited him to remove *Toledo* from the government, alleging, that his adminiſtration was rigid and ſevere, and not agreeable to the genius and ſtate of the kingdom. In hopes of perſuading *Charles* to hearken to their ſoli- f citations, when the parliament aſſembled in the beginning of the following year at *Naples*, they imprudently offered a donative of a million and a half of ducats, without conſidering their ability, ſo that the emperor was obliged afterwards to remit one third of the ſum. They then propoſed to aſk the removal of the whole miniſtry; but the motion being

*Enlarges the authority of* Toledo. oppoſed with great warmth by an oppoſite party, was laid aſide. *Charles*, being fully ſenſible of the reaſon of the averſion of the nobility to *Toledo*, inſtead of removing him from the government, heaped new favours upon him every day, and during his ſtay at *Naples* conſulted him in his moſt weighty affairs; and at his departure, in the end of *March*, inveſted him with greater authority than he had before enjoyed.

*His prudent government.* UPON the departure of the emperor, *Toledo* applied himſelf with great vigour to enlarge g and beautify the city of *Naples*, and to render it more opulent and healthy. He ordered

[d] GIANNONE. [e] Giornale nel Rosso. SUMMONT. t. iv.

the

a the ſtreets to be made plain and ſtrait, and to be new paved, and he ſurrounded the city with a new and ſtrong wall. He cauſed many new and magnificent churches and hoſpitals to be built, adorned the city with many fountains of marble, and enlarged the arſenal, making conveniencies in it for building ſixteen gallies at once. To prevent the air from being corrupted, he cauſed the ſtanding waters near *Averſa*, *Acerra*, and *Eragola*, to be drained off by a large and deep canal; and, that the city might be always well ſtored with grain, he prohibited the exportation of corn, and ordered that no magazines or granaries of wheat or barley ſhould be kept within thirty miles of *Naples* [f].

*He defends the kingdom againſt the* Turks. A. D. 1537.

Don *Pedro* was likewiſe very careful to ſecure the coaſts againſt the deſcents of the *Turks*; and the following year, hearing of the deſigns of *Solyman* againſt the kingdom, he wrote to b the emperor for a reinforcement of *Spaniſh* infantry, armed the militia of *Naples*, and, aſſembling a parliament of the barons, laid before them the general danger. Being informed that about the middle of *July Barbaroſſa* had arrived at *Valona* with 200 ſail of ſhips, and that the ſoltan had marched thither with 20,000 men, he left *Naples*, and made a general review of the whole army at *Melphis*. The *Turkiſh* fleet having received ſome loſs in an encounter with that of the *Genoeſe* and the pope, and *Solyman* having intelligence that the viceroy was in the field with 30,000 men, he thought proper to withdraw his troops, after they had made a ſlight deſcent on the coaſt of *Puglia*, and another on the coaſt of *Otranto*. After the enemy had retired, the viceroy allowed all thoſe engaged in the expedition to return to their own homes; and to prevent any future inſult from the infidels, he reſolved c to fortify all the places upon the coaſt, which he viſited himſelf, attended with ſkilful architects and engineers. He fortified the cities of *Cotrone* and *Veſti*, and cauſed caſtles to be built at *Reggio*, *Otranto*, *Lecce*, *Gallipoli*, *Trani*, *Barletta*, *Brindiſi*, *Monopoli*, and *Manfredonia*. The kingdom being thus put in a ſtate of defence, continued for ſome time free from any alarms from the *Turks*. About ſeven years after *Barbaroſſa* arrived on the coaſt, ſacked the iſlands of *Iſchia* and *Procida*, and endeavoured to make a deſcent near *Pozzuolo*, which city he cannonaded from his ſhips; but the viceroy marching immediately thither from *Naples* with a large body of horſe, and a great multitude of people from the adjacent cities, forced the *Turks* to abandon their enterprize, and to retire towards the *Levant* with their fleet.

*The* Jews *are baniſhed from* Naples. A. D. 1540.

d *TOLEDO*, about the ſame time, publiſhed a proclamation, ordering all the *Jews* to leave the kingdom. They had been very numerous in different parts of the kingdom for near 300 centuries, and had particularly increaſed ſince their baniſhment from *Spain*, about fifty years before, by *Ferdinand the Catholic*. They had acquired great riches by lending money upon extravagant intereſt; but their uſury about this time increaſing, and the city being full of complaints againſt them, they were baniſhed by the emperor's deſire; and the viceroy, for the conveniency of raiſing money upon pledges, eſtabliſhed a bank, called *Monte delle Pieta*, which continues to the preſent time, and lends money upon pledges at moderate intereſt, and as far as ten crowns without any intereſt at all [g].

*The doctrines of* Luther *meet with approbation in* Naples. A. D. 1546.

*TOLEDO*'s government had hitherto given general ſatisfaction; but he having, about e this time, begun to act with rigour againſt ſome who were ſuſpected to lean to the doctrines of *Luther*, and ſoon after attempted, by ſecret means, to eſtabliſh the inquiſition, he raiſed ſuch a ſtorm as had near proved fatal to him. The inquiſition had been firſt eſtabliſhed about three centuries before, in conſequence of the proceedings of *St. Dominic* againſt the *Albigenſes*. The kings of the houſe of *Anjou* were the firſt who admitted inquiſitors from *Rome* into *Naples*, who went through the provinces by leave from thoſe kings, without keeping any fixed court. The kings of the houſe of *Arragon* rarely allowed them to enter the kingdom, oblige them to give an account of their whole proceedings, and would not ſuffer them to execute any ſentence without a ſpecial licence. The inquiſitors, in the beginning of the reign of *Ferdinand*, endeavoured to eſtabliſh their authority in a fuller f manner; but the *Neapolitans*, then alarmed with the ſhocking inhumanities and barbarities exerciſed a few years before againſt the *Jews* and *Moors* in *Spain*, obliged *the Great Captain Gonſalvo* to ſtipulate, that no inquiſitor ſhould be allowed to enter the kingdom. The inquiſitors, however, ſoon found means of inſinuating themſelves; and as at that time there was no ſuſpicion of any new doctrines, that they might not be idle, they began to take cognizance of crimes formerly tried by the ordinary tribunals. They made themſelves judges of blaſphemy, fortune-telling, conjuring, and many other fooliſh arts. Whoever curſed the bells for their noiſe, was ſure to incur their cenſure; nor did thoſe eſcape unpuniſhed who preſumed to diſclaim againſt the immoralities of prieſts and monks, or mocked or ridiculed them. The inquiſitors, ſent from *Spain* to *Naples*, were at laſt expelled the kingdom with ignominy; and *Ferdinand*, being apprehenſive of an in-

[f] Auct. ſup. citat. Giannone. [g] Giornal. nel Rosso. Giannone. Eugenio. Nap. Sacr. l. v. p. 334.

ſurrection,

ſurrection, promiſed the *Neapolitans* that no inquiſition ſhould be introduced among them [h].

THE doctrines broached by *Luther* in *Germany* occaſioned new attempts to introduce the formidable tribunal. His opinions ſoon penetrated into *Italy*, and began to meet with many favourers in *Naples*; ſo that the emperor *Charles*, during his reſidence in the kingdom, prohibited his ſubjects by an edict, under pain of death, from holding any correſpondence with thoſe infected with the hereſy of *Luther*. The doctrines of the reformation, however, at the ſame time were publickly, though artfully, taught by the famous capuchin *Bernard Ochus*, or *Ochino*, who, on account of his eloquence and learning, had been invited to preach at *Naples* during *Lent*, and was approved by the emperor, who declared, *that he preached with ſuch ſpirit and ſo much devotion, that he made the very ſtones weep* [i]. *Bernard*, during his abode at *Naples*, made many diſciples, who after his departure privately inſtructed others, among whom were ſome famous preachers, and perſons of rank and fortune, who began to form congregations and conventicles. The jealouſy of the viceroy being awakened, he publiſhed a ſevere edict againſt heretical books, and ordered ſome books of *Melancthon* and *Eraſmus*, that had been diſperſed at *Naples*, to be publickly burnt. He likewiſe prohibited all books of divinity that had been printed within twenty-five years from being re-printed, and ordered that no treatiſe of divinity ſhould be printed, unleſs the authors were approved of, and affixed their names to their works. This jealouſy of the viceroy made all ſort of learning ſuſpected, and prevented the *Neapolitans* from making ſuch a progreſs in literature as formerly. Several academies, which were about this time formed by the nobility of the *Seggi* for the advancement of learning, were ordered to be ſuppreſſed; and in the end of the year, *Toledo*, having received orders from the emperor, if poſſible, to introduce the inquiſition, deſired *Paul* III. to ſend a deputy from that tribunal in *Rome* to *Naples*. The deputy accordingly arrived at *Naples* with the pope's brief, to which the viceroy, after deliberating a few days, granted the royal *exequator*, ordering it to be affixed upon the door of the cathedral, and not to be proclaimed through the city by ſound of trumpet, for fear of an inſurrection. The edict no ſooner appeared upon the cathedral door, than the whole city was filled with uproar and tumult; and the deputies of the nobility and commons ſent ſome of their number to *Pozzuolo*, to complain to the viceroy, who perceiving their fury and obſtinacy, promiſed that there ſhould be no more mention of an inquiſition, but that heretics ſhould be proſecuted according to the canons. The *Neapolitans*, upon receiving this anſwer, teſtified their joy for three days by bonfires and illuminations; but about two months after their fury was again excited by a ſecond edict, which appeared on the 11th of *May*, more alarming than the former, as it mentioned the inquiſition openly. The people immediately, in a tumultuous manner, tore down the edict, ran to arms, and made a new election of officers, who they were certain would not be in the intereſt of the viceroy.

A. D. 1547. *Great tumults on account of the inquiſition.*

*Skirmiſhes betwixt the* Spaniards *and* Neapolitans.

*TOLEDO* hearing of the inſurrection, came in great rage to *Naples*, and reinforced the garriſon of *Caſtel Nuovo* with 3000 *Spaniards* from the neighbouring towns. For ten or twelve days there were continual ſkirmiſhes betwixt theſe *Spaniards* and the citizens. A ceſſation of hoſtilities was then agreed to, and both parties ſent deputies to the emperor; but in the mean time the citizens, being informed that the viceroy had accepted the offer of 5000 *Florentine* foot, immediately levied 10,000 men, and muſtered the inhabitants fit to bear arms, to the number of 14,000. With this force they renewed hoſtilities againſt the *Spaniards*; but in their daily ſkirmiſhes they were generally worſted. The deputies at length returning from the emperor, the citizens were peremptorily ordered to obey the viceroy, and deliver up their arms to him; which command was complied with without heſitation, that the inſurrection might not appear to have been a rebellion againſt their lawful ſovereign. On the 12th of *Auguſt* a general pardon was granted to all concerned in the late tumult, excepting only thirty-ſix perſons, one of whom was afterwards executed. The city was fined in 100,000 crowns; but the emperor never exacted the money [k]. By this vigorous oppoſition, the emperor and the viceroy being both deterred from their deſign of introducing the holy tribunal, *Toledo* aſſiſted the vicar of *Naples* in proceeding againſt heretics according to the canons; and a few years after the *Neapolitans* obtained a bull from the pope, ordaining, that the goods of heretics ſhould not be confiſcated [l] (A).

*Peace reſtored by the emperor's edict.*

[h] MARIAN. Hiſt. l. xxx. SURIT. Annal. [i] Giorn. nel Rosso. [k] UBERT. FOLIET. de tumult. Neap. THUAN. Hiſt. GIANN. [l] GIANNONE ex MSS. Giur. Chioccor. t. viii.

(A) Several other attempts were afterwards made during the reigns of *Philip* II. III. IV. and *Charles* II. to eſtabliſh the inquiſition in *Naples*; but by the jealouſy and vigilance of the people they all proved ineffectual. At laſt the emperor *Charles* VI. in the beginning of the preſent century, publiſhed an edict, expreſsly prohibiting all cauſes relating to the holy faith to be tried by any perſons, except the archbiſhops and biſhops as ordinaries (1).

(1) *See Giannone, l.* xxxii. *ſect.* 2 & 3.

a ABOUT four years after this commotion, the *Neapolitans* were alarmed with the news of the great preparations making at *Conſtantinople* for invading their kingdom. The prince of *Salerno*, from his enmity to *Toledo*, who he ſuſpected had hired aſſaſſins againſt him, had left *Naples* and gone to *France*, where he excited *Henry* II. then at war with the emperor, to attempt the conqueſt of his native country, which he aſſured him would be an eaſy enterprize. *Henry*, who inherited his father's rivalſhip and hatred of the emperor, ordered ſome gallies to be fitted out at *Marſeilles*, and by his ambaſſador at *Conſtantinople* ſollicited *Solyman* to ſend a fleet againſt *Naples*. *Toledo* in the mean time aſſembled the barons of the kingdom, and raiſed a fund of 300,000 ducats for ſupporting the war. He likewiſe ſent for *Doria* with forty gallies from *Genoa*; but before his arrival, the *Turkiſh* fleet of 150 large gallies ap-
b peared on the coaſt, and having burnt ſome maritime towns, on the 15th of *July* anchored before *Naples*. Soon after the baſha obſerving the *Genoeſe* admiral, purſued his fleet, and before he could reach the ſhore, ſunk two and took ſeven of his ſhips. About three weeks after, however, the prince of *Salerno* not appearing with the *French* gallies, he retired with his formidable fleet, and ſailed to the *Levant*, the prince, who quickly followed him, in vain ſolliciting him to return. The baſha, as it was then reported, had entered into a ſecret treaty with *Mormile*, one of thoſe whoſe eſtates had been forfeited on account of the late commotion, who prevailed with him to retire upon receiving 200,000 ducats. *Mormile* for this ſervice was allowed to return to *Naples*, and received an equivalent for his eſtate [m].

*The* Turks *make preparations to invade* Naples. A. D. 1551.

*Their fleet arrives on the coaſt.* A. D. 1552.

c *TOLEDO* having removed this formidable enemy, began to proceed with rigour againſt ſeveral perſons, who he ſuſpected were privy to the deſigns of the prince of *Salerno*, and by his arbitrary and ſevere proceedings quickly rendered his government both terrible and odious. About this time the *Sienneſe* having been oppreſſed by the *Spaniards*, obliged the governor and garriſon to evacuate their city, and ſoon after introduced the *French*; on which account the emperor ordered *Toledo* to march from *Naples* to reduce the republic. The viceroy, during the winter, was very diligent in making preparations for his expedition to *Tuſcany*; and in the beginning of the following year ſent his ſon Don *Garcia*, with 10,0000 men, into the *Sienneſe* territories, where he quickly reduced ſeveral caſtles. He himſelf, in the mean time, leaving his third ſon Don *Lewis* lieutenant of the kingdom,
d embarked with a conſiderable number of *Spaniſh* ſoldiers on board *Doria*'s fleet, and proceeded to *Leghorn*, though he had been for ſome time afflicted with a rheum and fever. His diſtemper increaſing, he went for the benefit of the air to *Florence*, where he died on the 12th of *February*, leaving behind him by his firſt wife three ſons, Don *Frederic*, Don *Garcia*, and Don *Lewis*; and four daughters, three of whom were married to *Neapolitan* lords; but *Eleonora* the ſecond to *Coſmo di Medici*, duke of *Tuſcany* [n].

Toledo *ſends an army againſt the* Sienneſe. A. D. 1553.

*He dies at* Florence.

CARDINAL *Pacecco*, the imperial ambaſſador at *Rome*, ſucceeded *Toledo* as viceroy, and in the month of *June* arrived at *Naples*. He was deſcended of an illuſtrious family in *Spain*, who were in poſſeſſion of the duchy of *Eſcalona*, and the marquiſate of *Villena*, and he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his abilities and learning at the council of *Trent*. The *Nea-*
e *politans*, apprehenſive that he was a ſevere man, were at firſt greatly alarmed: but their fears were quickly diſſipated; for the cardinal being of a calm and ſweet diſpoſition, not only treated them with great humanity, but in the ſecond year of his government obtained for them a confirmation of their privileges from the emperor. He refuſed to imitate the rigorous methods of his predeceſſor, with regard to ſudden impriſonments, tortures, and criminal puniſhments, inflicted upon delinquents on bare information, and preſerved the peace of the kingdom by his prudent and provident orders. As the emperor this year reſigned the kingdom of *Naples* and *Sicily*, and the *Milaneſe*, to his ſon *Philip*, on account of his marriage with queen *Mary* of *England*, the cardinal, on the 25th of *November*, gave the marquis of *Peſcara*, *Philip*'s envoy, poſſeſſion of the kingdom of *Naples*, in his name, with
f public ſolemnity and great rejoicing.

*Cardinal* Pacecco *appointed viceroy.* A. D. 1544.

*JULIUS* III. likewiſe granted the bull of inveſtiture in favour of *Philip*; but *Paul* IV. of the family of *Caraffa*, who about ſeven months after ſucceeded to the papal chair, immediately declared himſelf his enemy, and endeavoured to deprive him of the kingdom. *Paul* was by birth a *Neapolitan*, was remarkable for an auſtere and peeviſh diſpoſition, and had long conceived a hatred to the *Spaniards*, becauſe ſome of his relations, who upon *Lautrech*'s invaſion had declared for the *French*, had been puniſhed as rebels. During the commotion at *Naples* on account of the inquiſition, he had uſed his utmoſt endeavours to occaſion a general inſurrection, and to perſuade the pope to ſeize the kingdom for the church. The emperor and *Toledo*, ſenſible of his partiality to the *French*, refuſed a benefice to his nephew,
g and for ſeveral years prevented himſelf from taking poſſeſſion of the archbiſhopric of *Naples*.

Paul IV. *profeſſes an enmity to the* Spaniards. A. D. 1555.

[m] SPOND. Annal. an. 1552. SIGON. in vit. Aur. l. i. c. 36. [n] GIANNONE.

*The duke of* Alva *appointed viceroy.*

*ples.* His promotion alarmed *Philip*, who ordered cardinal *Pacecco*, then in *Rome*, on account of the election, to continue in the city to watch his proceedings; and soon after hearing of his negotiations with the king of *France*, sent Don *Ferdinando Alvares de Toledo*, duke of *Alva*, then governor of *Milan*, to *Naples*, as viceroy, to put the kingdom in a posture of defence against the pope's designs. *Alva* arrived at *Naples* about the end of the year, and took the command from *Bernard de Mendoza*, who upon the departure of the cardinal, had been appointed lieutenant of the kingdom. The pope in the mean time, notwithstanding his great age and his reputation for sanctity, he having been the founder of the order of the *Theatins*, and a great promoter of the inquisition, began to cherish the most ambitious schemes, and indulge the most unchristian resentment against the *Spaniards*. He immediately promoted his three worthless nephews to dignities, protected the *Neapolitan* malcontents at *Rome*, depressed all those who were in the interest of *Spain*, and entered into a treaty with the king of *France*, by which he promised to give the kingdom of *Naples* to his second son. Under pretence likewise that the *Spaniards* had formed a conspiracy against his person, he imprisoned *Philip*'s ambassador at *Rome* for *England*; and alleging that the arrears of tribute had not been paid in due time, he drew up a bull, declaring that *Philip* had forfeited the kingdom. a b

Paul *promises* Naples *to a son of the king of* France. A. D. 1556.

Alva *invades the ecclesiastical territories.*

These outrages of the pope, and his ardour in fortifying *Rome*, and other places in the ecclesiastical state, and his great warlike preparations, excited the diligence of the duke of *Alva*, who having in vain made several offers for an accommodation to *Paul*, at length, in the beginning of *September*, advanced towards the ecclesiastical state with an army of 12,000 foot, 300 men at arms, and 1800 light horse, and before the end of the year reduced all the papal territories in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, making incursions to the very gates of the city. The great success of *Alva* highly exasperated the pope, who being disappointed of his succours from *France*, oppressed the inhabitants of *Rome* with the most arbitrary and grievous exactions. Though he would not hearken to an accommodation, yet he obtained a truce for forty days from *Alva*, who immediately returned to *Naples*, to make proper preparations for opposing the duke of *Guise*, who had entered *Piedmont* with a large army to the pope's assistance. Having assembled the barons of the kingdom, he obtained from them a donative of a million of crowns for the king's use, and 25,000 for himself; and to distress the pope, who had imposed a tax of two-tenths upon all ecclesiastical revenues in the kingdom, he used his utmost diligence to prevent any money from going to *Rome*. He sequestered the revenues of many archbishoprics, and other benefices, which were collected in the name of the royal chamber or exchequer, and registered the wealth and plate of all the churches and monasteries, great part of which treasure was carried to *Naples*. He also ordered all the bells of the churches and monasteries in *Benevento*, and all the brass cannon of that city, to be coined into money, and to be valued, in order to be paid at the conclusion of the war; and hearing that the *French* had arrived on the frontiers of the kingdom, on the 11th of *April* he set out for *Abruzzo*. The truce having been for some time expired, hostilities were again renewed, and before the viceroy could assemble his army, the *French* had entered the kingdom and besieged some places on the frontiers. *Alva* quickly repulsed the *French*, who found themselves but ill supported by the pope; and the papal troops being soon after defeated, about the end of *August* he advanced with his army to the neighbourhood of *Rome*. The *Romans* threatening to revolt, the pope began to hearken to proposals for an accommodation, especially as he saw his design against the kingdom frustrated by the defeat of the *French* at *St. Quintin*, which obliged *Henry* II. to recal his troops from *Italy*. Accordingly, by the mediation of the *Venetians* and the duke of *Tuscany*, the peace was concluded on the 13th of *September*, when it was agreed, that the duke of *Alva* should go to *Rome* and ask pardon of the pope, who engaged to renounce his alliance with the *French*; that all places taken from the pope should be restored, and their fortifications demolished; that both parties should grant a pardon to all offenders, excepting only the *Colonni*, who the pope alleged had been the authors of the war; and that *Palliano* should be kept by a *Neapolitan* nobleman, till it should be disposed of by the joint consent of the pope and *Philip* [o]. c d

A. D. 1557.

*Threatens* Rome.

*A peace concluded with the pope.*

e f

The news of the peace was very agreeable to *Philip*, and he bountifully rewarded all those who had distinguished themselves in the war. The duke of *Alva*, upon his return to *Naples*, was received with acclamations and rejoicing; but, to the great grief of the *Neapolitans*, he was quickly recalled to *Spain*, and Don *Juan Manriques de Lara*, the *Spanish* ambassador at *Rome*, was appointed lieutenant of the kingdom. About five months after he was succeeded by the cardinal *de Cueva*, who, before he had enjoyed the government half a year, was ordered to proceed to *Rome*, where he assisted at the election of a new pope, upon g

A. D. 1558.

[o] Alesand. Andrea ap. Giannone. Monluc. l. iv. Thuan. l. xvii. & xviii. Belcar. l. xxvii. Natal, l. x.

a the death of *Paul* IV. During the government of theſe two lieutenants, the kingdom ſuffered greatly by the invaſions of the *Turks*. Soon after the departure of the duke of *Alva*, the *Turkiſh* fleet, conſiſting of 120 gallies, under the command of *Muſtapha* baſha, appeared in the *Neapolitan* ſeas. The infidels, after depopulating the city of *Reggio*, entered the gulph of *Naples*, and landing in the night-time, pillaged and deſtroyed the cities of *Maſſa* and *Sorrento*, of which laſt place they carried off almoſt the whole inhabitants into ſlavery. Thoſe who remained were forced to ſell their poſſeſſions at a low price, and to ſend the money to *Conſtantinople* for the ranſom of their friends; ſo that even to this day, from that calamity, the city remains poor and thin of inhabitants [p].

*The* Turks *invade the kingdom.*

*PHILIP* in the mean time loſing both his father, the emperor, and his wife queen *Mary* b of *England*, in the beginning of the following year proceeded from *Flanders* to *Spain*, where he reſolved for the future to fix his reſidence. Soon after his arrival, he ſent Don *Parafan de Rivera*, duke of *Alcala*, as viceroy to *Naples*, where he arrived on the 12th of *June*, the ſame day that cardinal *Cueva* ſet out for *Rome*. The duke before had given proofs of his abilities as viceroy of *Catalonia*, and, according to *Thuanus*, was a man of prudence, probity, courage, and piety. During the firſt years of his government, he had many difficulties to ſtruggle with, which by his prudence and wiſdom he ſoon removed. At his arrival the kingdom was greatly afflicted by a general dearth. The people were alarmed with frequent earthquakes, which were felt through all the provinces, particularly in *Principato* and *Baſilicata*, where many cities were deſtroyed, and the country deſolated, while the c plague and other grievous diſeaſes daily carried off great numbers of the inhabitants. The *Turks* likewiſe infeſted the coaſts with frequent deſcents, and even preſumed to pillage part of the ſuburbs of *Naples*, from whence they carried off a great many captives.

*The duke* d'Alcala *appointed viceroy.* A. D. 1559.

THE ſtate was alſo diſturbed by ſome commotions occaſioned by the followers of the doctrines of *Calvin* [q]; and great troops of banditti had rendered themſelves very formidable in *Calabria*. Theſe outlaws choſe one *Marco Beradi* of *Coſenza* for their leader, who aſſumed the title of king, uſurped the regal enſigns and royal authority over his followers. He ſupported his ſmall army for ſome time by plundering the neighbouring provinces, and made an unſucceſsful attempt to ſeize the city of *Cotrone*. The viceroy ordered *Fabizio Pignatelli*, the preſident of that province, to march againſt him with 600 horſe, who was ſo ſuc- d ceſsful as to ruin and diſperſe the banditti by frequent ſtratagems, though their numbers at firſt were ſo formidable, that he durſt not hazard a general engagement with them [r].

A. D. 1563.

WHAT chiefly engaged the attention of *Alcala*, during his whole adminiſtration, was the extravagant pretenſions of the eccleſiaſtics and miniſters of the church of *Rome*, who by various methods attempted to make dangerous encroachments upon the king's temporal authority. As the council of *Trent* was about this time diſſolved, and its decrees publiſhed, the pope uſed his utmoſt endeavours to have them received and acknowleged, in the dominions of all thoſe princes who ſtill adhered to the church of *Rome*. As many of the decrees, however, tended to eſtabliſh the uſurpations of the popes, the catholic princes paid little or no regard to them, and ſome of them even at firſt prohibited them from being e publiſhed. The king of *Spain*, as an obedient ſon of the church, pretended to receive the decrees of the council in all his dominions; but at the ſame time gave ſecret orders to *Alcala*, to admit of no innovations with regard to the royal prerogatives. The viceroy accordingly allowed printed copies of the decrees of the council to be diſperſed over all the kingdom, but would never conſent to grant the *exequatur regium*, or royal permiſſion, in their behalf. He even gave orders to the preſidents of the provinces, and other officers of the kingdom, not to ſuffer any innovation to be made, and vigorouſly oppoſed the prelates who appeared fond of putting in execution thoſe decrees of the council derogatory to the king's authority.

*He vigorouſly oppoſes the uſurpations of the church of* Rome;

*ALCALA* likewiſe exerted himſelf in rejecting the bull of *Pius* V. *in Cæna Domini*, which, A. D. 1567. f beſides an infinite number of extravagancies, intirely overthrows the power of princes, by ſubjecting their government to the cenſure and correction of the court of *Rome*, and prohibiting them, under the pain of excommunication, from laying taxes upon their ſubjects, without the permiſſion of the apoſtolic ſee. As the prelates, notwithſtanding the prohibition of the viceroy, diſperſed the bull through the kingdom, great diſorders immediately enſued, on account of raiſing the taxes, which occaſioned *Alcala* to write for new inſtructions to *Spain*. Having received ſtrict orders from *Philip* to puniſh thoſe who had diſperſed the bull, he confiſcated the eſtates of ſome prelates who had tranſgreſſed his mandate, prohibiting the publication, and impriſoned thoſe printers and bookſellers who had printed and diſperſed the copies. *Pius* exclaimed againſt thoſe proceedings of the viceroy; but inſtead g of uſing his uſual arms of excommunications and interdictions, according to *Giannone*, he had recourſe to a cunning, malicious, and ſcandalous ſhift, namely, to order the confeſſors,

[p] THUAN. l. xx. GIANNONE. l. xxxiii. [q] GIANNONE, ut ſupra. [r] THUAN. l. xxxvi.

both

both regular and ſecular, to deny abſolution to their penitents, if they refuſed to acknowlege the bull. The clergy hoped by this means to triumph, and the confuſions in the kingdom increaſed: but the ardour of the pope ſoon after abating, the prelates likewiſe turned more remiſs, and contented themſelves with publiſhing the bull from the pulpits every *Holy Thurſday*; in which ſtate the diſpute continued during the reſt of the government of *Alcala*, though it was afterwards frequently proſecuted with ſpirit by his ſucceſſors. a

A. D. 1569. THE duke had alſo ſome very warm diſputes with the papal miniſters, about the neceſſity of the *exequatur regium* to the pope's bulls, reſcripts, and other proviſions, proceeding from the *Roman* court. He alſo oppoſed the encroachments attempted by the apoſtolic viſitors, and prohibited laymen from anſwering any citation from the court of *Rome:* he would not allow the eccleſiaſtics to take the cognizance of mixed cauſes, that is, of ſuch cauſes as properly belonged to the juriſdiction of ſecular magiſtrates, but which they alleged might all be tried in eccleſiaſtical courts: he vigorouſly inſiſted upon the king's right to one-half of the tythes raiſed upon the eccleſiaſtics in the kingdom: he likewiſe deprived the knights of *St. Lazarus* of the privilege of being accounted eccleſiaſtics, by which means, though they were mere laymen, they had ſheltered themſelves from the laws under the protection of the popes, and by fradulent methods acquired great eſtates: he alſo made ſtrong remonſtrances at the court of *Rome* againſt the abuſes concerning laſt wills, which the biſhops pretended to make for thoſe who died inteſtate: and he puniſhed thoſe prelates who, contrary to his mandates, perſiſted in the exerciſe of what they judged their antient right [s]. b

*and provides for the defence of the kingdom againſt the* Turks.

*ALCALA*, during theſe troubleſome diſputes with the eccleſiaſtics in defence of the king's prerogatives, was obliged to be conſtantly upon his guard againſt the invaſions of the *Turks*. In the ſixth year of his government the infidels alarmed all *Italy*, by a moſt formidable invaſion of the iſland of *Malta*, which expedition is particularly and elegantly deſcribed by *Thuanus* [t]. The viceroy, being apprehenſive leſt they ſhould make an attempt upon *Sicily* on the continent, was at great pains in fortifying the maritime cities, and providing them with ſtrong garriſons. His fears ſoon appeared not to be groundleſs; for the *Turks* failing in their enterprize againſt *Malta*, the following year ſailed with a numerous fleet into the *Adriatic*, and endeavoured to ſurprize *Peſcara*. Being, however, repulſed by the garriſon, they ravaged all the neighbouring coaſt; and having pillaged all the towns, they returned c

A. D. 1570. with an immenſe booty, and a great number of captives, to their ſhips. About four years after, by another formidable naval armament, they gave a freſh alarm to *Naples*, which obliged the viceroy to ſend for 3000 *Germans* for the defence of the kingdom: but the ſtorm falling on the iſland of *Cyprus*, he ſent twenty-three gallies with 3000 ſoldiers, and a great d

*His death.* many *Neapolitan* knights, to the aſſiſtance of the beſieged. The duke in the mean time

A. D. 1571. having, by his continual application and many anxious cares, impaired his health, the following ſpring was ſeized with a violent rheum and fever, of which he died on the 2d of *April* at *Torre del Greco*, in the 63d year of his age, and the 12th of his vice-royalty. He greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his prudent and mild government, and was extremely benevolent and charitable to the poor and afflicted, by founding ſome hoſpitals for their relief, and diſtributing money to thoſe who were aſhamed to publiſh their neceſſities. For the e
conveniency of commerce he enlarged the highways, and built many new and ſtately bridges, and with great watchfulneſs ſecured the kingdom againſt the inſults of the infidels, which occaſioned his death to be univerſally lamented [u].

*The cardinal of* Granville *appointed viceroy.*

UPON the death of *Alcala*, the ſupreme government devolved to the collateral regents, which they held only for a few days; for Don *Anthony Perenotte*, cardinal of *Granville*, the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador at *Rome*, on the 19th of *April* arrived at *Naples* as viceroy, in conſequence of an order which he had received ſome time before from *Philip*. He was the ſon of the famous *Granville*, counſellor to the emperor *Charles* V. who conferred upon him the biſhopric of *Arras*, and employed him in ſeveral embaſſies to *England* and *France*. After he was created cardinal, he had the charge of the moſt weighty affairs in *Flanders*, under the f
ducheſs of *Parma*; but by his rigour rendering himſelf odious to the people, he was recalled to *Spain*.

*He aſſiſts Don* John *of* Auſtria *againſt the* Turks;

THE cardinal, during his government in *Naples*, was chiefly engaged in oppoſing the formidable power of the *Turks*, in raiſing ſubſidies to ſupply the great neceſſities of the king, and in fruſtrating the inſolent attempts of the eccleſiaſtics to encroach upon the royal juriſdiction and prerogatives. He was very diligent in reinforcing the fleet of Don *John* of *Auſtria*, who arriving at *Naples* on the 9th of *Auguſt*, and being joined by the *Neapolitan* and *Sicilian* gallies, and many of the chief barons and noblemen of both kingdoms, on the 7th of *October* gained a moſt memorable victory over the *Turks*, in the gulph of *Lepanto*. The following year he likewiſe ſent on board the prince's fleet the *Spaniſh* garriſon of *Naples*, and g
5000 *Italian* forces; but the enemy declining an engagement, the ſummer paſſed off with-

[s] GIANNONE, l. xxiii. c. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. [t] THUAN. l. xxxviii. [u] GIANNONE, ut ſupra.

out

a out any enterprize of importance. The year after, the *Venetians* concluding a ſeparate peace with the infidels, and withdrawing their forces from the allies, Don *John* ſailed from *Naples* and reduced *Tunis*, after which expedition he returned, in the end of the year, to *Italy*; but while the cardinal and he were celebrating his ſafe return with bull feaſts and tournaments, the *Turks*, who they expected after the late defeat would not dare to view their coaſts, landed in *Otranto*, and pillaged the ſmall city of *Caſtro*: and ſoon after having expelled the *Spaniſh* garriſon from *Tunis*, recovered the poſſeſſion of that kingdom, which for many years, with ſmall interruption, had been tributary to the *Spaniards*. A. D. 1573.

As *Spain* about this time began to loſe its ſtrength, and become poor and deſolate, on account of the large armies and numerous garriſons which it maintained both at home and *raiſes large ſubſidies upon the* Neapolitans;

b abroad, and of the many colonies that were ſent to *America*, and of the total neglect of agriculture and manufactures, *Philip* began to mortgage his revenues to the *Genoeſe*, at moſt extravagant intereſt, and alienated cities and lands in the kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*. He particularly extracted large ſums from *Naples*: and the cardinal, during his government of little more than four years, obtained two donatives, amounting to the ſum of 2,300,000 ducats, beſides other ſums raiſed by the ſale of titles, and great quantities of ſtores and proviſions ſent out of the kingdom, under pretence of ſupplying the fort of *Goletta*, which commanded the harbour of *Tunis*.

The cardinal likewiſe imitated his predeceſſor in oppoſing the uſurpations of the clergy, *and oppoſes the encroachments of the clergy.*

c and even exerted himſelf with more vigour with regard to *mixed cauſes*, by ordering the archbiſhop's priſon to be broke open, and by taking from thence a thief, who had been guilty of ſacrilege, whom he tried in the civil court and executed. Though the vicar of the archbiſhop excommunicated all thoſe who were concerned in executing the orders of the viceroy, the cardinal, nevertheleſs, baniſhed the vicar from the kingdom, ſequeſtrated all the archbiſhop's revenues, and impriſoned the counſellors of his court, and the beadles who had paſted up the copies of the ſentence, which he ordered to be defaced. The court of *Rome* was greatly irritated with the cardinal's proceedings, but condeſcended, however, to drop the affair, and to abſolve all thoſe privately in the treaſury-chamber who had incurred the ſentence of excommunication [w]. The cardinal is ſaid to have diſguſted Don *John* of *Auſtria*, by preventing him from extorting a private donative from the *Neapolitans*; on which

d account the prince, by his intereſt at the court of *Spain*, procured his removal from *Naples*, in hopes that his favourite, the duke of *Seſſa*, would be appointed his ſucceſſor. The cardinal the following year, in the beginning of *July*, returned to *Spain*, where he was created counſellor of ſtate, and preſident of the ſupreme council of *Italy*; but *Philip*, jealous of Don *John*'s authority, inſtead of the duke of *Seſſa* appointed the marquis of *Mondejar*, the prince's enemy, as viceroy. A. D. 1574. *He is recalled to* Spain. A. D. 1575.

Don *Inigo Lopez Hurtado de Mendoza*, marquis of *Mondejar*, arrived at *Naples* about ten days after the departure of the cardinal. He quickly diſobliged both *Granville* and Don *John* of *Auſtria*. Having, with great imprudence, confided in ſome flatterers, who inſinuated themſelves into his favour upon his firſt arrival, he revoked many wiſe regulations made by the *The marquis of* Mondejar *appointed viceroy.*

e cardinal, who naturally taking offence at ſuch a reformation, kept a watchful and jealous eye over all his proceedings. The marquis likewiſe could not diſſemble his ſentiments of Don *John*, whom he looked upon with great diſguſt, as he ſtill continued to divert himſelf in *Naples* with feaſts and tournaments, and made ſuch a ſhining figure as quite eclipſed the dignity of the viceroy. The heart-burnings betwixt them ſoon broke out into an open quarrel; ſo that one day, after ſome angry words, Don *John* drew his dagger, and with great difficulty was prevented from ſtabbing him. He ſoon after, by his imprudent con-

*His government diſagreeable to the* Neapolitans.

f duct, incurred the hatred of the *Neapolitan* nobility and commons. The nobility were offended by his endeavouring to impoſe upon the *Seggi* of *Naples*, a *Fleming*, who was provincial regent at *Madrid*, and his ſpy, as a perſon of noble birth; and the common people were greatly irritated, by a report that, by the advice of a friar, he intended to adulterate the meal of corn with that of the herb *Calf's-foot*, or *Wake-Robin*, by the botaniſts called *Aron*, with which *Julius Cæſar* is ſaid to have ſupported his troops in *Albania*, when beſieging the army of *Pompey*. His enmity with the cardinal and Don *John*, and the univerſal diſcontent he had raiſed, prevented him from receiving any honour from his prudent regulations; ſo that, though by his provident care and ſevere edicts he had prevented the plague from entering *Naples*, which for two years had diſpeopled many cities in *Italy*, the general ſecurity was attributed to the foreſight of the city of *Naples*, but chiefly to their patron *Januarius* and other ſaints [x]. The viceroy likewiſe ſent ſome troops to *Puglia* and *Calabria*, who repulſed the *Turks*, who had landed on thoſe coaſts: but the advantages gained

g over the infidels on this occaſion were attributed to the vigilance and valour of *Nicolo Bernardino*, prince of *Biſagnano* [y]. The marquis at length intirely alienated the *Neapolitans*, by

[w] Giannone, Summont. Thuan. [x] Summont. par 4. l. i. [y] Thuan. l. lii.

attempting to take a rich young heireſs by force from a nunnery, with the intention of marrying her to his eldeſt ſon. This outrage being repreſented by the nobility to the king, and aggravated by *Granville*, the marquis was immediately recalled, and obliged to leave *Naples* in the beginning of winter, after he had governed as viceroy four years and four months. During his adminiſtration *Philip* obtained three donatives from *Naples*, amounting to 3,400,000 ducats. He made many wholſome regulations for the good government of the city and kingdom, and left twenty-four ſtatutes or pragmatics, in which there are many prudent and commendable proviſions [z].

*He returns to* Spain, A. D 1579.

*and is ſucceeded by the prince of* Pietraperſia.

When *Mondejar* was recalled, Don *Juan de Zuniga*, a ſecond ſon of the family of *Miranda*, and prince of *Pietraperſia*, who had been *Philip*'s ambaſſador for ſeveral years at *Rome*, was appointed viceroy. He arrived at *Naples* on the 11th of *November*, three days after the departure of his predeceſſor, and at his landing refuſed the vain pomp of a bridge, deſiring 1500 crowns, appropriated for that purpoſe, to be given to the hoſpital for incurables [a]. A few months after his arrival, having received an order to furniſh all the ſuccours poſſible for an expedition againſt *Portugal*, to make good *Philip*'s pretenſions to that kingdom, he fitted out ſeventeen veſſels, on board of which he embarked 6000 ſoldiers and 4000 pioneers, under the command of the prior of *Hungary* and Don *Carlo Spinelli*. To ſupport the charges of this armament, he aſſembled a parliament on the 29th of *September*, and obtained a donative of 1,200,000 ducats. About two years after he ordered the *Gregorian* reformation of the calendar to be obſerved in *Naples*; and as *Philip* now limited the time for the government of his viceroys to three years, he ſoon after returned to *Spain*, leaving the reputation of an excellent governor, his departure being univerſally regretted, on account of his piety, meekneſs, and courteous behaviour [b].

*He is recalled.* A. D. 1582.

*The duke of* Oſſuna *appointed viceroy.*

Don *Pedro Giron*, duke of *Oſſuna*, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the wars of *Granada*, and the conqueſt of *Portugal*, in the month of *November* arrived at *Naples*, as ſucceſſor to *Zuniga*. He ſoon rendered himſelf odious to the nobility by his ſtiff reſervedneſs, and haughty and diſdainful demeanour, which rendered his government uneaſy and diſagreeable to him. To procure the popularity, which at firſt he had ſlighted, he entered himſelf into the body of the nobility of the *Seggio* of *Nido*, but could not by that means remove the bad opinion that had formerly been conceived of him. He was much diſquieted with the continual demands of ſubſidies for *Spain*; but by promiſing new favours and privileges, which were actually granted, he obtained two donatives, amounting to 2,400,000 ducats. Towards the end of his government, which, notwithſtanding the late reſolution, continued four years, he began to acquire the good-will of the *Neapolitans*, by his diligence in the diſpatch of buſineſs, and his zeal for the impartial diſtribution of juſtice. During his adminiſtration he executed many public works, which were greatly beneficial to the nation; ſo that at his departure, he received many encomiums and bleſſings [c].

*He is ſucceeded by the count of* Miranda. A. D. 1586.

The duke of *Oſſuna* was ſucceeded in the viceroyalty by Don *Juan de Zuniga*, count of *Miranda*, and nephew of the late prince of *Pietraperſia*, who arrived at *Naples* in the month of *November*. During almoſt the whole time of his government, which continued nine years, he was chiefly employed in extirpating the banditti, who had become very formidable in *Naples* and the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. Theſe robbers for ſeveral years had infeſted the kingdom in ſmall bodies; but having been overlooked by the viceroys, their numbers greatly increaſed, eſpecially as the famous *Sixtus* V. who the year before had aſcended the pontifical chair, by his vigorous proſecution of thoſe in the territories of the church, forced them to fly into the kingdom. Having by theſe reinforcements become very numerous, they openly took the field, and pillaged ſeveral walled towns, carrying deſolation and ruin every where; ſo that commerce and traffic were intirely interrupted. The ſoldiers who were ſent againſt them were frequently baffled and ſeverely handled; but in the ſecond year of his government, the viceroy was ſo fortunate as to ſeize their noted leader *Benedetto Mongone*, who, as a terrible example to others, was put to death by tortures. The banditti, however, ſtill kept in a body, and one *Marco Sciarra* aſſuming the command, and taking the title of king of *Campagna*, quickly became more formidable than his predeceſſor.

*The kingdom is pillaged by troops of banditti*; A. D. 1587.

Both the pope and the viceroy being determined upon ſuppreſſing them, *Sixtus* ſent a brief to the count, impowering him for three months to purſue the banditti into the territories of the church, without aſking any further permiſſion. This permiſſion was afterwards renewed; *Sciarra*, however, defended himſelf for three years againſt all the attempts of the viceroy, who having received orders from *Spain* to watch the motions of the pope, ſent 4000 horſe and foot into the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, under pretence of purſuing the banditti. *Sixtus*, during his whole pontificate, had ſhewn himſelf but a very cold friend to the *Spaniards*, whoſe overgrown power he had formed a deſign to reduce, and is even ſaid byg *Leti* to have given *Elizabeth* of *England* intelligence of the deſtination of the grand *Armada*.

[z] Summont. ut ſupra. [a] Summont. [b] Giannone. [c] Giannone.

This

a This year he openly quarrelled with *Philip*, fitted out a conſiderable number of gallies, and gave orders for aſſembling and diſciplining the militia, to the number of 25,000 men, with the intent of marching in perſon againſt the kingdom of *Naples*, having received the promiſe of conſiderable ſuccours from queen *Elizabeth*; but all his deſigns were fruſtrated by death, which happened to him on the 27th of *Auguſt* [d].

THE inconſiderable force ſent by the viceroy into the territories of the church, with the deſign of awing the pope, was attacked and routed by the banditti, who, encouraged by their victory, pillaged *Serra Capriola*, *Vaſto*, and the city of *Lucera*, and committed great outrages through the kingdom for near two years. The viceroy at length giving the command of the troops to the count of *Converſano*, while *Clement* VIII. ſent *Gianfranceſco Aldo-*
b *brandini* to expel them from the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, the banditti, being hemmed in on both ſides, were quickly reduced to great extremity, and deſerted by their captain *Sciarra*, who was invited by the *Venetians* to take the command of their troops, in a war in which they were then engaged againſt the *Uſcocks*. Though *Sciarra* went to *Venice* with ſixty of his followers, yet the banditti who remained, receiving aſſiſtance from him, and being headed by his brotner *Luca*, continued for ſome time to infeſt the country till the death of *Sciarra*, who was ſoon after betrayed by one of his aſſociates in the march of *Ancona*. Upon his death the count of *Converſano* intirely rooted out the whole gang of robbers, and returned with great honour to *Naples*.

A. D. 1592.

*who are extirpated by the viceroy.*

THE viceroy, in the mean time, had cauſed four galleaſſes to be built at *Naples*, which
c were employed in the fatal expedition againſt *England*; and the *French* having, about this time, invaded *Savoy*, he ſent 4500 foot to the aſſiſtance of the duke, to prevent them from penetrating into the *Milaneſe*. To ſupport the charges of theſe expeditions, he raiſed during his government no leſs than five donatives, amounting to 6,000,000 of ducats: and as the *Turks* were reported to be fitting out a formidable fleet at *Conſtantinople*, he ſent a body of troops into *Calabria*, and garriſons to the caſtles of *Brindiſi*, *Otranto*, *Tarento*, and *Gallipoli*. The infidels ſoon after anchored with 100 ſail in *St. John*'s bay, and pillaged *Reggio*, and fourteen villages in the neighbourhood. They afterwards ſailed to *Otranto* and *Gallipoli*; but finding thoſe coaſts well guarded, they retired to *Valona*. The count, about two years after, returned to *Spain*, having gained the affections of the *Neapolitans*, by his generoſity
d and zeal in removing ſeveral abuſes of the law. During his government he improved both the city and kingdom by ſeveral public works. He likewiſe publiſhed fifty pragmatics, and divers proviſions concerning the price of corn, and other neceſſaries of life [e].

Miranda *is recalled to* Spain. A. D. 1595.

A FEW days after the departure of the count of *Miranda*, Don *Enrique de Guſman*, count of *Olivares*, arrived at *Naples*, as his ſucceſſor. He had reſided at *Rome* twelve years as ambaſſador from *Spain*, where, on account of the extravagant and odd humour of *Sixtus* V. he had many troubleſome and difficult matters to tranſact. As he was eminent for his great ſkill and facility in diſpatching the moſt weighty affairs, and had acquired a great reputation for prudence, the *Spaniards* gave him the ſurname of *Gran Papeliſta*, that is, a perſon always buſy among papers or writings. After his departure from *Rome*, he went to govern *Sicily*,
e and from thence he came to *Naples*. It was quickly obſerved, that he was of a ſerious and ſevere diſpoſition, and an enemy to diverſions. He baniſhed dancing, comedies, and feaſts, uſually given by his predeceſſors in the palace, and diſcouraged the formality and ceremony of a levee. His chief ſtudy was to give audience at all hours, and to ſee juſtice duly and rigorouſly adminiſtered. What diſtinguiſhed him above his predeceſſors, was his careful attention to the œconomy of government, whereby he reformed many abuſes, particularly the immoderate luxury in the women's dreſs, and the vanity of titles, which many, without foundation, arrogated to themſelves both in writing and ſpeaking. He was careful to keep plenty in the city and kingdom; and in order to beautify and adorn the city of *Naples*, he employed the famous architect *Dominico Fontana*, under whoſe direction he erected ſeveral
f magnificent works, and cauſed ſeveral ſtreets to be levelled, and built ſtraight and uniform. *Philip* II. of *Spain* dying, in the third year of his government, occaſioned his adminiſtration to be but of ſhort continuance; for *Philip* III. with whom he was no favourite, receiving ſeveral complaints againſt him from his enemies, ſent the count of *Lemos* as his ſucceſſor, who arrived at *Naples* before his departure, which obliged him to leave the city in an abrupt manner, and retire to the palace of the duke of *Nocera*. According to *Giannone*, there never was a more juſt, a more prudent man, or one of more indefatigable application, than the count of *Olivares*. During his government, which did not continue quite four years, he publiſhed thirty-two pragmatics, all of them uſeful and well digeſted [f].

*The count of* Olivares *appointed viceroy.*

*His prudent government.*

*He is recalled by* Philip III.

*PHILIP* III. this year obtained the inveſtiture of *Naples* from *Clement* VIII. and the
g viceroy Don *Fernando Ruy de Caſtro*, count of *Lemos*, arriving at *Naples* on the 16th of *July*, the count *Olivares*, three days after, embarked for *Spain*. The attention of *Lemos* was

[d] LETI Hiſt. Sixt. V. Idem Hiſt. Eliz. SPOND. Annal. [e] GIANNONE. [f] Idem ibid.

A. D. 1599. *The count of* Lemos *appointed viceroy.*

quickly engaged, by the discovery of a formidable conspiracy, which had been hatched for a more than a year in *Calabria*, under the direction of *Tommasa Campanella*, a furious enthusiast. *Campanella*, on account of his wicked life, and on suspicion of heresy, had felt the censures of the inquisition, and had suffered a long imprisonment in *Rome*; but upon a profession of penitence he was set at liberty, and ordered to confine himself to a convent in *Stilo*, his native city. In resentment for the usage he had received at *Rome*, upon his return to *Calabria* he formed a design of expelling the *Spaniards* from *Naples*, and rendering the kingdom independent on the holy see. As he had acquired a great reputation for his skill in astrology, he first persuaded the monks of the convent where he lodged, and afterwards many others, that great revolutions of kingdoms, particularly of *Naples*, would happen in the first year of the ensuing century; that the people ought therefore to be forewarned, in b order to be ready to shake off the yoke of the tyrannical kings of *Spain*, as he intended then to form the kingdom into an excellent republic. In his sermons he openly declared, that he was appointed by God for delivering the nation, while the monks his associates, to the number of 300, in their discourses verified his assertions, and declaimed against the tyranny of the kings of *Spain*, and in private encouraged the people to rise up in arms. Besides the monks, the bishops of *Nicastro*, *Girace*, *Melito*, and *Oppido*, entered into the conspiracy, and a great many provincial barons, and some of the city of *Naples*. They proposed to introduce a general liberty, to kill all the *Jesuits*, and those priests and monks that should refuse to join them, to burn all books, and to make new statutes. Having likewise concluded a treaty with a *Turkish* admiral, who promised to appear in the month of *September* with a c

*He quells a formidable conspiracy.*

fleet to their assistance, they assembled 1800 fugitives, whose number was daily increasing, when the plot was discovered by two of the conspirators. The viceroy immediately sent Don *Carlo Spinelli* with a body of troops into *Calabria*, under pretence of fortifying those coasts against the infidels. The designs of the conspirators by this means being anticipated, many of them were seized and put to death. *Campanella* was likewise apprehended and put to the torture; but by his many stupid and contradictory answers, he had the good fortune to be deemed a madman, and was condemned to perpetual imprisonment; but finding means to escape, he fled to *France*, where he died about thirty-nine years after this transaction.

The conspiracy being quelled, the viceroy went to the jubilee at *Rome*, from whence he soon after returned to *Naples*, the kingdom being alarmed by the *Turks*, who in the month d of *August* landed at *Scalea*, on the coast of *Calabria*, but were repulsed with considerable loss to their gallies. *Philip* soon after acquainting him that he intended to visit *Naples*, he resolved to build a magnificent palace for his reception, which was accordingly begun under the direction of *Fontana*: but the count in the mean time falling sick, after lingering several

*His death.* A. D. 1601.

months, died on the 13th of *October*, in the third year of his government. During his illness, he obtained a royal writ, granting the lieutenantcy of the kingdom to his son Don *Francesco de Castro*, a youth of twenty-three years of age, who held the government near eighteen months, and was engaged in defending the kingdom against the *Turks*, who landed in *Calabria* and pillaged *Reggio* g.

*He is succeeded by the count of* Benavente. A. D. 1603.

The following year, in the month of *April*, Don *Jean Alfonso Pimentel d' Errera*, count e of *Benavente*, arrived as viceroy at *Naples*. He immediately applied himself, with great assiduity, to reform the abuses of the tribunals, especially with respect to criminal causes, ordering all the processes of this kind that were lingering in the provincial courts to be brought to *Naples*, where sentence was denounced against the guilty according to their crimes, without delay. As he ordered criminals to be dragged even from the sanctuaries, he quickly had disputes with *Rome* about the ecclesiastical immunity. He was likewise obliged to add to the oppression of the *Neapolitans*, by imposing new taxes upon them, as the demands from the court of *Spain* were very pressing, and continually repeated. He accordingly laid a new duty upon fruit, which filled the people with discontent, so that they threatened an invasion. Their murmurs were increased by a new duty upon salt, and the f stagnation of commerce, occasioned by the insatiable greediness of the money-clippers and false coiners, who had debased the coin. The viceroy, to put a stop to the practice of the money clippers, ordered the *Zannette*, a coin of about the value of a sixpence, to pass current, whether of full weight or not, and the other money to be received by weight.

*who defends the kingdom against the* Turks,

As the *Turks* likewise continued to infest the kingdom, and to carry off a great many captives, the count formed a resolution of destroying *Durazzo*, which served the infidels for a place of retreat. He accordingly fitted out a considerable squadron of ships, and sent them, under the command of the marquis of *S. Croce*, to *Albania*, who landing his men and artillery on the coast near *Durazzo*, took the castle by storm, and pillaged and destroyed the city. At the same time Don *Lelio Ursini* was sent with a body of troops into *Calabria*, g against the banditti of that province, of whom he destroyed a great number; without how-

g Idem, ut supra. Thuan. Hist. l. cxxvii.

ever

ever being able intirely to extirpate them, as they ſheltered themſelves among inacceſſible mountains.

*and oppoſes the encroachments of the eccleſiaſtics.*

THE viceroy, in the mean time, was engaged in warm diſputes about the immunity of churches and ſanctuaries with the eccleſiaſtics, who in conſequence of a bull, publiſhed about twelve years before by *Gregory* XIV. inſiſted, that it belonged to them to determine what criminals had a right to a ſanctuary; and beſides, at their own pleaſure, extended the immunity of places not only to church-yards, monaſteries, chapels, oratories, hoſpitals, and biſhops palaces, but alſo to porches, houſes, cloiſters, gardens, and bake-houſes in the neighbourhood of churches. The count having received orders from *Spain* to admit of no innovations, oppoſed the encroachments of the eccleſiaſtics with great vigour. The diſpute, however, has never been abſolutely decided; for the eccleſiaſtics, even to the preſent times, have frequently renewed their claim to the pretended immunity, and have often been puniſhed by the viceroys by baniſhment, impriſonment, and ſequeſtration of their revenues. While the count of *Benavente* was thus employed in oppoſing the eccleſiaſtics, *Philip* III. who was very inattentive to the affairs of government, and allowed himſelf to be governed by his favourites, by their perſuaſion recalled him to *Spain*, and ſent the ſon of the late count of *Lemos* as his ſucceſſor. The young count of *Lemos* accordingly, in the month of *June*, arrived at the iſland of *Procida*, where he continued two or three weeks, that *Benavente* might have leiſure to prepare for his departure. *Benavente* at laſt, after he had governed the kingdom about ſeven years, on the 11th of *July* embarked with his counteſs for *Spain*, leaving behind him ſhining monuments of his juſtice and magnificence[h].

*He is recalled.* A. D. 1610.

*The count of* Lemos *appointed viceroy.*

DON *Pedro Fernandez de Caſtro*, count of *Lemos*, was ſon to the predeceſſor of *Benavente*, and brother of Don *Franceſco*, the late lieutenant of the kingdom. Upon his arrival at *Naples*, finding the royal patrimony exhauſted, no money in the military cheſt, and the corporation for ſupplying the city with corn many millions of ducats in debt, he immediately applied himſelf to remedy theſe miſchiefs, and by his prudent and frugal management of the public money, he ſoon increaſed the proviſions and royal treaſure; ſo that during his government the kingdom enjoyed great plenty. He ſtudied to have juſtice duly adminiſtered, and law-ſuits quickly diſpatched, awing the judges into a faithful diſcharge of their offices, and a ſtrict puniſhment of malefactors, to whom he was ſevere and terrible.

*He builds a magnificent edifice for the univerſity of* Naples. A. D. 1616.

ABOVE all, he was a great encourager of learning, in which he himſelf had made great proficiency. As the profeſſors of the univerſity of *Naples* taught their ſcholars in ſome vaults under ground, near a church of the *Dominicans*, where they were much diſturbed with the noiſe of the bells, the count, out of his love to learning, cauſed a large and magnificent ſtructure to be built for the muſes, under the direction of *Fontana*, which, according to *Giannone*, for ſtatelineſs and beauty cannot be paralleled by any univerſity in *Europe*. When the building was near completed, on which he had expended 150,000 ducats, to ſhew his eſteem for the univerſity, in the ſixth year of his government he attended all the members thither, in a grand proceſſion from their old lodgings, and heard the oration pronounced upon that ſolemn occaſion. He likewiſe compoſed a body of academical laws for the maſters and ſtudents of the univerſity; and by the encouragements he gave to men of learning, raiſed a ſpirit of emulation among the *Neapolitan* nobility, who began to revive the inſtitution of academies, at ſome of which, particularly that of the *Otioſi*, the count himſelf recited a comedy of his own compoſing. The count adorned the city of *Naples* with other buildings beſides the univerſity, and cauſed ſeveral public works to be erected in different parts of the kingdom; but hearing that the duke of *Oſſuna* was appointed his ſucceſſor, he left the adminiſtration to his brother *Franceſco* till the duke's arrival, and on the 8th of *July* embarked for *Spain*, in order to take upon him the charge of preſident of the ſupreme council of *Italy*.

*Encourages learning.*

*He is ſucceeded by the duke of* Oſſuna.

DON *Pedro Giron*, duke of *Oſſuna*, ſoon after the departure of the count of *Lemos*, arrived at *Naples* from *Sicily*, where he had been for ſome time governor. To gain the affections of the people, he was very magnificent and liberal. He eaſed them of two taxes, and, nevertheleſs, obtained from them a donative of 1,200,000 ducats, which were ſent to *Spain* to ſupply the neceſſities of that crown. Mean time a war breaking out betwixt the king of *Spain* and the duke of *Savoy*, who had invaded *Montferrat*, and was aſſiſted by the *Venetians*, the viceroy, who had no affection for the republic, ſent a body of troops to the aſſiſtance of the governor of *Milan* againſt the duke, and fitted out a fleet to act againſt the *Venetians*, in the *Adriatic* gulph. He did not openly declare war againſt the *Venetians*, but ſent the fleet into the gulph, under pretence of aſſiſting *Ferdinand* archduke of *Auſtria*, who was then at war with the republic, having eſpouſed the quarrel of the *Uſcocks*, a barbarous people of *Croatia*, his ſubjects, who had made incurſions into the *Venetian* territories. The *Venetians*

*He infeſts the trade of the* Venetians *in the* Adriatic.

[h] GIANNONE, ut ſupra.

complained againſt the hoſtilities of the duke at the court of *Spain*, who ſent an order to the viceroy not to infeſt the republic. The duke, however, in open contempt of this command, continued to ſend ſmall ſquadrons into the *Adriatic*, which ſeized ſeveral veſſels belonging to the republic, and threatened to attack their territories. The *Venetians*, ſuſpecting that the viceroy's proceedings were connived at by the court of *Spain*, fitted out a fleet in their own defence; at the ſame time negociating a peace with the archduke *Ferdinand*, and endeavouring to reconcile the *Spaniards* and the duke of *Savoy*. A treaty for the peace of *Italy* was accordingly concluded the following *February*, which greatly offended *Oſſuna*, *Toledo*, the governor of *Milan*, and the marquis of *Bedmar*, the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador at *Venice*. *Oſſuna* ſtill continued to infeſt the territories of the republic, and diſturb their trade, being countenanced and aſſiſted by *Toledo* and *Bedmar*, who a few months after were diſcovered to have hatched a moſt formidable conſpiracy againſt the republic. The duke, notwithſtanding the repeated complaints againſt him, both by the republic and the *Neapolitans*, who ſuffered in their trade by the reprizals of the *Venetians*, yet, by his relations and friends at the court of *Madrid*, ſtill found means of juſtifying his conduct. He denied his having had any correſpondence with the conſpirators in *Venice*, and even continued in his own name to infeſt the trade of the republic, furniſhing his veſſels with artillery by diſgarniſhing the principal forts of the kingdom.

*His ambitious deſigns.* A. D. 1619.

THE *Neapolitans* ſtill renewing their complaints, and accuſing the duke of oppreſſing the kingdom, of living in a debauched and ſcandalous manner, and of privately encouraging the people in licentiouſneſs, the court of *Spain* at length reſolved to recal him. Notwithſtanding the duke's utmoſt endeavours, his partizans were not able to ſupport him any longer, as many of the *Neapolitan* nobility had arrived at *Madrid*, to ſollicit his removal, and a report prevailed, which was afterwards confirmed, that the duke had formed a deſign of disjoining *Naples* from *Spain*, and ſeizing the kingdom for himſelf [1]. He had for ſome time protected the people, without diſtinction, againſt the barons, and promiſed to redreſs their grievances, and aboliſh the taxes. He had foreign troops in his pay, and ſhips of force at his command; and according to *Nani*, by ſecret methods, he ſounded the duke of *Savoy* and the *Venetians*, in hopes that they would ſupport him in his enterprize. The *Spaniſh* court having intelligence of theſe ſecret deſigns, immediately ordered cardinal *Borgia*, then at *Rome*, to proceed to *Naples*, to turn out the duke, and aſſume the government of the kingdom. *Oſſuna* uſed his utmoſt endeavours to delay the journey of the cardinal; but not ſucceeding, he attempted to raiſe a commotion in the city, by means of one of his creatures, *Genuino*, an elect of the people, who harangued the mob, and exaggerating the benefits they had received from the viceroy, aſſured them, that after his departure they would be treated more harſhly by the *Spaniards*. The cardinal, who had arrived at the iſland of *Procida*, to baffle theſe deſigns privately landed at *Pozzulo*, and in the night-time entered *Caſtel Nuovo*, proclaiming his arrival next morning by a general diſcharge of the cannon of the caſtle.

*He returns to* Spain *and juſtifies his conduct.* A. D. 1620.

*OSSUNA* wrote to the king, complaining of the cardinal for affronting him, by entering the city by ſtealth; but added, that he ſacrificed his private injuries to the ſervice of the crown, and was coming to juſtify himſelf before his majeſty in the face of the court. On the 14th of *June* he embarked for *Spain*; but to give time for the king's paſſion to abate, he proceeded very ſlowly on his voyage, and after two months arrived at *Marſeilles*, where he trifled away his time in balls and feaſts. Arriving at length at *Madrid*, by means of his friends and relations he made his peace with the king, and ſo artfully cleared himſelf and aggravated the behaviour of the cardinal, that he had the aſſurance to deſire to be reſtored to the government of *Naples*. The council of ſtate, then awed by the capricious favourites, debated the matter, and would have even granted his deſire, if the *Neapolitan* ambaſſador had not made a vigorous oppoſition (B). The duke's intereſt, however, ſo far prevailed, that the cardinal, in the month of *November*, was removed, and cardinal *Antonio Zapatta*, then in *Rome*, was ordered to proceed to *Naples* as lieutenant of the kingdom.

*Cardinal* Borgia *ſucceeds him as viceroy.*

*BORGIA*, during his ſhort government of five months, puniſhed thoſe *Neapolitans* that had been guilty of the riot, and declared *Genuino* a rebel. He again impoſed the taxes

Idem ibid. NANI Iſtor. Venet. l. iv.

(B) *Philip* III. dying a few months after his ſucceſſor *Philip* IV. appointed the count of *Olivares* his prime miniſter, who being no well-wiſher to *Oſſuna*, ordered the crime laid to his charge to be judicially examined. The duke being found guilty, was impriſoned in the caſtle of *Almeda*, where he languiſhed for four years, and died on the 24th of *September* 1624. He was ſo given to ſenſual pleaſures, and had ſuch an immoderate ambition to command, that all his fine natural endowments were thereby eclipſed.

that

a that had been taken off by the duke, and made other regulations that are publiſhed in three pragmatics.

DON *Antonio Zapatta* aſſumed the goverment of *Naples* on the 12th of *December*, and ſoon acquired the applauſe of the people by his care in reforming the tribunals, and obliging the judges to a conſtant attendance. Being of an eaſy acceſs, he readily gave audience to all perſons, and was very careful to cauſe the city to be ſupplied with abundance of all proviſions. The city, however, notwithſtanding his endeavours, was ſoon afflicted with a dearth, as corn was very ſcarce through the whole kingdom, on account of two or three ſucceſſive bad crops, and could not be tranſported by land to *Naples*, the roads being rendered impaſſable by four months continued rains. The tempeſtuous weather at ſea, and
b the *Turkiſh* cruizers, prevented any ſupplies arriving by ſhipping; ſo that the city in a few months was reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs, which provoked the populace to mutiny, and to threaten a general inſurrection. One of the councellors, in order to pacify the mob, perſuaded the cardinal to go through the city to comfort the people; but he no ſooner appeared than he was inſulted by the populace, who, notwithſtanding his *German* guards, threw a ſhower of ſtones at his coach, and obliged him to take ſhelter in the archbiſhop's palace, till many of the nobility ran to his aſſiſtance, and conducted him back in ſafety to his palace.

*Cardinal Zapatta appointed lieutenant of the kingdom.* A. D. 1621.

*His unhappy government.*

THESE diſorders were increaſed by ſtopping the currency of the coin called *Zannette*, which, by the covetouſneſs of the money-clippers, was now reduced to one fourth of the
c juſt value. As this money was refuſed in all payments, the viceroy cauſed it to be cried down; but at the ſame time, not being able, on account of the ſcarcity of ſilver, to coin a new ſpecies of money as he propoſed, the nation was filled with commotions, and the *Neapolitans* again inſulted him; and one of the mob threw a loaf of bread into his coach, deſiring them to ſee what kind of bread he made them eat. The cardinal neglecting to puniſh the rioters, the mob ſoon after again ſurrounded his coach, calling out *Victuals, victuals, my lord*; and not receiving a ſatisfactory anſwer, aſſaulted him with ſtones; ſo that he was obliged to gallop back to the palace. The viceroy, finding the bad effects of his lenity, reſolved at length to puniſh the ſeditious, and ordered ten of the moſt guilty to be broke upon the wheel, and ſixteen others to be ſent to the gallies, which ſeverity effectually
d quelled the tumults. The court of *Spain* being informed of the tumults in *Naples*, which were thought in ſome meaſure owing to the cardinal's eaſy and indulgent temper, he was recalled in the ſecond year of his government, and on the 14th of *December* the duke of *Alva* arrived at *Naples* as his ſucceſſor.

*He is recalled.* A. D. 1622.

D. *ANTONIO Alvarez de Toledo*, duke of *Alva*, in the beginning of his government, applied himſelf to redreſs the grievances occaſioned by the ſtoppage of the currency of the *Zannette*, whereby ſome banks in the city, and many private citizens, had been ruined. He formed a board of miniſters for reſtoring plenty and commerce in the kingdom, and by their advice laid a new tax upon all wine ſold in the city in hogſheads or butts, which was farmed out at 90,000 ducats yearly. This revenue was aſſigned to the creditors of
e the banks as a third part of their credit, and another third was paid them in new coined money. The intereſt of money likewiſe being lowered, there was a little reſpite from troubles, and commerce began to revive. However, the exhauſted condition of *Spain*, and the ambition, profuſeneſs, and bad œconomy of the miniſters of that kingdom, rendered the following years of the duke's government full of troubles. On account of a diſpute about the *Valteline* betwixt *Spain* and *France*, and of a war betwixt the *Genoeſe* and the duke of *Savoy*, the duke was obliged to ſend out of the kingdom ſupplies both of men and money: ſo that to raiſe men he was forced to grant a pardon to all outlaws and banditti who would inliſt in the ſervice; and to furniſh ſubſidies, he impoſed a tax of two carlini upon each family, and of five ſhillings in the pound upon the eſtates of foreigners, beſides
f appropriating the revenue aſſigned for the payment of the king's creditors. The duke likewiſe, being obliged not only to ſupport the wars in *Italy*, but alſo to ſend men and money to *Flanders*, obtained a donative from the city of *Naples* of 150,000 ducats. The kingdom, at the ſame time, was again afflicted with a dearth, and threatened with the plague, which raged in *Sicily*. The coaſts were alſo infeſted by the *Turks*, who ſeized ſeveral ſhips, and attacked the town of *Sperlonga* near *Gaeta*, and the caſtle of *Abate*, and the tower of *Licaſa*. To complete the nation's misfortunes, in the fourth year of the duke's government a terrible earthquake was felt in *Naples*, and many other parts of the kingdom. A few weeks after, in the month of *April*, another yet more terrible was felt in *Calabria*, which did great damage to *Catanzaro*, *Girifalco*, and other cities. Theſe, however, were only fore-
g runners of one ſtill more violent, which the following year afflicted *Puglia*, where it overthrew many cities, and made ſo great a ſlaughter of the inhabitants, that, there not being room to bury them, to prevent the air from being infected their bodies were burnt.

*The duke of* Alva *arrives as viceroy.*

*The nation oppreſſed to ſupport the* Spaniſh *wars.*

IN

In the midſt of all theſe troubles, the magnanimity and generoſity of the duke appeared upon all the occaſions that offered during his government. He encountered all difficulties with conſtancy and courage, and applied himſelf with unwearied application to the affairs of government. He beautified *Naples* with ſeveral new public edifices, and, for the conveniency of travelling, cauſed ſeveral bridges to be built in different parts of the kingdom. The nation is chiefly indebted to him for cauſing the regent *Carlo Tappia* to draw up a ſtate of the whole revenue, wherein he regulated the ſum each corporation was to ſpend yearly in the public ſervice, which in a great meaſure prevented the managers from embezzling the public money. While the duke was thus governing the kingdom with general applauſe, he received the diſagreeable news that the duke of *Alcala* was appointed his ſucceſſor. That he might put off the time of his arrival as long as poſſible, he neglected to ſend the gallies to *Barcelona*; ſo that *Alcala*, after being obliged to pledge his plate for his ſubſiſtence, was forced to embark on board a *Malteſe* galley, and on the 26th of *July* landed unexpectedly at *Poſilipo*, where he continued for ſome weeks. *Alva*, in the mean time, remitted all the old debts that were owing to the exchequer, and obtained a donative of 1,200,000 ducats from the parliament, which he then diſſolved. Having likewiſe obtained a free gift for himſelf of 75,000 ducats, on the 16th of *Auguſt* he embarked for *Spain*, leaving behind him the character of a juſt, good, and prudent viceroy.

*Alva is recalled.*

A. D. 1629.

NOTWITHSTANDING the wiſe government of *Alva*, the duke of *Alcala* upon his arrival found the kingdom in a moſt wretched ſtate. *Philip* IV. being wholly guided by his favourite the count of *Olivares*, whom he had created a duke, exhauſted *Naples* for ſupporting his wars in *Lombardy*, which, according to *Giannone*, occaſioned more miſchief to the kingdom than if a war had been carried on in the very heart of it. The forces of the nation being employed abroad, the banditti began again to plunder the provinces, and even to attack the walled towns, while the *Turks*, with little or no oppoſition, infeſted the coaſts, and carried off captives and booty. Notwithſtanding the poverty and diſtreſſes of the kingdom, the *Spaniſh* miniſter ſtill made new demands upon the viceroy both of men and money. The duke accordingly ſent ſeveral thouſand men to *Lombardy*; and, to raiſe the money wanted, ſuſpended the payment of the ſums to the king's creditors, and aſked a general voluntary contribution, which was regulated in ſuch a manner, that no perſon was to give above one thouſand ducats, and none leſs than ten; ſo that the nobility, barons, and even the advocates and clerks were obliged to empty their purſes into the viceroy's hands. Theſe reſources not being ſufficient, it was reſolved to ſell the cities and lands belonging to the crown, and to incroach upon the regalia, which increaſed the diſorders of the kingdom. The cities diſpoſed of, accuſtomed to be the kings inmmediate vaſſals, refuſed to ſubmit to the new purchaſers, whoſe dominion they dreaded. The inhabitants of *Amantea* and *Taverna* ſhut their gates againſt their new lords; and having entered an action at law, by refunding the price were continued in the king's domains. The kingdom was ſo impoveriſhed, that the following year the viceroy with the greateſt difficulty could maintain the infanta *Mary* with her retinue for four months, who paſſed through the kingdom on her way to her huſband, *Ferdinand* of *Auſtria*. The viceroy, in the mean time, was obliged to fit out eight gallies to guard the coaſts from the *Turkiſh* incurſions, and to ſend ſome troops againſt the banditti, who infeſted ſeveral parts of the kingdom.

*He is ſucceeded by the duke of* Alcala;

*who alienates the crown-lands to ſupport the* Spaniſh *wars.*

*Great diſtreſs and conſternation in* Naples.

As the nation was ſtruck with a panic on account of another earthquake, and a report that prevailed, that ſeveral profligate wretches were travelling up and down *Italy*, and ſpreading an artificial peſtilence by poiſoning the water in the churches and ſtreets, the duke prohibited all perſons from entering the kingdom without bills of health, and kept a ſtrict guard upon the confines. The plague at this time actually raged in *Lombardy*, and even broke out in the borders of the kingdom, and in *Milan*. Some villains being condemned for poiſoning the waters, the people were ſo diſtracted that every thing went to wreck. The advocates refuſed to undergo the examination appointed by the king, and deſerted the courts, while the judges decided cauſes without any pleading, in favour of that party who gave them the largeſt bribe. The royal juriſdiction was likewiſe trampled upon by the eccleſiaſtics, whoſe incroachments were but weakly oppoſed by the viceroy. The duke of *Alva* in the mean time, having made many complaints againſt *Alcala* at the court of *Spain*, *Olivares* ordered him to come to *Spain* to anſwer to the charges againſt him, giving him hopes, however, of returning to *Naples*. He accordingly, on the 13th of *May*, ſet out for *Spain*, leaving the government to the count of *Monterey*, the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador at *Rome*, who had arrived at *Naples* a few weeks before.

Alcala *is recalled.*

A. D. 1631.

*The count of* Monterey *appointed viceroy.*

D. *EMANUEL de Guzman*, count of *Monterey*, had procured the viceroyalty of *Naples* by his intereſt with *Olivares*, who was doubly related to him, and recalled *Alcala*, not on account of any real mal-adminiſtration, but to make room for his kinſman. The beginning of the count's government was very calamitous, occaſioned by a moſt terrible eruption of

a of *Mount Veſuvius*, which began on the night of the 15th of *December*. The mountain vomited flames, aſhes, and ſtones, with ſo great violence, that many houſes in *Naples* were thrown down, and the whole city was threatened to be buried under the fragments of the eruption. The ſtones were carried to the diſtance of 100 miles, and from one ſide of the mountain an immenſe quantity of burning bitumen iſſued out, which ſeparated into ſeven currents, and run to the ſea, where it continued burning twelve days. From the other ſide of the mountain a torrent of hot water burſt forth, which overflowed many places in the neighbourhood. The ſea likewiſe was driven back, and for ſome time left the ſhips ſtranded upon the ſhore. About two months after the *Neapolitans* were again terrified by a ſecond eruption, which continued for ſeveral days [k].

b To theſe natural calamities were added others ſtill more diſtreſſing for the nation. As the *Spaniards*, notwithſtanding a continued run of bad fortune which attended their arms, nevertheleſs protracted their wars in *Italy* and *Flanders* with a haughty perſeverance, the *Neapolitans* were ſtill oppreſſed to furniſh ſubſidies and recruits, which were alſo demanded on account of the diſturbances in *Catalonia* and *Germany*. The viceroy likewiſe, in the third and fourth years of his government, was obliged to fit out ten large ſhips, and to ſend great numbers of troops to the *Milaneſe*, which was threatened with an invaſion from the *French*. The following year, a rumour prevailing, that the *French* held a private correſpondence with one of the chiefs of the banditti, and intended to invade the kingdom in different places, the viceroy was put to great expence in fortifying *Barletta*, *Tarento*, *Gaeta*, c and other cities; in furniſhing all the maritime places with garriſons; and fitting out thirty ſhips and ten tartans. But finding that the *French* intended only by falſe alarms to prevent him from ſending ſuccours to *Milan*, he immediately haſtened the reinforcements thither, ſending 1000 horſe by land, and ſeven regiments by ſea. During his government, it was found, that no leſs than 8000 horſe and 54,000 foot had been raiſed for foreign wars, and that 3,500,000 crowns had been ſent out of the kingdom in ſubſidies; other great ſums beſides being required for the expences of the kingdom; ſo that the viceroy was obliged to impoſe new taxes upon meal, fleſh, and oil, and frequently to ſeize the revenues of foreigners. The revenues of the city of *Naples* being alſo burthened with a debt of fifteen millions, the *Neapolitans* at length ſent the biſhop of *Volturara* to the court of *Spain* to beg d a redreſs of their grievances; but the preſſing neceſſities of the ſtate rendered his repreſentations ineffectual. Soon after, the count, after he had governed with great prudence ſix years, was recalled to *Spain*, for which kingdom he embarked on the 12th of *November*.

*The* Neapolitans *greatly oppreſſed.*

Monterey *returns to* Spain. A. D. 1637.

*MONTEREY* was ſucceeded in the government by D. *Ramiro Guzman*, duke of *Medina de las Torres*, who had been raiſed from a gentleman to that dignity by *Olivares*, whoſe daughter he had formerly married. Though the daughter of *Olivares* had died without iſſue, yet the miniſter being ſtill fond of promoting the duke, he procured him a ſecond match with a very rich *Neapolitan* heireſs, by promiſing him the office of viceroy. The marriage was accordingly celebrated at *Naples*; but the court of *Spain*, judging it neceſſary that *Monterey* ſhould continue ſomewhat longer in the government, the duke was obliged to e live in the kingom ſeveral months in a private character, to the great diſcontent of the young ducheſs and her relations, who openly complaining againſt *Olivares*, at length obtained the gratification of their deſires. As the court of *Spain*, on account of their ill-managed wars, were ſtill making new demands of ſubſidies from *Naples*, the duke was obliged to impoſe new taxes upon ſilks, ſalt, oil, corn, fleſh, and ſalted proviſions; as alſo upon lime, playing cards, gold and ſilver thread, upon contracts for money, and upon ſtamped paper. It was likewiſe propoſed to lay a ſmall duty upon every inhabitant of the city of *Naples*. This propoſal, however, was dropt; but the merchants were obliged to pay 200,000 ducats, and all the villages about *Naples*, *Nola*, and other cities belonging to the king's domains, that could not buy themſelves off, were ſold to the barons. A donative of a million of ducats f was likewiſe extorted from the baronage of the kingdom in parliament.

*He is ſucceeded by the duke of* Medina;

*who is obliged to impoſe new taxes.*

The nation, at the ſame time, was again afflicted with a moſt terrible earthquake, which, on the 27th of *March*, deſtroyed a great many cities in *Calabria*. *Coſenza*, *Caſtiglione*, *Nicaſtro*, and many other cities, and a great number of villages, were almoſt intirely reduced to ruins, and above 10,000 people were killed. The general conſternation and diſtreſs were greatly augmented by an impoſtor, named *Pietro Paolo Saſſanio*, who publiſhed everywhere that greater earthquakes were ſoon to happen, not only in *Calabria*, but throughout the whole world, as the day of judgment was near at hand; that the ſea was to break its banks, and overflow the fields and cities; that the heavens were to rain down hailſtones of five pounds weight each; and that the mountains were to vomit out flames. Many of the g *Calabrians*, terrified by theſe diſmal predictions, and believing their province more expoſed

*A terrible earthquake in* Calabria. A. D. 1638.

[k] Giannone. Spond. Annal.

than other places, deſerted their native country, which the viceroy being informed of, he immediately apprehended *Saſſanio*, and condemned him to the gallies. a

*The* French *threaten to invade* Naples. A. D. 1640.

THE *Turks*, in the mean time, renewed their uſual depredations with a fleet of ſixteen gallies; and after doing a great deal of damage to the coaſts, ſailed up the *Adriatic* with the intention of attacking *Loretto*, but were prevented by the *Venetians* [1]. The *French* likewiſe, who now began to counterbalance the power of the *Spaniards* in *Italy*, had entered into a correſpondence with ſome malcontents, and formed a deſign of ſurprizing the city of *Naples*. The conſpiracy, however, being diſcovered, one of the nobles who had concerted the ſcheme with the *French*, was ſeized at *Rome*; and, being brought to *Naples*, was beheaded in the market place. Though the conſpiracy had failed, yet the *French*, in hopes of being joined by the diſaffected, the following year arrived with a fleet of thirty-four men of war off *Gaeta*. Being repulſed by the cannon of the caſtle, they proceeded to the gulph of *Naples*, and made ſeveral attempts to land; but by the precautions of the viceroy, and the vigilance of the inhabitants, their endeavours were fruſtrated; eſpecially as their motions were watched by eighteen gallies under the command of D. *Melchior de Borgia*. b

Catalonia *and* Portugal *throw off the* Spaniſh *yoke.*

THE *French* were more ſucceſsful in *Catalonia*, where, by their emiſſaries, they provoked the people, who were moſt grievouſly oppreſſed by *Olivares*, to revolt from the *Spaniſh* government, to kill the viceroy, and to ſeize the places of ſtrength throughout the province. While the *Spaniſh* court were alarmed with this formidable inſurrection, and making preparations to reduce *Catalonia*, news arrived at *Madrid* that the *Portugueſe* had likewiſe revolted, and declared the duke of *Braganza* king, by the name of *John* IV. The revolution in *Portugal* was ſo general, and ſo quickly eſtabliſhed on a regular plan, that *Olivares* diſpaired of reuniting that kingdom to *Spain*, but bent his chief efforts againſt the *Catalans*, who, having put themſelves under the protection of the *French*, maintained a long war againſt the *Caſtilians*. On account of this war freſh troops were raiſed in *Naples*, new ſhips were fitted out, and a donative extorted by the viceroy, who was therefore obliged to oppreſs the ſubjects and corporations with new taxes and impoſitions. c

TROOPS likewiſe were ſtill demanded for the *Milaneſe*; and a war having broke out betwixt *Urban* VIII. and the duke of *Parma*, about the duchy of *Caſtro*, the pope made a demand from the viceroy of 900 horſe ſtipulated in the bull of inveſtiture. The duke alleging that the war did not concern the church, but the pope's own family, refuſed the requeſt of *Urban*; but was obliged, nevertheleſs, at the expence of the kingdom, to garriſon ſome places which were held by the *Spaniards* in *Tuſcany*. At the ſame time, the commerce of the kingdom being greatly interrupted by the banditti, and the regular troops not being ſufficient for ſuppreſſing them, the duke ſent the prince of *Torello* into *Campania*, with the title of lieutenant-general, to curb their inſolence. During theſe tranſactions, *Olivares* being diſgraced at the court of *Spain*, and the adminiſtration of the government committed to his enemy and nephew D. *Lewis de Haro*, the new miniſter, to gratify the admiral of *Caſtile*, who was then viceroy of *Sicily*, and might have pretenſions to become his rival at home, appointed him ſucceſſor to *Medina*. The admiral accordingly arriving at *Naples* on the 6th of *May*, *Medina* retired to his country-houſe at *Portici*, till the gallies were fitted out for carrying him to *Spain*. He held the government about ſix years and a half, during which time he adorned the city and kingdom with ſeveral public works, left about fifty moſt excellent laws, and erected two new tribunals in the provinces of the further *Abruzzo* and *Baſilicata*. d e

Medina *is recalled to* Spain.

A. D. 1644.

*The admiral of* Caſtile *appointed viceroy.*

D. *JUAN Alphonſo Enriquez*, admiral of *Caſtile*, like his predeceſſors, was immediately perplexed by the demands of the court of *Spain* for ſupplies of men and money. He was not only obliged to ſend troops to *Catalonia*, but likewiſe to *Malta*, which iſland was threatened with an invaſion from the *Turks*, who this year appeared in ſight of *Otranto* with a fleet of forty-ſix gallies, pillaged *Rocca Imperiale*, and carried off 200 captives. The admiral was alſo forced to demand a donative of a million, and, as the only means of raiſing the money, laid a tax upon all the rented houſes of the city of *Naples*. The collection of this tax occaſioning great diſturbances, which threatened a general inſurrection, the viceroy wiſely ordered the collectors to deſiſt, on which account he was ſeverely reprimanded by the court of *Spain*, who, blaming his timidity, commanded him without delay to raiſe the tax. The admiral, however, knowing the diſpoſition of the kingdom, with great prudence continued firm in his reſolution of ſuſpending the collection; declaring, that he intended to ſerve, and not to betray, his king; and wrote to *Madrid*, begging to be removed from the government, that he might not be obliged to carry matters to extremities. As he renewed his requeſt with great earneſtneſs, the *Spaniſh* miniſtry appointed the duke of *Arcos*, a bold and reſolute man, as his ſucceſſor; and ordered him to proceed to *Rome* to do homage, in the king's name, to the new pope *Innocent* X. The admiral accordingly, about the middle of *April*, f g

*He is removed at his own requeſt;*

[1] NANI Hiſt. Venet. l. ii.

left

a left *Naples*, before he had quite finiſhed the two years of his government, during which he had made many prudent regulations; and, returning by *Rome* to *Spain*, died the year following. A. D. 1646.

DON *Rodrigo Ponce de Leon*, duke of *Arcos*, made his entry into *Naples*, and aſſumed the government of the kingdom, a few weeks before the departure of the admiral. According to a modern author, he was of a rapacious diſpoſition; and, though poſſeſſed of an immenſe eſtate in *Spain*, had accepted of the government of *Naples* chiefly with the view of enlarging his fortune. Being filled with a preſumptuous opinion of the grandeur of the *Spaniſh* monarchy, he diſcovered a ſovereign contempt for the *Neapolitans*; and fomented the diviſion between the nobles and the people, in hopes of governing both with greater eaſe [m]. At his b firſt arrival, he declined oppoſing any new taxes; but, being obliged to raiſe money, he appointed two boards to extract the arrears of the donatives that had been granted to the king. As the *French*, under pretence of aſſiſting the nephews of the late pope againſt *Innocent*, threatened to invade *Tuſcany* with a powerful fleet, and ſoon after actually appeared on the coaſt with ten gallies, thirty-five men of war, and ſeventy tranſports, on board of which were 6000 foot and 600 horſe, the viceroy was obliged to ſend ſeveral reinforcements to the *Spaniſh* garriſons in that part of *Italy*; ſome of which, nevertheleſs, were forced to ſurrender to the *French*, who, though they were defeated by the *Spaniards* at ſea, yet in the end of the year made themſelves maſters of the important harbour of *Portolongone*. *and ſucceeded by the duke of* Arcos.

THESE new acquiſitions of the *French* alarmed the viceroy, who immediately gave out c commiſſions for raiſing 12,000 men, 5000 of whom to be *Germans*, ordered the moſt wealthy citizens of *Gaeta* to fortify their city at their own expences, and ſummoned the militia of the kingdom to come to *Naples*, who refuſed to comply with his command. The *French*, in the mean time, having fitted out five men of war and two ſmall fireſhips at *Portolongone* and *Piombino*, on the 1ſt of *April*, appeared in the gulph of *Naples*, and took ſeveral ſhips in ſight of the city. But the *Neapolitans*, embarking on board thirteen men of war and twelve gallies then in the harbour, quickly drove them from the coaſts. A few weeks after, however, the city was greatly alarmed by the accidental or malicious burning of the *Spaniſh* admiral's ſhip in the night-time, by which 300,000 ducats, which were going to *Spain*, were loſt, and 400 ſoldiers periſhed. The viceroy, ſuſpecting that the loſs of the ſhip was owing d to the duke of *Matalone*, who was known to have an averſion for the *Spaniards*, ordered him to be impriſoned in *Caſtel Nuovo*. The duke was one of the moſt powerful nobles in the kingdom, being in poſſeſſion of ten duchies, ſix principalities, and a great number of large fiefs. He was beloved by the people on account of his known averſion to the *Spaniards*, and was of a haughty diſpoſition and enterprizing ſpirit; therefore the viceroy thought by impriſoning him he would prevent any tumults which the diſpoſition of the people ſeemed to threaten. *The kingdom diſtreſſed to oppoſe the* French *in* Italy. A. D 1647.

THE duke, in the beginning of his government, had obtained from the parliament a donative of a million; but, in order to make it ready money, he impoſed a duty upon fruit, which he aſſigned to ſome merchants who advanced the ſum. This duty the common peo- e ple looked upon as the hardeſt oppreſſion, the chief part of their ſubſiſtence, during the hot ſummer months, being fruit, which in the kingdom of *Naples* is very plentiful and delicious. The edict for collecting the new duty was no ſooner publiſhed in the beginning of *January*, than the people began to murmur in a tumultuous manner; and when the viceroy came abroad, ſurrounded his coach, bawling to have their grievances redreſſed. They were encouraged in their ſedition by the news that the citizens of *Palermo*, on account of new duties, had openly revolted. The viceroy therefore, apprehenſive of greater diſorders in *Naples*, deſired the *Seggi* to deliberate about taking off the duty, and impoſing another leſs grievous; but ſuch difficulties occurred, that they could come to no determination; and thoſe who had farmed the duty bribing ſome of the viceroy's favourites, he was fatally per- f ſuaded by them to defer the abolition of the tax. The indignation of the people, who ſuſpected ſuch an intention, greatly increaſed; eſpecially as they were privately excited by ſeveral malcontents, among the chief of whom was *Guilio Genuino* the elect, now in prieſt's orders, and in the 80th year of his age, who, in reſentment for his long ſufferings for his behaviour under the adminiſtration of *Oſſuna*, had been wiſhing for an opportunity of vengeance againſt the *Spaniards*. The farmers of the revenue, and all thoſe concerned in raiſing the taxes, had incurred the hatred and deteſtation of the people, particularly of *Tommaſo Aniello*, commonly called *Maſſaniello*, of *Amalfi*, a fiſherman, whoſe wife, having been diſcovered in ſmuggling a ſmall quantity of meal, was impriſoned, and condemned to pay a fine of 100 ducats. *The* Neapolitans *threaten to mutiny on account of a new duty on fruit.*

g *MASSANIELLO*, a few years before, had come to *Naples* from *Amalfi*, where his father had been a fiſherman. At this time he was about twenty-four years of age, and the father

[m] Hiſt. de la Revolution de Naples de Luſſan, 1757. Mem. du Duc de Guiſe.

of four children. He was of a middling ſtature, and an agreeable aſpect; was diſtinguiſhed a
*They are encouraged by Maſſaniello, a poor fiſherman.* for his boldneſs, activity, and integrity; and had a great influence with his companions, by whom he was beloved and eſteemed. As he was obliged even to ſell his furniture to pay the heavy fine, he had conceived an implacable hatred againſt the farmers of the taxes, and was alſo moved with compaſſion for the miſerable ſtate of the city and kingdom. He therefore formed a deſign, with ſome of his companions, to raiſe a tumult in the market-place on the feſtival day of the *Carmelites*, uſually celebrated about the middle of *July*, when between five and 600 youths entertain the people by a mock-fight; one half of them, in the character of *Turks*, defending a wooden caſtle, which is attacked and ſtormed by the
*who heads the rioters.* other half in the character of Chriſtians. *Maſſaniello* being appointed captain of one of theſe parties, and one *Pione*, who was privy to his deſign, commanding the other, b
for ſeveral weeks before the feſtival they were very diligent in reviewing and training their followers, who were armed with ſticks and reeds: but a ſmall and unforeſeen accident tempted them to begin their enterprize without waiting for the feſtival.

On the 7th of *July* a diſturbance happening in the market-place betwixt the tax-gatherers and ſome gardeners of *Pozzuolo*, who had brought ſome figs into the city, whether the buyer or ſeller ſhould pay the duty, after the tumult had continued ſeveral hours, *Maſſaniello*, who was preſent with his company, excited the mob to pillage the office built in the market for receiving the duty, and to drive away the officers with ſtones. The elect of the people, who, by deciding againſt the gardeners, had increaſed the tumult, run to the palace, and informed the viceroy, who moſt imprudently neglected all means of putting a ſtop c
to the commotion. *Maſſaniello*, in the mean time, being joined by great numbers of people, ordered his young troop to ſet fire to all the offices for the taxes through the city; which command being executed with diſpatch, he then conducted them directly to the palace, where the viceroy, inſtead of ordering his *Spaniſh* and *German* guards to diſperſe them,
*The viceroy ſaves his life by taking ſanctuary in a convent.* encouraged their inſolence by timidly granting their demands. As they ruſhed into the palace in a furious manner, he eſcaped by a private door, and endeavoured to ſave himſelf in *Caſtel del Ovo*; but being overtaken by the rioters in the ſtreets, he was trampled upon by them, and pulled by the hair and whiskers. However, by throwing ſome handfuls of gold among them, he again eſcaped, and took ſanctuary in a convent of *Minims*, where, being joined by the archbiſhop of *Naples*, cardinal *Filomarini*, and ſeveral nobles, by their d
advice he ſigned a billet, by which he aboliſhed all taxes upon proviſions. As a means to quell the tumult, he likewiſe deſired the cardinal to offer *Maſſaniello* a penſion of 2400 crowns, who generouſly rejected the bribe; and declared, that, if the viceroy would keep his word, he would find them obedient ſubjects.

Maſſaniello *becomes abſolute maſter of the whole city,* It was now expected that the tumult would ceaſe; but *Maſſaniello*, upon his return to the market-place, being joined by ſeveral malcontents, among whom were *Genuino*, and one *Peronne*, who had formerly been a captain of the *Sbirri*, he was adviſed by them to order the houſes of all thoſe concerned in raiſing the tax to be burned, which were accordingly in a few days reduced to aſhes, with all their rich furniture [n]. *Maſſaniello* being now abſolute maſter of the whole city, and being joined by great numbers of people of deſperate fortunes, e
he required the viceroy, who had retired to the *Caſtel Nuovo*, to aboliſh all the taxes, and
*ſtrikes a terror into the nobility;* to deliver up the writ of exemption granted by *Charles* V. This new demand greatly embarraſſed the viceroy; but, to appeaſe the people, he drew up a falſe deed in letters of gold, and ſent it to them by their favourite the duke of *Matalone*, whom he now ſet at liberty. The fraud, however, being diſcovered, the duke was pulled from his horſe and maltreated by the mob, and at length committed as a priſoner to *Peronne*. This accident, to the great joy of the viceroy, enraged the people againſt the nobility, ſeveral of whom they killed, burnt the houſes of others, and threatened to extirpate them all. *Maſſaniello*, in the mean time, tattered and half naked, commanded his followers, who were now well armed, and were reckoned about 100,000 men, with a moſt abſolute ſway. He eat and ſlept little, f
gave his orders with great preciſion and judgment, appeared full of moderation, without ambition, and intereſted views. But the duke of *Matalone* having procured his liberty by bribing *Peronne*, the viceroy imitated his example, and ſecretly corrupted *Genuino* to betray his chief. A conſpiracy was accordingly formed againſt *Maſſaniello* by *Matalone* and *Peronne*, the duke, who was equally exaſperated againſt the viceroy, propoſing, that after his death his brother D. *Joſeph* ſhould head the rebels.

*MASSANIELLO*, in the mean time, by means of the cardinal archbiſhop, was negotiating a general peace and accommodation; but while both parties were aſſembling in the convent of the *Carmelites*, the banditti hired by *Matalone* made an unſucceſsful attempt upon *Maſſaniello*'s life. His followers immediately killed 150 of them. *Peronne* and D. *Joſeph*, g
being diſcovered to be concerned in the conſpiracy, were likewiſe put to death, and the

[n] Giannone. Mem. du Duc de Guiſe. Hiſt. des Revolutions de Nap. Labard. de reb. Gal.

a duke with great difficulty eſcaped. *Maſſaniello* by this conſpiracy was rendered more ſuſpicious and ſevere. He began to abuſe his power by putting ſeveral perſons to death upon ſlight pretences; and to force the viceroy to an accommodation, he cut off all communication with the caſtles, which were unprovided with proviſion and ammunition. The viceroy likewiſe, being afraid leſt the *French* ſhould take advantage of the commotion, earneſtly deſired to agree to a treaty, which was accordingly concluded, on the fifth day of the inſurrection, by the mediation of the archbiſhop. By the treaty, it was ſtipulated, that all duties, impoſed ſince the time of *Charles* V. ſhould be aboliſhed; and that the writ of exemption granted by that emperor ſhould be delivered to the people; that, for the future, no new taxes ſhould be impoſed; that the vote of the elect of the people ſhould be equal to the b votes of the nobility; that an act of oblivion ſhould be granted for all that was paſt; and that the people ſhould continue in arms under *Maſſaniello*, till the ratification of the treaty by the king °.

*and compels the viceroy to agree to a diſhonourable treaty.*

By this treaty no leſs than 10,000 perſons, who fattened upon the blood of the public, were ruined. The people, when it was ſolemnly publiſhed, manifeſted an extreme joy, believing they had now recovered all their antient rights and privileges. *Maſſaniello*, at the deſire of the viceroy, went to the palace to viſit him, accompanied by the archbiſhop, who was obliged to threaten him with excommunication, before he would conſent to lay aſide his rags, and aſſume a magnificent dreſs. He was received by the duke with the greateſt demonſtrations of reſpect and friendſhip, while the ducheſs entertained his wife, and preſented c her with a robe of cloth of ſilver, and ſome jewels. The viceroy, to preſerve ſome ſhadow of authority, appointed him captain-general, and at his departure made him a preſent of a golden chain of great value, which with great difficulty he was prevailed upon to accept; but yielded at length to the intreaties of the cardinal. Next day, in conſequence of the commiſſion granted him by the viceroy, he began to exerciſe all the functions of ſovereign authority; and having cauſed a ſcaffold to be erected in one of the ſtreets, and ſeveral gibbets, he judged all crimes, whether civil or military, in the laſt reſort, and ordered the guilty to be immediately put to death, which was the puniſhment he aſſigned to all offences. Though he neglected all forms of law, and even frequently judged by phyſiognomy, yet he is ſaid not to have overlooked any criminal, or puniſhed any innocent perſon.

Maſſaniello *ſtill retains his abſolute authority.*

*His rigid juſtice.*

d His grandeur and proſperity was of very ſhort continuance: for his mind becoming diſtracted and delirious for two or three days, he committed a great many mad and extravagant actions, and on the 18th of *July* was aſſaſſinated with the conſent of the viceroy. Some attribute his madneſs to the ſudden change of his fortune, and his exceſſive joy for reſtoring the liberty of his country; others to the want of reſt, and too much wine; and ſome allege, that it was the effect of poiſon, ſecretly adminiſtered to him by the *Spaniards*. As the populace carried his head upon a pole, and treated his body with the greateſt indignity, the viceroy expected that peace and tranquillity would be immediately reſtored; but the people being ſtill in arms under ſeveral chiefs, who commanded in different quarters, and were jealous of each other, he had no authority in the city, where anarchy immediately e prevailed. The weight of bread being imprudently leſſened, the people a few days after began to regret the death of *Maſſaniello*; and having taken his body from the common ſewer, and joined the head to it, they carried the corpſe in proceſſion through all the quarters of the city, and buried it with ſolemn and royal funeral ceremonies P. The populace then continued for three or four weeks in quiet ſuſpence, waiting for the orders from *Spain*; but one of thoſe who had his houſe burned claiming to be indemnified for his loſſes, and the viceroy refuſing to deliver up *Genuino*, who had encouraged him, and had fled to the caſtle, the people again ran to arms with greater fury than before, and immediately ſeized ſeveral poſts, commanding the harbour and ſtraitening the caſtles. They continued their hoſtilities for two days with great vigour, and on the 23d of *Auguſt* choſe for their chief the prince f of *Maſſa*, one of the moſt wealthy nobles of the kingdom, who had acquired a great reputation in the war of *Catalonia*. He accepted of the command with great regret, and immediately entered into a ſecret correſpondence with the viceroy, whom, at the ſame time, he was beſieging in *Caſtel Nuovo*.

*He is aſſaſſinated.*

*The commotion ſtill continues.*

During theſe tranſactions in *Naples*, the *Spaniards* had been expelled from *Salerno*, *Cava*, *Sanſeverino*, and ſeveral other cities, by the people, who, upon the news of the inſurrection of *Meſſaniello*, had taken arms in all the provinces of the kingdom, and revenged themſelves upon the *Spaniards* and the nobility, who had long governed them with a rod of iron. This general inſurrection being the ſubject of diſcourſe at *Rome*, the duke of *Guiſe*, who happened at this time to be at the pope's court, was encouraged by *Innocent* to offer his ſervice to g the *Neapolitans* againſt the *Spaniards*. The duke was prompted by his ambition to engage

*A general inſurrection in the provinces.*

° Vide auct. ſup. citat. Hiſt. de la Revolut. de Naples, par Lussan. le Comte de Modene, t. i. P Giannone. Hiſt. par Luſſan. Degli Hiſt. des Rois des Deux Siciles, an. 1647.

in the enterprize, eſpicially as he had ſome diſtant pretenſions to the crown. He accordingly ſent two *Italians* to *Naples*, deſiring the *Neapolitans* to form themſelves into a republic, and offering himſelf as their chief. The viceroy, who dreaded his arrival, eſpecially as he ſaw the whole kingdom in arms, and was informed that the *French* were fitting out a formidable fleet at *Toulon*, by the mediation of the archbiſhop, on the 7th of *September*, concluded another accommodation, more diſgraceful than the former. The people, now weary of commotion, reſumed their former occuparions with great eagerneſs, treated the *Spaniards* with kindneſs, and even deſtroyed all their works and retrenchm nts they had formed againſt the caſtles, being credulous enough to believe that the king would ratify a treaty that entirely deprived him of the ſovereignty of the kingdom. a

*The viceroy condeſcends to a more diſgraceful treaty.*

ABOUT three weeks after, the *Spaniſh* fleet at length arrived in the bay of *Naples*, conſiſting of forty ſhips of war, twenty-two gallies, and ſome other veſſels, under the command of the king's natural ſon Don *John* of *Auſtria*, a youth of eighteen years of age, extremely handſome, of a courteous behaviour, and ripe judgment. The fleet was but ill provided with ammunition, and had but 4000, or, according to ſome, 5000 troops on board; yet it was looked upon by the *Spaniards* as the bulwark of their monarchy, being deſigned as a bridle upon the two wavering kingdoms, and to recover *Portolongone* and *Piombino* from the *French*. The prince accordingly had character of vicar-general in *Italy* [q]. The prince was inclined to uſe clemency; but the viceroy, thinking his revenge would be thereby fruſtrated, fatally perſuaded him to inſiſt that the people ſhould lay down their arms before his entry into *Naples*, hoping by this means to give ſome foundation for renewing hoſtilities, when he would be able to reduce the revolters by force. The duke likewiſe employed his emiſſaries in *Naples* to perſuade the people that D. *John* wanted to ſurprize them, and had a deſign to deſtroy their city. The people accordingly inſiſting to capitulate upon even terms, by the advice of the viceroy it was agreed that 3000 troops ſhould be landed from the fleet, which with thoſe in the town and caſtles, would make a body of 11,000 men; and that a general aſſault ſhould be given to the city in different quarters, which at the ſame time ſhould be cannonaded from the caſtles and fleet. Next day, being the 5th of *October*, this perfidious reſolution was executed in a cruel manner, the *Spaniards* attacking the poſts of the revolters with great fury, and putting to death the men, women, and children, without diſtinction, while the artillery thundered from the ſhips and caſtles, and ſet fire to the city in ſeveral places. The people recovering from their firſt conſternation, were animated with rage, and in their turn attacked the *Spaniards*, whom they repulſed with great loſs. b c d

D John *of* Auſtria *arrives with a fleet at* Naples.

*He is perſuaded by the viceroy to uſe force.*

D. *JOHN* and the viceroy were confounded with the bad ſucceſs of their enterprize; but deſpairing now of any accommodation, next day they renewed the attack. Hoſtilities were continued ſeveral days with little interruption; but nothing ſucceeded with the viceroy; and the people becoming more exaſperated, openly revolted from the *Spaniards*; ordering, that none, under pain of death, ſhould propoſe an accommodation with them. They rejected with diſdain the offer of a truce made them by the prince and the viceroy; and publiſhed a manifeſto, recapitulating all their grievances, and requeſting the aſſiſtance of all Chriſtian princes. A few weeks after they cruelly put the prince of *Maſſa*, their general, to death, pretending to diſcover his private intelligence with the viceroy. The prince had from the beginning been ſecretly in the intereſt of the *Spaniards*, and hoped, by retarding and fruſtrating the military operations, to prevail with the people to return to their obedience; but his deſigns having been for ſome time ſuſpected by the chiefs of the revolters, they ordered his head to be ſtruck off, without, however, having any proofs of his intentions [r]. e

*The people renounce their allegiance to* Spain.

UPON the death of *Maſſa*, the chief command was conferred on *Januarius Anneſe*, a gunſmith, who was very inſtrumental in procuring the death of his predeceſſor. He was a man full of artifice and deceit, brutal and covetous; and, having diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his activity in the beginning of the revolt, and his hatred to the *Spaniards*, had obtained the command of one of the chief poſts, which, rouſing his ambition, made him ſtill more vigilant in the common cauſe. He was at firſt very induſtrious in eſtabliſhing himſelf in his new dignity; but being wholly illiterate, and exerciſing his ſovereign power with great confuſion, vanity, and avarice, his government was quickly deteſted. The people, who began to feel the want of proviſions, openly murmured; and, having formed themſelves into a republic, ſent a deputation to the duke of *Guiſe* at *Rome*, offering him the ſame authority and rank among them that the prince of *Orange* enjoyed in *Holland*. The duke accordingly, after having ſurmounted many difficulties, arrived at *Naples* on the 15th of *November*, in a ſmall felucca, which held only about ſix perſons, and having been obliged to ſeparate from thirteen other feluccas, to avoid the *Spaniards*, who purſued him. Upon his arrival, the *Neapolitans* expreſſed a moſt extravagant joy; and two days after the ſupreme f g

*Appoint* Anneſe, *a gunſmith, as their chief.*

*The duke of* Guiſe *arrives at* Naples, *and is declared chief.*

[q] Vide auct. ſup. cit. Repub. de Naples.

[r] Vide auct. ſup. citat. Mem. de Guiſe. MISSON Voyage d'Italie. LOREDAN.

a command was conferred upon him, with great ſolemnity, in the cathedral church, where he took the oath of fidelity to the people, and received a bleſſed ſword from the archbiſhop.

THE duke was not a week in *Naples* before he found himſelf greatly embarraſſed. He obſerved, that the greateſt part of the citizens of any credit continued neutral, or rather privately favoured the *Spaniards*; and that there were not above 5000 troops regimented, though many thouſands occaſionally took arms; he himſelf had no money; his colliegue *Anneſe* was in ſome meaſure his rival, and privately thwarted his deſigns, and he found it impracticable to reconcile the people and the nobility, which laſt he was very earneſt to render his friends, being ſenſible that it was otherwiſe impoſſible for him to ſucceed in his ambi-
b tious views [s]. The duke, however, having prevailed on *Anneſe* to grant him 100,000 crowns, raiſed about 1000 more troops, and commenced hoſtilities againſt the *Spaniards*, but with ſmall ſucceſs. As the city was greatly diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, he was obliged, about the middle of *December*, to march out with 4000 foot and 600 hundred horſe, to open the communication with the country. He took the route of *Averſa*, where there was a body of 6000 nobles, who had aſſembled in their own defence, but had refuſed to co-operate with the *Spaniards*. He was in hopes of perſuading the nobles to declare for him; but having a conference with the duke of *Andria*, he ſoon found that his expectations were without foundation.

MEAN while the *French* fleet, conſiſting of 29 ill-provided men of war and five fire-ſhips,
c arriving in the bay of *Naples*, the duke was flattered with the proſpect of powerful ſuccours. He however, ſuffered a moſt mortifying diſappointment; for *Mazarine*, jealous of the ſucceſs of his enterprize, addreſſed his diſpatches to *Anneſe*, as chief of the republic; and the fleet, inſtead of immediately attacking that of the *Spaniards*, while the half of their crew were on ſhore, lay inactive within cannon-ſhot of the enemy, and, after landing a ſmall quantity of powder and two pieces of artillery, continued about three weeks on the coaſt, and then returned to *Toulon*, having only taken a few merchant ſhips, and had ſome ſmall skirmiſhes with the enemy. The principal advantage the duke gained by their arrival was a confirmation of the chief command of the republic for ſeven years, *Anneſe* having been forced to reſign his ſhare in the ſupreme authority, in conſideration of a yearly reve-
d nue of 50,000 crowns, and a land eſtate, with the title of duchy or principality, upon the concluſion of the war. The week following the baron of *Modena*, who commanded the army againſt the nobles, by a ſtratagem prevailed upon them to evacuate *Averſa*, which city he immediately took poſſeſſion of, to the great joy of the *Neapolitans*, who received from thence a conſiderable ſupply of corn. Their hopes were likewiſe flattered with the news that the army of the nobles was diſperſed, and that in almoſt all the provinces the party of the new republic was ſuperior. Beſides, ſeveral of the nobles began to acknowlege the authority of the duke, who recovered ſome important poſts from the *Spaniards*, and had even procured ſome ſpies in the collateral council of the regency. Two of the *Spaniſh* gallies likewiſe declaring for the republic, and news daily arriving of the loſs of the
e *Spaniards* in the provinces, the duke at length eſtabliſhed a magnificent houſhold, ordered the courts of juſtice to be opened, and appointed ſeveral boards for the different branches of the adminiſtration.

*The* French *fleet appears before* Naples.

*Returns without giving aſſiſtance to the duke.*
A. D. 1648.

*The duke extends his conqueſts to the provinces of the kingdom.*

THE *Spaniards* in the mean time ſuffering greatly for want of proviſions, and many of their ſoldiers deſerting, Don *John*, by one of his confidents, offered the duke the ſovereignty of the marquiſate of *Final* and principality of *Salerno*, if he would quit *Naples*, engaging likewiſe to procure for him from the emperor the inveſtiture of the duchies of *Modena* and *Reggio*, and the principalities of *Carpi* and *Correggio*. The duke, however, who fondly expected a crown, rejecting theſe offers, the *Spaniards* endeavoured to renew a treaty for an accommodation, by the mediation of the pope's nuncio; but the *Neapolitans* abſolutely
f refuſing to have any more concerns with the duke of *Arcos*, Don *John* prevailed on the duke to reſign his government. He accordingly left *Naples* on the 26th of *January*, when Don *John* aſſumed the government, and immediately publiſhed an edict, exhorting the people to return to their duty, promiſing them a general indemnity, and many favours. This edict produced little or no effect, which was likewiſe the fate of a manifeſto publiſhed about the ſame time by the nobility, who declared that they were willing to forget all the injuries they had received from the people.

*Don* John *prevails on the duke of* Arcos *to reſign.*

THE duke, in the mean time, being convinced of the enmity of *Anneſe*, who laid ſeveral ſnares for his life, and thwarted all his meaſures, formed a deſign of aſſaſſinating him, which however proved ineffectual. His revenge againſt *Anneſe* being fruſtrated, he called
g in about 6000 men from the country, and on the 11th of *February* made a general attack upon the poſts of the *Spaniards*, but this enterprize likewiſe proved unſucceſsful. Not-

[s] Vide Auct. ut ſupra.

withſtanding

withſtanding the difficulties he had to ſtruggle with, and the weakneſs and diſunion of his party, all *Italy* imagined he was upon the point of being elevated to a throne. The *Venetians*, *Genoeſe*, and the *Roman* princes, ſeemed inclined to court his friendſhip; and the pope, who had an affection for him, and wanted the kingdom of *Naples* to be independent both of *France* and *Spain*, preſſed him to aſſume the title of king of both *Sicilies*, offering him the inveſtiture of the kingdom, and a loan of 300,000 crowns, and aſſuring him, that he would form a league with the other *Italian* ſtates in his defence. The duke readily accepted the offer of the money; but alleged to his holineſs, that the time was not yet proper for aſſuming the title of king [t]. *Anneſe* in the mean time, and ſome other chiefs of the people, continued their deſigns againſt the duke; but failing in one or two attempts, and believing their own lives in danger, as he began to act with great haughtineſs and deſpotiſm, they ſeriouſly entered into a negociation, with Don *John* for a peace. During theſe tranſactions, the count of *Oniate*, the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador at *Rome*, arrived at *Naples*, as ſucceſſor to the duke of *Arcos*, the court of *Spain* having been offended that the collateral council ſhould have arrogated to themſelves the power of removing one viceroy and appointing another, and being jealous leſt Don *John* ſhould ſeize the opportunity of the preſent diſorders to uſurp the ſovereignty of *Naples*.

*The pope offers the inveſtiture of* Naples *to the duke of* Guiſe.

Anneſe *enters into a correſpondence with Don* John.

a

b

DON *Inigo Valez y Taſſis*, count of *Oniate*, entered *Caſtel Nuovo* on the 1ſt of *March*, having brought with from *Rome* a great quantity of proviſions, and 200,000 crowns. His character was very different from that of his predeceſſor, being reputed a man of great prudence and ſtrict honour. He no ſooner entered upon the government, than he viſited all the poſts; and to influence the people to return to their obedience, ordered the monks in *Holy Week* to inſtil into the minds of their penitents the horrid guilt of rebellion againſt their lawful prince. He likewiſe carried on the correſpondence with *Anneſe* and the other chiefs, enemies of the duke, who having concluded a ſolemn treaty with him, promiſed to admit the *Spaniards* into the city. In conſequence of this agreement, he diſpoſed every thing for a general attack, which was accordingly made on *Eaſter Monday*, the 6th of *April*, about midnight, when the duke was abſent at *Poſilipo*, endeavouring to reduce the ſmall iſland of *Niſita*. The *Spaniards*, to the number of 3000, being admitted into the city by the gate of *Alba*, and publiſhing that the duke of *Guiſe* had joined them, quickly made themſelves maſters of all the poſts, with ſcarce any oppoſition. Very little blood was ſpilt, and in a few hours there was not the leaſt appearance of ſedition, the whole city being reduced. The people, recovering from their firſt conſternation, expreſſed the greateſt tranſports of joy, and embraced the *Spaniards* with the ardour of long abſent friends. *Anneſe* having joined the viceroy and Don *John*, they went in proceſſion to the cathedral church, where they rendered their thanks to God by a ſolemn *Te Deum*. The duke of *Guiſe* confounded with the loſs of *Naples*, which blaſted all his ambitious ſchemes, could not abſtain from tears. Having made ſeveral vain attempts to re-enter the city, he fled with a few followers towards *Abruzzo*, where the party of the republic was very powerful; but, being purſued by the *Spaniſh* troops, he was made priſoner, and carried to *Gaeta*. From thence he was conducted to *Spain*, where he continued a priſoner four years, but was at laſt ſet at liberty at the intreaty of the prince of *Condé*, who had joined the *Spaniſh* faction.

*The count* d'Oniate *arrives as viceroy.*

*He ſurpriſes and reduces the city of* Naples.

*The duke of* Guiſe *taken priſoner.*

c

d

e

UPON the news of the reduction of *Naples*, and the impriſonment of the duke of *Guiſe*, all the provinces of the kingdom immediately ſubmitted, excepting *Abruzzo*, where the rebels were aſſiſted by ſome *French*, who had come from *Rome*; but the barons aſſiſting the viceroy, they were ſoon diſſipated. Notwithſtanding the impriſonment of the duke of *Guiſe*, *Mazarine*, ſenſible of his error, in not having given him aſſiſtance, ordered a fleet, which had been for ſome time equipping at *Toulon*, to ſail to *Naples*, in hopes of exciting the people to a ſecond inſurrection in favour of prince *Thomas* of *Savoy*, whom he intended as a huſband for one of his nieces. The *French* fleet under the command of prince *Thomas*, accordingly appeared on the *Neapolitan* coaſt; but the prince being quickly convinced that his enterprize was impracticable, returned ſoon after to *Provence*. The viceroy having diſcovered, that *Anneſe* had received and concealed a letter, relating to this invaſion of prince *Thomas*, condemned him to death, and cauſed him to be hanged in the middle of the market-place, by which proceeding he believed his authority firmly eſtabliſhed [u]. Tranquility being again reſtored, Don *John* on the twenty-ſecond of *September* left *Naples*, and with the fleet ſailed for *Meſſina*, to confirm the *Sicilians* in their former obedience to the king. Upon his departure, the viceroy publiſhed a general pardon, and applied himſelf to re-eſtabliſh the government, ſuch as it was before the revolution; and as all wiſe people agreed that a general exemption from taxes was impoſſible, the *Seggi* aſſembled and conſented to a tax of forty-two carlini upon each houſe, and to reſtore the half of the duties

*The provinces return to their allegiance.*

*The* French *in vain attempt to raiſe a ſecond commotion.*

f

[t] Auct. ſup. citat. [u] Hiſt. du Card. Mazarin. DEGLI Hiſt. des Rois des deux Siciles. Hiſt. de la Revol. de Naples, par LUSSAN.

that

a that had been taken off, excepting thoſe upon fruit, herbs, and roots, which were never to be again impoſed.

THE count, to fruſtrate as much as poſſible the deſigns of the *French* in raiſing a ſecond revolt, eſtabliſhed a junto, or board of counſellors, to keep a ſtrict eye over all ſuſpected perſons, and began to puniſh with the utmoſt rigour all thoſe who had any principal ſhare in the late commotions. He charged the chief ringleaders frequently with pretended crimes, and on that account put them to death; which alarming many others, for their own ſecurity they fled the kingdom. As the banditti in the late revolution had all declared themſelves zealous republicans, and had been principally concerned in the diſturbances in the provinces, which they fomented more with the deſign of ſeizing the eſtates of the b barons, than from obedience to the duke of *Guiſe*, the viceroy formed a reſolution of ridding the kingdom of ſuch an irregular militia. They principally infeſted the two provinces of *Abruzzo*; but, by the meaſures taken by the viceroy, in a ſhort time they were almoſt entirely extirpated. *The viceroy puniſhes the diſaffected with great rigour.*

ALTHO' the nation was greatly exhauſted, the count likewiſe reſolved to attempt the recovery of the garriſons of *Tuſcany*; and accordingly ſailed thither in perſon, with a formidable fleet, and in the end of *May*, after a deſperate attack, made himſelf maſter of *Piombino*. A few months after, having alſo obliged the *French* garriſon of *Portolongone* to ſurrender, he returned to *Naples*, where continuing his rigour againſt the diſaffected, he began to render himſelf odious to the *Neapolitans*. On this account 'tis alleged, that the court of *Spain* c ſent him a ſucceſſor before he had finiſhed the ſixth year of his government. During his adminiſtration, he was very aſſiduous in re-ſettling the government, and in repairing all the public buildings at *Naples* that had ſuffered any damage in the late commotions. *He recovers the garriſons of* Tuſcany. A. D. 1650. *He is recalled.* A. D. 1653.

DON *Garcia d'Avellino y Haro*, count of *Caſtrillo*, arrived at *Naples*, as ſucceſſor to *Oniate*, on the tenth of *November*. He was of a mild and indulging temper, and to conciliate the affections of the people, immediately upon his aſſuming the government, ordered two ounces to be added to the weight of the bread. As the war ſtill raged more than ever betwixt the two crowns of *Spain* and *France*, the *French* were now fully perſuaded of the importance of making a diverſion in *Naples*; and the *Neapolitan* refugees, who had fled from the rigour of *Oniate*, urging the great eaſe of renewing the diſturbances, orders were given by *Ma*d *zarine* for fitting out a formidable fleet. He was greatly influenced by the ſollicitations of the duke of *Guiſe*, who magnified the affection of the *Neapolitans* for his perſon, and obtained the chief command of the intended expedition. The viceroy being informed of the deſigns of the *French*, uſed his utmoſt diligence to put the kingdom in a ſtate of defence, by levying new troops, reinforcing the garriſons of *Tuſcany*, and by ſtrengthening all the places on the coaſt, moſt expoſed to the inſults of the enemy. By theſe precautions, the raſh ambition of the duke of *Guiſe* was again fruſtrated. The duke appeared on the coaſt on the twelfth of *November*, with a numerous fleet, on board of which were 7000 ſoldiers and 150 horſe, beſides 200 gentlemen, whom he intended as officers for thoſe he expected would join him. After a ſhort reſiſtance, he made himſelf maſter of *Caſtello a Mare*: but e before he could extend his conqueſt, he was entirely ſurrounded by the *Spaniſh* and *Neapolitan* troops, which obliged him to reimbark his forces, and abandon the place, which he held only a few days. The *French*, before they went on board, pillaged the houſes of the inhabitants, and robbed the churches of all their furniture and ſacred veſſels, and loading their ſhips with the booty, ſet ſail for *Toulon* on the tenth of *December*, when a ſquadron of twenty-three *Engliſh* men of war, which had been ſent by *Cromwell* to the aſſiſtance of the *Spaniards*, appeared in the gulf of *Naples*. Though the *French* were thus baffled in their enterprize againſt *Naples*, yet having prevailed on the duke of *Modena* to declare for them, they continued the war in *Lombardy*, and the following year beſieged *Pavia*, which forced the viceroy to fit out a ſquadron of men of war and gallies, and to ſend 7500 foot and f 1500 horſe to the aſſiſtance of the government of *Milan*, who by that reinforcement obliged the duke of *Modena* to raiſe the ſiege. *The count of* Caſtrillo *appointed viceroy.* A. D. 1654. *The duke of* Guiſe *makes a vain attempt to raiſe a ſecond inſurrection.* A. D. 1655.

As *Sardinia* at this time was afflicted with a peſtilence, the count of *Caſtrillo* prohibited, under the ſevereſt penalties, all commerce with that iſland. However, the following year a tranſport, with ſoldiers on board, from the iſland, being admitted into the harbour of *Naples*, and the troops being permitted to come on ſhore, the plague by this inadvertency was introduced into the city, where it raged with the greateſt violence, carrying off in leſs than ſix months 400,000 of the inhabitants. The diſtemper was at firſt called by the phyſicians a malignant fever; but one of them affirming it to be peſtilential, the viceroy, who was apprehenſive leſt ſuch a report would occaſion all g communication with *Naples* to be broke off, was offended with this declaration, and ordered him to be impriſoned. As a favour, however, he allowed him to return and die in his own houſe. By this proceeding of the viceroy, the diſtemper being neglected, made a moſt *A dreadful plague in* Naples. A. D. 1656.

a moſt rapid and furious progreſs, and filled the whole city with conſternation. The a
ſtreets were crowded with confuſed proceſſions, which ſerved to ſpread the infection through
all the quarters. The terror of the people increaſed their ſuperſtition, and it being reported
that a certain nun had propheſied that the peſtilence would ceaſe upon building a hermi-
tage for her ſiſter nuns upon the hill of St. *Martin*'s, the edifice was immediately begun
with the moſt ardent zeal. Perſons of the higheſt quality ſtrove who ſhould perform the
meaneſt offices. Some loading themſelves with beams, and others carrying baſkets full of
lime and nails, while perſons of all ranks ſtripped themſelves of their moſt valuable effects,
which they threw into empty hogſheads, placed in the ſtreets to receive the charitable
contributions. Their buſtling, however, and the increaſing heats, diffuſed the malady
through the whole city, and the ſtreets and the ſtairs of the churches were filled with the b
dead, the number of whom, for ſome time of the month of *July*, amounted daily to
15,000.

THE viceroy in the mean time uſed all poſſible precautions to abate the fury of the diſ-
temper, and to prevent its ſpreading to the provinces. The infection, however, deſolated the
whole kingdom, excepting the provinces of *Otranto* and the further *Calabria*, and the cities
of *Gaeta*, *Sorrento*, *Paolo*, *Belvedere*, with ſome few other places. The general calamity was
increaſed in *Naples* by ſeveral malecontents, who inſinuated that the diſtemper had been de-
ſignedly introduced by the *Spaniards*, and that there were many people in diſguiſe that
went through the city ſowing poiſoned duſt. This idle rumour enraged the populace, who
began to inſult the *Spaniſh* ſoldiers, and threaten a ſedition; ſo that the viceroy, to pacify
the mob, cauſed a criminal to be broke upon the wheel, under pretence that he was a diſ- c
perſer of the duſt. A violent and plentiful rain falling about the middle of *Auguſt*, the diſ-
temper began to abate, and on the eighth of *December* the phyſicians made a ſolemn de-
claration that the city was entirely free from infection. The diſeaſe, however, ſtill continued
in the provinces for ſeveral months, on which account the viceroy prohibited any one from
entering *Naples* without his leave, which prohibition was continued till the month of *No-
vember* in the following year [w]. Upon the ceaſing of this dreadful calamity, the viceroy
was involved in new troubles by the banditti, who began to multiply in the *Principato*,
where they were protected by ſome barons. While he was employed in puniſhing the pro-
tectors, and diſlodging the protected, he was informed that the count of *Peniaranda* was d
appointed his ſucceſſor; a few weeks after whoſe arrival in *Naples* he reſigned the
government.

*The count is recalled.* A. D. 1659.

THE count of *Peniaranda* arrived at *Naples* in the end of *December*, and entered upon
the adminiſtration on the eleventh of *January*. His government was very peaceable, the
treaty of peace being concluded betwixt the *Spaniards* and *French* in the *November* follow-
ing at the *Pyrenees*. As the kingdom of *Portugal* was excluded from this treaty, the *Spa-
niards* bent their thoughts upon reuniting it to the crown, and aſſembled a powerful
army for reducing the *Portugueſe*. As their uſual bad fortune ſtill attended them, the vice-
roy was obliged the four following years to ſend conſiderable ſuccours from *Naples* to *Spain*.
In the mean time he was engaged in quelling the inſolence of the banditti. He publiſhed e
rigorous edicts againſt thoſe who protected them, and ſending troops into the *Abruzzi* and
*Principato*, he apprehended a great many of them, and forced others to lay down their
arms. Some he ordered to be hanged, others he condemned to the gallies, and ſent a great
many of them to recruit the armies in *Portugal*. While he was thus employed in reſtoring
tranquility in the kingdom, the cardinal of *Arragon*, who reſided at *Rome* for ſome time, as
ambaſſador from *Spain*, arrived at *Naples*, as his ſucceſſor. The count, a few weeks after his
arrival, on the ninth of *September* embarked for *Spain*, leaving behind him an illuſtrious
character for affability, piety, and great diſintereſtedneſs, having, during his whole admini-
ſtration, manifeſted a great averſion to rapacity and avarice, which vices had diſhonoured many
of his predeceſſors. He left fourteen wiſe and prudent ſtatutes, ſome of which ſeverely f
condemned duels and murders, which by the lenity of his government had become very
frequent.

*Is ſucceeded by the count of* Peniaranda.

*He ſends ſuccours to* Spain *againſt the* Portugueſe. A. D. 1664.

DON *Paſchal* of *Arragon* immediately upon aſſuming the government, publiſhed a ri-
gorous edict againſt all thoſe who carried concealed arms, ordered all vagabonds to depart
the city within three days, and cauſed many criminals to be executed, and condemned a great
number to the gallies. His ſeverities, however, were not ſufficient to bridle the depraved
city and nation; for the malecontents encouraged by the great number of ſanctuaries, and
by the pretended privileges of the eccleſiaſtical court, ſtill continued to diſturb the public,
in contempt of the laws. The banditti were no leſs inſolent, and being protected by the
powerful barons, infeſted the roads in great troops, and carried off great numbers of pri-

*The cardinal of* Arragon *ſucceeds him as viceroy.* A. D. 1665.

[w] GIANNONE, ut ſupra.

ſoners

a ſoners, ſome of whom they murdered, and obliged others to pay large ſums for their ranſom. The viceroy uſed his utmoſt endeavours to put a ſtop to theſe miſchiefs, and ſent a lawyer to *Rome*, to obtain ſome redreſs in the abuſes of the pretended immunity. At the ſame time he was engaged in puniſhing a new kind of robbers, namely, the merchants who by fraudulent bankruptcies cheated their creditors with impunity. In order to put a ſtop to this wickedneſs, he publiſhed an edict, declaring, that whoever ſhould be found guilty of a fraudulent bankruptcy ſhould ſuffer death. Thoſe were deemed guilty who within four days did not ſurrender themſelves; and the concealers of their effects, and their pretended creditors were likewiſe to be puniſhed with death. While the cardinal was thus employed in putting a ſtop to the diſorders, and reſtraining the looſeneſs of manners that prevailed in
b the kingdom, he was informed of the death of the king of *Spain*, who left his dominions to his ſon *Charles*. As the new king was only four years of age, his mother was appointed regent, and a junta was nominated, to aſſiſt her in the adminiſtration of the government. The archbiſhop of *Toledo*, who by his office was one of the junta, dying on the ſame day with the king, the queen-regent appointed the viceroy as his ſucceſſor, who accordingly the following year, on the eleventh of *April*, embarked for *Spain*, having governed the kingdom of *Naples* only about nine months.

*He publiſhes an edict againſt fraudulent bankruptcies.*

*He returns to* Spain. A. D. 1666.

Don *Pedro Antonio* of *Arragon*, who for ſome time had reſided as *Spaniſh* ambaſſador at *Rome*, ſucceeded his brother, the cardinal, as viceroy. In the beginning of his government, *Alexander* VII. granted the bull of inveſtiture to the infant king; but at the ſame
c time, as ſovereign lord of the kingdom, claimed the adminiſtration of the government during the minority, and ordered his nuncios at *Madrid* and *Naples* to preſent memorials of his pretended rights. Theſe memorials being immediately refuted by ſeveral *Spaniſh* and *Neapolitan* lawyers, the court of *Rome* thought proper not to inſiſt upon their pretenſions.

*Is ſucceeded in* Naples *by his brother Don* Pedro.

The *Spaniſh* court at this time found a more formidable enemy in *Lewis* XIV. who upon the death of *Philip* publiſhed his pretenſions to *the dutchy of* Brabant, *the lordſhip of* Malines, *the marquiſate of* Antwerp, Upper Guelderland, *the country of* Namur, Limbourg, Dalem, Hainault, Artois, Cambray, *the county of* Burgundy, Luxembourg, *and many places on the* Meuſe, in right of his queen *Maria Thereſa*; who, being a daughter of the firſt marriage, he alleged was lawful heireſs of all theſe territories, in prejudice to the males of a
d ſecond marriage. The *Neapolitan* and *Spaniſh* lawyers, according to *Giannone*, clearly refuted the pretenſions of the *French* king, who paying no regard to their arguments, ſuddenly invaded *Flanders* with a formidable army, and quickly conquered great part of it. As he likewiſe threatened to attack the *Spaniſh* territories in *Italy* by ſea and land, the viceroy was obliged to reinforce the garriſons of *Tuſcany* with 1800 *Spaniſh* and *Italian* foot, and to hire a regiment of *Germans*. He was alſo forced to detain the ſquadron of gallies which he had intended to ſend to the relief of the *Venetians* in *Candy*, who were greatly preſſed by the *Turks*. His fears, however, of an invaſion from the *French* were ſoon diſperſed, news arriving about *Midſummer*, that *Lewis* XIV. apprehenſive of exciting ſeveral other powers of *Europe* againſt him, had conſented to a peace, by which the *Spaniards* were ſtripped of a
e conſiderable part of their territories in *Flanders*.

Lewis XIV. *of* France *threatens to invade* Naples. A. D. 1668.

The *Spaniards* were continually receiving new diſgraces and loſſes. The peace was no ſooner concluded with *France*, than news arrived at *Madrid*, that the viceroy of *Sardinia* had been murdered by ſome of the nobles of that iſland, who had aſſembled a body of men for their defence. To quiet the diſturbances of that kingdom, the viceroy was obliged to ſend ſome troops and gallies thither from *Naples*, who being joined with others from *Italy*, *Spain*, and *Sicily*, ſoon reſtored tranquility to the iſland. The kingdom of *Naples* in the mean time was moſt miſerably harraſſed by the banditti, who infeſted the roads in ſuch numbers, that a ſtop was entirely put to all inland traffic and commerce. They fortified themſelves in ſeveral towns and ſtrong holds in the *Abruzzi*, and even became ſo inſolent
f as to order many diſtricts to pay the taxes to them, and not to the king's collectors. They robbed the meſſengers and public poſts of their diſpatches and letters, and made frequent incurſions into the neighbourhood of *Naples*, threatening to prevent all proviſions from entering the city by land. The viceroy uſed ſeveral means for extirpating them, which in a great meaſure proved ineffectual. At laſt he erected a junta, or board of miniſters, for puniſhing them and their abettors. The junta cauſed ſome barons, their protectors, to be arreſted; but after a ſhort impriſonment they were ſet at libery, upon paying to the viceroy large ſums of money.

Naples *harraſſed by the banditti.* A. D. 1670.

Don *Pedro* was ſeverely cenſured for his mercenary diſpoſition, and acquired the charac-
g ter of a ſordid miniſter, for allowing all criminals, even the moſt enormous, to eſcape the puniſhment of their crimes, on condition of paying a compoſition in money; by which means, it was computed, that he amaſſed the immenſe ſum of 320,000 ducats, during his ſhort government of ſix years. He was not only careful of amaſſing money for himſelf, but likewiſe augmented all the taxes and cuſtoms to ſuch a degree, that the increaſe was computed little leſs

*Don* Pedro *is removed from the govenment.* A. D. 1672.

leſs than nine millions of ducats. He adorned the city of *Naples* with many public works, a and left about thirty prudent laws, whereby the tribunals were put in better order, and many abuſes in the cuſtom-houſes were reformed. The marquis of *Aſtorga*, who was ambaſſador for the court of *Spain* at *Rome*, arriving on the eleventh of *February* at *Naples*, Don *Pedro* a few days after reſigned the gvernment to him, and on the twenty-fifth of the ſame month embarked for *Spain*.

*Is ſucceeded by the marquis of* Aſtorga;

Don *Antonio Alvares*, marquis of *Aſtorga*, upon his arrival at *Naples* found the city afflicted with a great ſcarcity of corn, but much more harraſſed by the multiplicity of crimes, eſpecially robbery, which was committed in all corners. Tho' he ſoon reſtored abundance, by cauſing proviſions to be brought from remote countries, and from the provinces, yet he found the utmoſt ſeverity ineffectual to prevent robberies, and to put a ſtop to the continual b depredations of the banditti in the country. The kingdom at this time was likewiſe harraſſed by the incurſions of the *Turks*, and by many ſecret enemies, who almoſt entirely put a ſtop to commerce by adulterating and diminiſhing the coin. Clipping irons and inſtruments for coining were even found in the houſes of the nobility; and women of quality, from ſordid avarice, were alſo ſaid to be concerned in the villainy. As the coin was reduced to a fourth part of its firſt value, the viceroy was very aſſiduous in putting a ſtop to the miſchief, and cauſed many clippers and falſe coiners to be executed, while many others protected themſelves from the laws, by having recourſe to the ſanctuaries and the privilege of the clergy.

A. D. 1673. *LEWIS* XIV. in the mean time, in conjunction with *Charles* II. of *England*, the elector of c *Cologn*, and the biſhop of *Munſter*, having declared war againſt the *Dutch*, and ſuddenly over-run great part of their country, the *Spaniards* joined the oppoſite alliance, and the following year declared war againſt the *French*. The viceroy on this account the year after was obliged to ſend conſiderable ſuccours to the defence of *Catalonia*, which the *Spaniards* were apprehenſive the *French* intended to invade. But about the ſame time the city of *Meſſina* having revolted from the *Spaniards*, and applied to the *French* for protection, the attention of the marquis was chiefly engaged in ſending ſupplies to *Sicily*. For this purpoſe, he appointed the city of *Reggio* as a place of arms, ſent ſeveral gallies to join the *Spaniſh* fleet, and hired a conſiderable body of *Germans*. The *French*, however, on the third of *January*, entered the harbour of *Meſſina* with ſeveral ſhips, and on the tenth of the following month, d after a long and deſperate engagement, obliged the *Spaniſh* fleet to retire in a ſhattered condition to *Naples*.

*who aſſiſts the* Spaniards *in quelling a revolt in* Meſſina.

A. D. 1675.

The expences of refitting the fleet, paying the ſeamen's wages, and furniſhing other neceſſaries for the war, which amounted to near a million of ducats, were all ſupplied by the kingdom of *Naples*. The viceroy, to raiſe the money, ſold the revenues of the cuſtoms and taxes at a low rate; diſpoſed of the office of auditor of the exchequer for three lives for 46,000 ducats; demanded from the barons an equivalent in money for their uſual ſupply of horſemen; and ſeized the third part of the yearly revenue of all foreigners. The *Spaniards* in the mean were entirely driven from *Meſſina*; and it having been reported at *Madrid*, that the marquis of *Aſtorga*, and his favourite miniſters, had embezzled great part e of the money raiſed for the war, which had retarded the progreſs of the expeditions, on the ninth of *September*, when the fleet had got under ſail, the marquis *de los Velez* entered the harbour from *Sardinia*, as ſucceſſor to *Aſtorga*. The viceroy accordingly reſigned the government to him, and a few weeks after ſet out for *Spain*, where he was appointed one of the counſellors of ſtate, and general of the artillery.

*He is recalled to* Spain, *and ſucceeded by the marquis* de los Velez.

Don *Fernando Faxardo*, marquis *de los Velez*, being informed that the *French* were likewiſe endeavouring to raiſe an inſurrection in the kingdom of *Naples*, by correſponding with the banditti of *Calabria*, and diſperſing manifeſtoes, encouraging the people to imitate the *Meſſinians*, nominated a junta to ſearch out and puniſh the diſaffected. Accordingly, many being diſcovered, who had abetted the deſigns of the *French*, ſome of them were impriſoned, f and others hanged. At the ſame time, being urged by the queen-regent, he diſpatched powerful ſuccours to *Sicily*, having prevailed on the nobility and commonalty of *Naples* to grant a donative of 200,000 ducats; which ſum was expended partly in paying the army in *Sicily*. The *Spaniſh* fleet at length, in the end of *November*, being reinforced by eighteen *Dutch* men of war, and ſix fire-ſhips, under the command of admiral *Ruyter*, the *Meſſinians* were ſoon reduced to great difficulties; but receiving now and then ſome ſmall ſupplies from *France*, they were enabled to hold out for two years longer, when the *French* baſely abandoned them, without even waiting till they ſhould make their peace with the *Spaniſh* government. The *Meſſinians*, upon the departure of the *French*, immediately ſubmitted to the *Spaniards*, who granted them a general pardon, but afterwards ſtripped them g of their privileges, and bridled their city by a ſtrong and impregnable citadel.

*The* French *abandon* Meſſina.

a On account of this cruel and obſtinate war, it was computed that little leſs than ſeven millions of ducats had been carried out of the kingdon of *Naples*, which reduced the nation to great diſtreſs. The difficulties were alſo increaſed by the bad currency of the coin, which was every day more and more diminiſhed. The contagion had reached the cloiſters, and the monks were become great proficients in the art of coining. Even thoſe criminals who had eſcaped hanging, and been condemned to the oar for adulterating the coin, continued to coin in the very gallies. The viceroy, to put a ſtop to the diſorders, cried down the old money, and paid to thoſe who brought it to the mint new money equal in value. Not being able, however, to furniſh the new coin in ſufficient quantities, this remedy was not anſwerable to the greatneſs of the miſchief, though it in ſome meaſure leſſened the con-
b fuſion. The kingdom at the ſame time ſtill continued expoſed to the ravages of the banditti, all the endeavours of the viceroy to extirpate them being ineffectual. The marquis was likewiſe careful to ſuppreſs the diſorders of the city, where the moſt heinous crimes were committed both by the nobility and commonalty, whoſe manners had been corrupted by the ſailors belonging to the fleet, and the ſoldiers that came to ſerve in the war of *Sicily*. He ordered many criminals to be hanged without diſtinction of rank, cauſed many to be privately ſtrangled in priſon, and condemned great numbers to the gallies.

*Great diſorders in* Naples *on account of the badneſs of the coin.*

The *French* in the mean time, notwithſtanding the peace of *Nimeguen*, having treacherouſly ſurpriſed *Straſburg*, put a garriſon into the citadel of *Caſal* in *Montferrat*, and ſeized large territories in *Germany*, under pretence that they were included in the ſovereignty of
c the cities yielded to them by the treaty, all *Europe* began to be alarmed at their immoderate and unjuſt ambition [x]. The *Spaniards* were very jealous of their deſigns upon the *Milaneſe* and *Catalonia*, ſo that the viceroy was obliged to ſend 2000 men from *Naples* to *Barcelona*, and two ſhips loaded with ammunition. Conſiderable ſubſidies in money were likewiſe required from the *Neapolitans*; but while the viceroy was employed in contriving the funds for raiſing the ſubſidy, the marquis *del Carpio* arrived at *Naples* on the 6th of *January* as his ſucceſſor. *Los Velez* three days after reſigned the government to him, and quickly embarked for *Spain*, where he was kindly received by the young king, who honoured him with a ſeat in the council of ſtate, and afterwards appointed him preſident of the council of the *Indies*.

*The marquis* de los Velez *returns to* Spain.

d Don *Gaſper de Haro*, marquis *del Carpio*, had not enjoyed the government many months, when a new war broke out betwixt *France* and *Spain*, in conſequence of which, in the month of *December*, he publiſhed a proclamation, ordering all the *French* to quit the kingdom of *Naples*. In the mean time, obſerving that the corrupt diſcipline and looſeneſs of manners was not owing to the want of provident and wholeſome laws, but to the too great indulgence of the magiſtrates, he therefore determined to adhere ſtrictly to a courſe of uncorrupted and inflexible juſtice. In the beginning of his government, finding that the frequency of crimes was chiefly owing to the carrying of fire-arms, and other ſorts of offenſive weapons, with which every perſon was girt, he publiſhed a ſevere ſtatute, by which he took away the power from the magiſtrates of granting licence for carrying ſuch arms.
e He likewiſe revived the old laws againſt all idle perſons and vagabonds, and commanded the magiſtrates to ſee them ſtrictly put in execution, ſo that in a ſhort time the principal occaſion of ſo many crimes and diſorders were removed. About the ſame time he publiſhed divers regulations to prevent the frauds and tricks that were become too common among the manufacturers, eſpecially thoſe concerned in working in gold and ſilver; and, obſerving the pernicious effects of luxury, he prohibited by a ſevere law the exceſſive number of ſervants, the wearing of embroidered cloaths, or cloth of gold and ſilver, forbidding alſo the conſumption of theſe metals upon ſedans, coaches, calaſhes, and ſaddles. He applied himſelf no leſs to the reformation of the tribunals, and with the utmoſt care endeavoured to root out the abuſes and corruptions that had crept into them.

A. D. 1683. *The marquis* del Carpio *appointed viceroy.*

f But two things chiefly rendered his government illuſtrious, namely, the coining of new money, and the extirpating of the banditti. For reſtoring the currency of the coin, he began with reviving the old ſtatutes againſt thoſe who imported falſe money, or melted down any coin; and, to raiſe a fund for paying the deficiency occaſioned by the clipping, he impoſed a duty of 15 grana upon each buſhel of ſalt, to be paid by all perſons without diſtinction of rank; and exacted alſo a year's rent of all the incomes of *Neapolitans* and foreigners, and of natives living abroad with their families, to be raiſed within three years. For extirpating the banditti, in the firſt year of his government he granted a full indemnity to all criminals and outlaws, provided they would aſſiſt in the purſuit of their chiefs and gangs; he put a great reward upon the heads of thoſe who could not be taken alive,

*He reſtores the currency of the coin.*

[x] Struv. Period. t. 10 p. 3098. Acta memor. & Declarat. de Gal. regis domino in decem Alſat. civit. Recueil des Arrets de la chamb. royale de Metz. pour la reunion. Hiſt. d'Alſace, l. xxiii. Vit. Leopold. p. 536.

and caused all the towers and houses where they were wont to haunt to be demolished, for a
*Extirpates the banditti.* which purpose he sent troops against them with battering cannon. To deprive them of all protection, he published a severe law against all those who should keep any correspondence with them, or give them any assistance, favour, or victuals, ordaining that those who should furnish them with arms and powder, or should receive any share of their robberies or ransoms, should be looked upon as principals, and be punished with death. The strictness and impartiality of the viceroy alarming the barons, they quickly abandoned the outlaws, who, finding themselves deprived of shelter, were so terrified, that they thought of nothing but saving themselves by flight or submission. Those who were taken suffered the just punishment of their crimes; so that in a short time they were extirpated in so complete a manner, that they have never appeared since in the kingdom. b

While the marquis was thus a terror to audacious criminals, he was the patron and protector of the virtuous and indigent. He relieved the poor and unfortunate with great charity, and acquired the affection of the *Neapolitans* by supplying the city with plenty of provisions, and furnishing public shews after a magnificent manner. At the same time he was frugal and moderate, and manifested a great detestation of avarice and corruption. After he had thus rendered himself universally respected and beloved, he was unfortunately snatched
*His death.* A. D. 1687. away by death on the 15th of *November*, before he had completed the fifth year of his government[y].

*He is succeeded by the count of* Santistevan; Upon the news of the death of the marquis *del Carpio*, Don *Lorenzo Colonna*, high constable of the kingdom, immediately went from *Rome*, and assumed the administration, c which he held till the beginning of the following year, when Don *Francesco Benavides*, count of *Santistevan*, who had been viceroy of *Sicily*, entered upon the government as successor to the late marquis. The count endeavoured to tread in the footsteps of his predecessor, and immediately renewed the statutes about manufactures, provisions, and carrying of arms. He was chiefly solicitous about completing the new coinage, which his predecessor had not lived to finish. He added some new species to the coin, and raised the value of that which had
*who publishes the new coin.* been struck by the late marquis 10 *per cent.* being a little above the intrinsic value of the silver, to prevent it being melted down, or carried out of the kingdom. He published many regulations concerning the exchange of the old money for the new, and prescribed the method to be practised in the banks for circulating bills and letters of credit. Not content, d however, with the alteration he at first made in the money, in the third year of his government he raised the value of the new coin other 10 *per cent.* whereby, besides lessening his own reputation, he greatly hurt the trade of the kingdom. As the nation was about this time alarmed with the report that a contagious distemper had raged in the province of *Bari*, and at *Civita Vecchia* in the ecclesiastical state, the count prohibited all commerce with that province and the territories of the church, and appointed persons in each ward of *Naples* to prevent any from entering the city without the necessary bills of health, till all suspicion of contagion quite vanished. In the following years of his government, he endeavoured to reform the tribunals, by limiting a time for the decision of all causes. He also published
*He is recalled to* Spain. A. D. 1695. several regulations about the provisions of the city and kingdom, concerning the frauds e committed in credit betwixt man and man, about the importation of foreign linen and woollen-cloth, and about many other affairs. Mean while the duke of *Medina Cœli*, the *Spanish* ambassador at *Rome*, arriving as viceroy at *Naples*, the count of *Santistevan* a few weeks after resigned the government to him, and set out for *Spain*.

*The duke of* Medina Cœli *appointed viceroy.* Don *Ludovico de la Cerda*, duke of *Medina Cœli*, resolved to imitate the glorious example of the marquis *del Carpio*. He began his government with endeavouring to suppress the contraband trade, and the frauds committed in the custom-houses, and in the importation of merchandize. His edicts against these frauds were so rigorous, especially in convicting the accused upon slight proofs, that the *Seggi*, apprehensive lest they should turn into an abuse, thought proper to oppose him. The duke was ambitious of imitating the late mar- f quis in the magnificence of public shews. He enlarged the theatre, and not only furnished it with costly and noble scenes, but with the best musicians in *Europe*. He encouraged learning and learned men in a distinguished manner, assembling them in his palace, where, with great attention and complaisance, he heard their different compositions.

Mean while the nation began to be terribly alarmed with the declining state of *Spain*, and the increasing power and grandeur of *France*, which this year had sent into the field five strong armies, and maintained them the whole campaign in the enemy's country. What chiefly struck the kingdom of *Naples*, and other dominions of the vast *Spanish* monarchy, with consternation, was the news of the continual infirmities of king *Charles*, who now de- spaired of having any issue. The disorders and revolutions likely to follow upon his death g filled the *Neapolitans* with great apprehensions, which quickly appeared to be too well

[y] Burnet's Travels, Let. 4. Giannone, ut supra.

founded; for ſoon after the concluſion of the peace of *Ryſwick*, contrary to the laws of juſtice, a treaty of partition of the *Spaniſh* monarchy was made by the kings of *England* and *France*, the republic of *Holand*, and the duke of *Savoy*, by which the kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, with their dependencies, the city and marquiſate of *Final*, with the province of *Guipuſcoa*, were aſſigned to the *French*. The *Spaniards*, who for two centuries had piqued themſelves upon the vaſt extent of their dominions, were highly incenſed at this treaty, and the *Neapolitans* and *Sicilians* for ſeveral ages had conceived a great averſion to the *French*; nevertheleſs *Charles*, who had alſo been greatly exaſperated againſt king *William* and *Lewis* XIV. was prevailed upon to leave by his laſt will *Philip*, the ſecond ſon of the dauphin, heir of all his dominions, to the prejudice of the *Auſtrian* family, who had the preferable right, on account of the ſolemn renunciation of *Maria Thereſa*, upon her marriage to the *French* king. *Charles* II. ſurvived this deed only a few weeks, and died on the 1ſt of *November*. The news of his death, and of the ſucceſſion of *Philip* of *Anjou*, quickly arrived at *Naples*, which filled the people at the ſame time with grief and aſtoniſhment; but the viceroy immediately publiſhing two clauſes extracted from the will of the deceaſed king, *Philip* was acknowleged as his ſucceſſor, without the leaſt commotion or diſturbance (W).

*A propoſal for a partition of the* Spaniſh *monarchy.* A. D. 1699.

*King* Charles *appoints* Philip *of* Anjou *heir of all his dominions.* A. D. 1700.

THE emperor, and the parties concerned in the deſigned partition, jealous of ſuch an acquiſition of power to the houſe of *Bourbon*, immediately reſolved to oppoſe the ſettlement of *Philip* on the throne of *Spain*; but that they might not diſguſt the *Spaniards* by a new diviſion of their monarchy, they agreed to place the archduke *Charles*, the ſecond ſon of the emperor, upon their throne. They accordingly declared war againſt *Lewis* XIV. and *Philip*, after they had imprudently allowed *Philip* to be quietly ſettled at *Madrid*, and the *French* troops to take poſſeſſion of *Naples* and the duchy of *Milan*. *Clement* XI. though he privately favoured the intereſt of *Philip*, yet, apprehenſive leſt the party of the archduke *Charles* ſhould prevail, refuſed to declare himſelf in favour of either of the pretenders, each of whom ſolicited him for the inveſtiture of the kingdom of *Naples*. Being afraid to interfere in the diſputes of ſuch powerful competitors, he reſolved not to grant the inveſtiture of *Naples* till the concluſion of the war; but to ſatisfy both parties, he publiſhed an authentic act, by which he declared, that the delay ſhould in no-ways prejudice the ancient rights of the king of *Spain* [z].

*The emperor, the* Engliſh, *and the* Duch, *declare war againſt the* French *and* Spaniards.

PRINCE *Eugene*, in the mean time having entered *Lombardy* with an imperial army, and made conſiderable progreſs in the *Milaneſe* and the *Mantua*, *Philip* reſolved to viſit *Italy*, thinking that his preſence would have a great influence in fixing the allegiance of his *Italian* ſubjects. He embarked on board a *French* fleet at *Barcelona*; and in the month of *April* arrived at *Naples*, where he was received with great outward ſplendor, though he made but ſmall progreſs in ſecuring the affections of the *Neapolitans*. The pope indeed condeſcended to appoint a cardinal legate to wait upon him, which partiality greatly offended the emperor, who immediately ordered his ambaſſador to leave *Rome* [a]. After continuing a ſhort time in *Naples*, *Philip* ſailed from thence to *Final*, and afterwards joined the *French* army commanded by *Vendoſme*, which on the 15th of *Auguſt* was defeated by prince *Eugene* at *Luzara* [b].

*King* Philip *arrives at* Naples. A. D. 1702.

*Proceeds to* Lombardy.

As the *French*, the four following campaigns, were put to great difficulties in oppoſing prince *Eugene*, and had no enemy in *Naples*, they drew the greateſt part of their troops from thence, to reinforce their armies in *Lombardy*, which, however, they were forced at length wholly to abandon. The Imperialiſts eagerly ſeized this opportunity of making an attempt upon *Naples*; and the following ſpring, contrary to the inclination of the allies, who wanted to invade *Provence*, the emperor ordered count *Daun* to march from *Lombardy* thro' the eccleſiaſtical ſtate with 8,500 men. Cardinal *Grimani* at *Rome* had already concerted the plan of a revolution in favour of the houſe of *Auſtria*, with the duke of *Monteleone* and his brother the archbiſhop of *Naples*; ſo that, upon the approach of the count, the whole kingdom declared for the emperor, which confounding the duke of *Eſcalona*, the *Spaniſh* viceroy,

[z] DE LARREY, Hiſt. de Louis XIV. BELLEGARDE, Hiſt. gener. d'Eſpagne. ibid. BRODRICK Hiſt. of Europe. [a] BURNET. Hiſt. [b] Idem

(W) The duke of *Medina Cæli* ſoon after returned to *Spain*, where he acted as prime miniſter to king *Philip*; but in the year 1710 he was ſent a cloſe priſoner to the caſtle of *Segovia*, from whence he was conveyed to ſeveral other priſons, without being brought to any examination. A few months after it was reported that he died in priſon a natural death; but it was generally believed his fate was haſtened by wicked means. His diſgrace and confinement were ſuppoſed to be owing to his being concerned in ſome ſecret cabals with the *Spaniſh* grandees, who, upon the news that the allies, at the conferences at *Gertrudenberg*, had inſiſted that *Lewis* XIV. ſhould intirely abandon his grandſon *Philip*, were ſuſpected of taking ſecret meaſures for their own ſecurity (1)

(1) *Burnet. Hare's Let. to a Tory Member, part 2.*

he

Naples *submits to the Imperialists* A. D. 1707.

he retired with his forces to *Gaeta*, whither they had conveyed their treasure and richest effects. The *Neapolitans*, whose ancient detestation of the *French* had been increased by their late government, expressed the greatest joy upon the arrival of the Imperialists, and the magistrates of *Naples* went as far as *Aversa* to present count *Daun* with the keys of their city. The whole kingdom then acknowleged king *Charles*, excepting *Gaeta*, *Pescara*, and some places in *Calabria*, which, however, were all soon reduced. *Pescara* surrendered for want of provisions, and on the last of *September Gaeta* was taken by storm and pillaged. The duke of *Escalona*, and the garrison, who had retired into the castle, were obliged to surrender prisoners of war. Their estates were confiscated, as belonging to rebels; and the duke, upon being conducted to *Naples*, was ungenerously exposed to the railleries of the people, who had smarted from the severity of his government. a

*They occasion a tumult in* Naples, *by imposing a duty on fruit.*

The *Neapolitans*, however, quickly found that their condition was not greatly bettered by their submission to the house of *Austria*; for count *Daun*, who was appointed lieutenant of the kingdom till the arrival of a viceroy, acted in such a manner as though he had resolved to ruin the nation by his exorbitant exactions. By laying a duty upon fruit and herbs, he raised a formidable tumult in *Naples*, which seemed to threaten an universal revolt, if the new tax had not been quickly laid aside. Representations having been made to the courts of *Vienna* and *Barcelona*, which last city was now in possession of king *Charles*, the excesses of the count were corrected, and cardinal *Grimani* soon after arriving at *Naples* as viceroy, the discontents of the *Neapolitans* abated, and a design was formed for seizing *Sicily*, as the disposition of the *Sicilians* was known to be averse to the *French*. This enterprize, however, was laid aside, and a small force was sent to reduce the garrisons on the coast of *Tuscany*, some of which surrendered after very little opposition[c]. b c

*The archduke* Charles *elected emperor.* A. D. 1711.

About four years after, king *Charles* succeeding his brother *Joseph* upon the Imperial throne, and the *Tory* faction in *England* being admitted into the administration, queen *Anne*, by their advice, entered into a friendly correspondence with *Lewis* XIV. as a means to put an end to the war, it being now judged more impolitic to insist upon the succession of the *Spanish* monarchy for the new emperor than for *Philip* of *Anjou*. In consequence of these views of the *English* ministry, seven preliminary articles were agreed to betwixt the courts of *London* and *Versailles*, and published for the foundation of a general peace. These preliminaries were rejected with disdain by the court of *Vienna*, and were very disgusting to the *Dutch*, who, after having in vain endeavoured to persuade the queen to alter her resolution, at length agreed to send their plenipotentiaries to *Utrecht*, the place appointed for the congress, and to grant passports for those of the *French*. The conferences were accordingly opened the following year, in the end of *January*, and continued about eighteen months, during which time *France* had concluded particular treaties with *Britain*, *Holland*, *Savoy*, *Portugal*, and others of the confederates. The emperor *Charles*, however, still persisted in continuing the war, but soon finding himself unable to oppose the *French* arms, he agreed at length to negociate a peace with *France*, which was concluded a few months after at *Rastadt*, betwixt prince *Eugene* and marshal *Villars*. By this treaty, among other things, it was stipulated, that *Charles* should be left in quiet possession of the kingdom of *Naples*, the duchy of *Milan*, the island of *Sardinia*, and the forts on the coast of *Tuscany*. d e

*A peace concluded betwixt the confederates and the kings of* France *and* Spain. A. D. 1713.

*The emperor refuses to acknowlege* Philip *as king of* Spain.

Though the emperor had thus agreed to a peace with *Lewis* XIV. yet he still refused to acknowlege his grandson *Philip* as king of *Spain*, and kept up his pretensions to the whole succession of that monarchy. On this account he expressed his resentment against the duke of *Savoy*, ordering his ambassador to quit the territories of the empire within fifteen days, because the duke had taken possession of the island of *Sicily*, which had been ceded to him by the king of *Spain* at the treaty of *Utrecht*. The emperor was prevented two or three years from prosecuting his designs against *Spain* by a war in *Hungary* against the *Turks*. *Philip* of *Spain*, in the mean time, reflecting upon the weak and exhausted state of his kingdom, attempted nothing against the emperor; but about three years after the peace of *Rastadt*, at the persuasion of cardinal *Alberoni*, he fitted out a formidable fleet, and took possession of *Sardinia*. The *Spanish* troops from thence sailed to *Sicily*, with the intention of blocking up *Messina*, the duke of *Savoy* being suspected of a design to enter into an alliance with the emperor, and of secretly negotiating with him an exchange of *Sicily* for *Sardinia*. As the king of *Spain*, by these hostilities, had violated the neutrality of *Italy*, contrary to his engagements with the allies at *Utrecht*, *George* I. of *England* sent a powerful fleet into the *Mediterranean*, under the command of admiral *Byng*, and at the same time formed an alliance with the regent of *France* and the *Dutch*, to oblige the emperor, *Philip*, and the king of *Sicily*, to agree to an accommodation. f

[c] Barre Hist. d'Allemagne, t. x. Burnet, ut supra. Letter of the Earl of Manchester to the Earl of Sunderland. Giannone, ut supra.

In

a In consequence of this treaty, which, from the accession of the emperor, was termed the quadruple alliance, the ambitious designs of *Alberoni* were defeated; and the following year *Philip* was obliged to agree to the terms of the treaty proposed by the mediators, by the fourth article of which it was stipulated, that he should renounce all rights and claims to the dominions possessed by the emperor in *Italy*, and also the right of the reversion of *Sicily* to the crown of *Spain*, as had been settled at the treaty of *Utrecht*. By the same treaty the king of *Sicily* was obliged to restore that kingdom to the emperor, who, in return, put him in possession of the island of *Sardinia*, the reversion of which kingdom, in default of heirs male, was reserved to the crown of *Spain*. Thus the two kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily* were solemnly disjoined from the monarchy of *Spain*, to which they had been united for b more than two centuries. As the investiture of the kingdom of *Sicily* had been dropped ever since the invasion of *Peter* of *Arragon*, whose pretensions were opposed by the popes, so it was now believed that the emperor by disusage would abolish the custom of investiture for *Naples*, which kingdom he had already been in possession of twelve years. *Charles*, however, for what reason is uncertain, continued to offer his homage to the holy see for *Naples*, which was at last accepted three years after by *Innocent* XIII.

*England and France oblige the emperor and Philip to agree to a peace.*

*Philip renounces all pretensions to Naples.* A. D. 1719.

*The emperor receives the investiture of the kingdom from the pope.* A. D. 1722.

As the *Neapolitans*, since the late revolution, had manifested great affection for the house of *Austria*, and had zealously exerted themselves against the *Spaniards*, upon their appearance before *Messina*, the emperor, as a reward for their fidelity and zeal, granted them many new concessions and privileges. He bestowed new and more honourable titles upon the c city and its magistrates, and excluded all foreigners from employments, benefices, and offices, within the kingdom. As the pope, during the war in *Italy*, had discovered a great partiality to his competitor, he, in resentment, opposed the usurpations of the *Roman* see. He abolished the tribunal of the nuncio, and all vestiges of the inquisition, and, by many royal writs, established the important right of the *exequatur regium* to all bulls, briefs, and other provisions coming from *Rome*. He prohibited any pensions being imposed upon ecclesiastical benefices in favour of foreigners. He extended the feodal succession in favour of the barons to the fifth degree, and confirmed the privileges granted to them by his predecessors. The kingdom was likewise comprehended in the truces made betwixt the emperor and the *Turk*; and, by establishing free ports, it was proposed to open a commerce betwixt d the kingdom and *Germany*. The *Neapolitans*, from a grateful sense of the favours and privileges conferred upon them, caused them to be collected and printed, that their value might be publicly known.

# The HISTORY of GENOA.

*The modern extent of the* Genoeſe *territories.*

THE city of *Genoa*, by *Latin* writers frequently, though corruptly, called *Janua*, is the capital of a ſmall territory in the northern part of *Italy*, extending along the ſouthern ſhore from the river *Macra* to the *Var*, and ſeperated from *Lombardy*, on the north by the *Apennine* mountains, on the ſouth waſhed by the *Mediterranean* ſea. This country is part of the ancient *Liguria*, which, about the beginning of the *Roman* ſtate, comprehended part of *France*, as well as of *Italy*, extending from the river *Arno* to the *Rhone*: and including towards the north the cities of *Turin*, *Tortona*, *Pavia*, with many others [a]. In the diviſion of *Italy* made by the emperor *Auguſtus*, the rivers of *Macra* and *Var* were reckoned the eaſtern and weſtern boundaries of *Liguria*, which was terminated on the north by the *Apennines*. About three hundred years after, *Conſtantine* fixed its northern boundary at he river *Adda*, *Milan*, then perhaps the greateſt city in the *Roman* empire next to *Rome*, eing appointed the capital of the province, where the conſul and the archbiſhop both kept heir reſidence. b

THE origin of the ancient *Ligurians* is very uncertain. The moſt probable opinion is, that they were a branch of the *Celtæ*, who had proceeded from the *Loire* to the *Rhone*, and from thence to *Italy*, as their language is ſaid to have been originally the ſame with that of the *Gauls* [b]. They were reckoned a very warlike nation; and from *Livy* it appears, that for more than eighty years they were at war with the *Romans* before they were ſubdued. In the ſecond *Punic* war they declared for the *Carthaginians*; but the city of *Genoa*, which even then was a celebrated emporium [c], eſpouſing the party of the *Romans*, *Mago* the *Carthaginian* ſailed thither with a large fleet, on board of which were twelve thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe, who plundered and burnt the place. It was afterwards rebuilt by the *Romans*; and continued under their dominion, with the reſt of *Italy*, till the concluſion of the fifth century, when *Theodoric*, king of the *Goths*, having defeated the uſurper *Odoacer*, was proclaimed by his army king of *Italy*, even with the conſent of the emperor *Zeno*. c

Genoa *conquered by the* Goths, A. D. 498.

SOME think that the ſouthern part of *Liguria*, betwixt the *Apennines* and the *Mediterranean*, was never conquered by the *Goths*, but according to *Folieta*, the contrary of this is evident from the mandates of *Theodoric*, and other *Gothic* kings, to the *Genoeſe* [d]. However it be, the *Goths*, about ſixty years after, were intirely ſubdued by *Beliſarius*; and all *Italy* was again united to the eaſtern empire. The *Lombards*, who, about fifteen years after invaded *Italy*, and quickly reduced great part of it under their dominion, did not at firſt carry their arms over the *Apennines*; ſo that *Genoa*, being unmoleſted by them, ſtill continued ſubject to the emperors. This new revolution in *Italy* was of great advantage to the *Genoeſe*, their wealth and the number of their inhabitants being greatly encreaſed, by the many refugees who fled from the neighbourhood of the *Po* from the fury of the invaders. Many of the nobility of *Milan* reſorted thither; and the archbiſhop *Honoratus*, with his ſucceſſors, kept their reſidence in *Genoa* ſeventy years [e]. At the end of this period, *Rotharis*, king of the *Lombards*, invaded the *Alpes Cottiæ*, and reduced the whole coaſt of *Liguria*, from the city of *Luna* in *Tuſcany* to the *Var*, plundering and burning the cities, and among the reſt *Genoa* [f]. *Rotharis* erected his new conqueſt into a provincial dukedom, both the governors of diſtricts and particular cities among the *Lombards* having the title of duke [g]. d e

*and by the* Lombards. A. D. 638.

*It is erected into a marquiſate by* Charlemagne. A. D. 774.

*LIGURIA*, being thus united to the kingdom of the *Lombards*, continued ſubject to them to the end of the following century, when *Italy* was conquered by *Charlemagne*, who reduced *Liguria* to its ancient bounds ſettled by *Auguſtus*, erected it into a marche, and appointed his relation *Audemarus* as the firſt *comes*, or margrave. *Genoa*, at this time, being diſtinguiſhed for its wealth and populouſneſs, began to give its name to the whole coaſt, and continued under theſe counts for about one hundred years, till the race of the *Pepins* became extinct in *Italy*, and the empire was tranſlated to the *German* princes [h]. *Audemarus*, the firſt *Genoeſe* count, was commiſſioned by *Charlemagne* to protect the coaſts of *Italy*, and the iſlands of *Corſica* and *Sardinia*, from the incurſions of the *Moors* [i]. For this purpoſe having fitted out a formidable fleet at *Genoa*, he ſailed over to *Corſica*, of which, accord- f

[a] PLINY, l. 3. SIGON. regn. Ital. JUSTIN. LIVY, l 28. [b] PLUTARCH, in Mario. Tabul. chorograph. Italiæ ap MURATOR. l. 10. EUTROP. l. 5. [c] STRABO, l. 4. [d] FOLIET. Genuenſ. hiſt. l. 1. [e] PAULUS DIACONUS, l. 2. [f] Idem l. 4. SIGON. ad an. 638. [g] Tab. Chorog. col. 101. & 38. [h] FOLIET. ut ſupra. [i] Annal. FULDENS. An. 806.

a ing to *Folieta*, he made an entire conqueſt; but, according to others, it appears, that the infidels only abandoned the iſland for a few months; for the following year they again arrived with a fleet from *Spain*; but were defeated by one count *Burchard*, who deſtroyed thirteen of their ſhips. Whether this *Burchard* was the ſucceſſor of *Audemarus*, who had been killed the former year in his expedition againſt the *Moors*, is uncertain, as very little notice is taken by any hiſtorians hitherto publiſhed of this country for more than three centuries after *Charlemagne*; its remote ſituation prevented it from being concerned in the diſputes betwixt the kings of *Germany* and *France*, and the dukes of *Spoleto* and *Frioul*, for the ſovereignty of *Italy*, and the protection of *Sardinia* and *Corſica*, being afterwards committed to the counts or marquiſſes of *Tuſcany*, then very rich and powerful [k].

b In the year 935 or 936, while the *Genoeſe* forces were abſent upon ſome expedition, the *Saracens* ſurpriſed the city, which they plundered and burnt, putting to death a great many of the inhabitants, and carrying others into captivity. Having embarked their captives, and immenſe booty, they ſet ſail for *Africa*; but the *Genoeſe*, about the ſame time, returning, and finding their city in aſhes, immediately purſued the invaders, and overtaking them on the coaſt of *Sardinia*, entirely defeated them, recovered all the captives, and took a great many of the enemy's ſhips [l].

*The* Genoeſe *form themſelves into a republic.* A. D. 950.

THE *Franks* having now loſt all authority in *Italy*, the *Genoeſe* began to form themſelves into a republic, and to be governed by their own magiſtrates, who were freely elected, and took the name of conſuls. In order to ſupport their independence, they applied them-

c ſelves with great aſſiduity to commerce and navigation, by which means they not only ſupplied themſelves with thoſe neceſſaries which the barrenneſs of their territory could not afford, but quickly became rich and powerful. Being apprehenſive leſt ſome of the *German* emperors, who frequently entered *Italy* as invaders, ſhould renew their pretenſions to their ſtate, they conſented to acknowledge *Berengarius* the third, duke of *Friuli*, who had been elected emperor by a party of the *Italian* nobles. *Berengarius*, who with great difficulty maintained himſelf in his new dignity, endeavoured by his conceſſions to enlarge the number of his friends and adherents; and accordingly made no difficulty to confirm the new republic in all their rights, privileges, and poſſeſſions [m].

*The* Genoeſe *and* Piſans *conquer* Sardinia. A. D. 1017.

MEAN while the *Genoeſe* began to extend their commerce from *Spain* to *Syria*, and from

d *Egypt* to *Conſtantinople*, their veſſels, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, being fitted for fighting as well as for carrying merchandize. Having acquired a great reputation by their extenſive commerce, in the beginning of the following century they were invited by the *Piſans*, who had likewiſe formed themſelves into a republic, to join with them in an expedition againſt the *Moors*, who had entirely made themſelves maſters of *Sardinia*. The *Genoeſe* and *Piſan* annals give a very different account of this expedition: the *Piſans* alledge, that a few years before, having obtained the inveſtiture of the iſland from the pope, on condition of recovering it from the *Moors*, they accordingly expelled the infidels; but being then at war with the inhabitants of *Lucca*, they were ſo engaged on the continent, that the *Moors* again ſurpriſed the iſland: that, on this account,

e they had recourſe to the *Genoeſe*, by whoſe aſſiſtance they entirely conquered the iſland; when, according to agreement, they gave all the booty of the *Moors* to their allies. The *Genoeſe*, however, make no mention of any gift of the pope, but ſay, that they made a partition of the iſland with the *Piſans*; that they took the *Mooriſh* king *Muſactus*, and ſent him a priſoner to the emperor; and that their allies refuſed to fulfil their condition with them [n]. However it be, from this time is dated that jealouſy and enmity betwixt the two republics, which engaged them in a long courſe of wars, that in the end proved the ruin of the *Piſans*. Scarce any account of theſe tranſactions is given us by the writers of thoſe times, who almoſt never relate the cauſe or iſſue of a war; but by a ſingle expreſſion ſlightly touch upon the moſt important enterprize.

*War betwixt the* Genoeſe *and* Piſans. A. D. 1070.

f ABOUT thirty years after the joint expedition againſt *Sardinia*, we are informed by the *Piſan* annals, that the republics of *Genoa* and *Piſa* were engaged in a deſtructive war [o]. This war ſeems to have continued near eighteen years, when the two parties, probably by the mediation of the pope, concluded a treaty of peace and alliance, and ſent their fleets in conjunction againſt the *Moors* in *Africa*, where, according to *Leo Oſtienſis* they killed an hundred thouſand of the enemy, and carried off an immenſe booty; and, if we believe *Bertholdus*, obliged the *Mooriſh* king to become tributary to the pope, who had granted all thoſe concerned in the expedition an ample pardon for their ſins, and ſent with them a bleſſed ſtandard of St. *Peter* [p]. *Folieta* mentions two other expeditions to *Africa* a few years after; but we have no account of their ſucceſs.

[k] PETR. CYRN. de reb. Corſ. l. 2. FOLIET. ut ſupra. Annal BERTIN. An. 806, 807. AIMON. l. 4. [l] LUITPRAND. Hiſt. l. 4. b. 2. FOLIET. Chron. Januenſ. nunc primum edit. per MURATOR, t. 9. [m] FOLIET. ut ſupra. [n] Idem ibid. [o] Chron. Piſan. ap. MURATOR. t. 6. [p] Chron. Piſan. An. 1070, 1078, 1088. BERTHOLD. An. 1088. LEO OST. l. 3 c. 70.

THE

A. D. 1097. THE ſtrange and unaccountable zeal which at this time ſeized the weſtern kingdoms of *Europe* for recovering the *Holy Land* from the *Saracens*, contributed to raiſe the *Genoeſe* republic to its higheſt degree of opulence and grandeur. Though very few of the *Genoeſe* took the croſs, yet they embarked with ardor in all the enterprizes of the cruſards; and on many occaſions performed very important ſervices to thoſe religious warriors. Their fleets were continually employed for many years either in tranſporting them to the *Levant*, or attending their armies along the coaſts of *Syria*, where they blocked up by ſea the maritime places which were beſieged by land. Sometimes they diſembarked their troops, to act in conjunction with the cruſards: at other times they tranſported their baggage; but they were conſtantly employed in furniſhing them with proviſions and warlike ſtores, which gave them new opportunities of extending their commerce; eſpecially as they made conſiderable acquiſitions of territory, and eſtabliſhed colonies in ſeveral places of *Aſia*, which they had conquered from the infidels. When the firſt body of cruſards marched into *Syria*, the *Genoeſe* ſent a fleet thither of forty gallies; which, at their firſt arrival, ſeized a great extent of the coaſt of *Aſia Minor*, and gave great aſſiſtance to the chriſtian army before
A. D. 1098. *Antioch*, which city, after a long ſiege, ſurrendered the following year on the third of *June*. Soon after, the infidels having marched with an immenſe army to endeavour to recover the city, two of the chriſtian officers, being ſtruck with a panic, fled to the *Genoeſe* fleet, and reported that the place was again in poſſeſſion of the *Turks*. This news terrifying the *Genoeſe*, they immediately ſet ſail for *Italy*; and in their paſſage landing at *Myrrea* in *Lycia*, brought from thence to *Genoa* the ſuppoſed body of *John the Baptiſt*, which was received by their countrymen with inexpreſſible joy [q].

THE following year, however, the *Genoeſe* ſent another powerful fleet into the *Levant*, under the command of *William Embriacus*, who, being informed that the cruſards had advanced from *Antioch* to *Jeruſalem*, immediately ſailed to *Joppa*, and made himſelf maſter of the city; but hearing that the *Saracens* had prepared a great number of ſhips at *Aſcalon*, with the intention of attacking him, he thought proper not to riſk an engagement with their ſuperior force, but landing all his troops and ſtores, ſunk the hulks of his gallies, to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy; and marching over land, joined the beſiegers. As the *Genoeſe* were looked upon as very expert engineers, and brought with them many warlike ſtores, and ſeveral machines for throwing darts and arrows, their arrival was very agreeable to the cruſards, who met with great oppoſition from the infidels. After they had joined the army, the attacks were carried on with great vigour, and the taking of the city was chiefly owing to their ingenuity: for, by the advice of *Embriacus*, they built a large wooden tower in ſuch a manner, that one of its ſides could be let down in the form of a draw-bridge, ſo as to ſerve as a paſſage for the troops to the top of the ramparts. This machine being advanced cloſe to the walls, a general aſſault was given to the city, which was firſt entered by *Godfrey* of *Boulogne* from the tower, who, being followed by many others, one of the gates was broke open, and the army admitted [r].

*The* Genoeſe *are principally concerned in taking* Jeruſalem.
A. D. 1099.

THE news of the taking of *Jeruſalem* no ſooner arrived in *Italy*, than the *Genoeſe* began to fit out another fleet of twenty-ſeven, or, according to ſome, thirty-ſeven gallies, and ſix other veſſels, which the year after, on the firſt of *Auguſt*, ſailed from *Genoa* with eight thouſand men, among whom was the hiſtorian *Caffarus*, whoſe annals have been lately publiſhed by *Muratori*. The fleet ſailed directly for *Laodicea*, then ſubject to the *Greek* emperor, where they took up their winter ſtation, and had a conference with the general *Baldwin*, who was perſuaded by them and the pope's legate as his brother *Godfrey* was dead, to accept of the crown of *Jeruſalem*. During the winter the *Genoeſe* made ſeveral ſhort ex-
A. D. 1101. curſions into the territories of the *Saracens*, and burnt many of their caſtles on ſhore. Upon the approach of the ſpring they ſailed with their whole fleet to *Joppa*; and landing their troops they marched to *Jeruſalem*, where they celebrated their *Eaſter*, and afterwards made an agreement with the king to aſſiſt him in his enterprizes againſt the infidels, on condition of receiving one-third of the booty taken from the enemy; and that the *Genoeſe* republic ſhould have ſettlements in the places to be conquered, with full juriſdiction over their own citizens. In conſequence of this treaty, they, in conjunction with the cruſards, immediately attacked *Azotus*, which they made themſelves maſters of in three days. From thence, in the month of *May*, they ſailed to *Cæſarea*, which, after a ſhort ſiege, they took by ſtorm, *Embriacus* being the firſt that mounted the wall, where he continued for ſome time alone, by the breaking of the ladder of the galley on which he mounted. We are informed by *Folieta* and *Jacob de Varagine*, that when the booty was divided into three parts, and the *Genoeſe*, who had been principally concerned in the action, were deſired to chuſe their ſhare, they pitched upon a large emerald made in the form of a diſh, which alone they preferred

[q] Chron. Januenſ. JACOB. DE VARAGINE. FOLIET. Annal. Franc.

[r] GUL. TYR. de bell. ſacr. FOLIET. PAUL. AEMIL.

to

a to the other two ſhares, becauſe it was ſaid to have been uſed by our Saviour in celebrating the laſt paſſover [s]. Sacred relics ſeem at this time to have been as frequent in *Paleſtine* as giants bones were afterwards ſaid to be in *America*.

After the conqueſt of *Ceſarea* the *Genoeſe* ſet ſail for *Italy*, and after a voyage of three months arrived ſafe at *Genoa*. The following *February*, when the magiſtrates were to be elected, the republic reſolved to chuſe four conſuls for four years; and as a reward for the ſervices of *Embriacus*, nominated him the firſt conſul. The new conſuls immediately ſent a fleet of forty gallies to *Paleſtine*, and, conſidering the flouriſhing ſtate of the republic, they put a ſtop to the currency of the money of *Pavia*, and for the firſt time ordered new money to be coined in *Genoa* [t]. The fleet that had ſailed to *Syria* took *Acaron* and *Gibelleto*; *The* Genoeſe *begin to coin their own money.*

b and the year after, having reduced *Dertuſia*, and received conſiderable reinforcements from *Genoa*, ſo that the number of their veſſels amounted to ſeventy ſail, they entered into a new treaty with *Baldwin*, promiſing to defend all the coaſts of *Syria* ſouthwards from the city of *Sidon*, the king at the ſame time ſtipulating to grant them a third part of the cuſtoms of *Azotus*, *Ceſarea*, and *Ptolemais*, and to allow them a ſtreet in *Jeruſalem*, and another in *Joppa*. Theſe great privileges were owing to the ſignal ſervices performed by their numerous fleet at the ſiege of *Ptolemais* or *Aco*, which, though looked upon as impregnable, was obliged to ſurrender to the Chriſtians in the laſt year of the conſulſhip of *Embriacus*. *William* of *Tyre* A. D. 1105. adds, that *Baldwin* was ſo ſenſible of the advantage of the alliance of the republic, that upon the taking of the city, he gave ſeveral private eſtates to many particular perſons among the

c *Genoeſe* [u]. As the republic had likewiſe received many favours from *Boemond* prince of *Antioch*, particularly a full immunity over all his principality, and a ſtreet and church in his capital, with a right of juriſdiction over their own citizens, the following year they welcomed the prince into their city with the greateſt honours upon his return from *France* with his bride *Conſtantia*, the daughter of king *Philip*. At the ſame time they were employed in fitting out another fleet of ſixty, or according to ſome, ſeventy gallies, which the year after ſailed to *Syria*, where it continued almoſt three years, during which time they forced *Gibello* to ſurrender; and, in conjunction with the cruſards, reduced *Tripoli*, after a long ſiege. According to *Caffarus*, the year following after the election of the four quadriennial conſuls, they ſent another fleet of twenty-two gallies to *Paleſtine*, which, in conjunction

d with the Chriſtian army, took *Baruto*, after a ſiege of two months. About the ſame time they alſo reduced *Malmiſtra*, which concluded their military expeditions in *Syria* during the firſt holy war.

The *Genoeſe*, having now no foreign enemy to contend with, began to renew their diſputes with their neighbours the *Piſans*; and, as a check upon theſe rivals, they fortified *Porto Venere*, ſituated on the weſtern confines of their territory, near the mouth of the river *Macra*. When they firſt formed themſelves into a republic, many cities and towns of their territory at the ſame time aſſumed an independence, and, being claimed by no ſovereign, were governed by their own ſeparate councils and determinations; ſo that the dominions of the republic in *Italy* were, for a conſiderable time, almoſt bounded by the walls of their city.

e The great ſucceſs that attended their arms in *Aſia*, now began to awaken their ambition; they, therefore, reſolved to reduce all the old marquiſate under their dominion; and at the ſame time that they rebuilt *Porto Venere*, they conquered *Lavagna* and its ſmall territory. Soon after, many towns and diſtricts voluntarily ſubmitted to the republic, which, now abounding in wealth, exacted no taxes or tribute from its new ſubjects, but afforded them protection from the petty inſults of their neighbours [w].

During the following quadriennial conſulſhip nothing memorable appears to have been tranſacted by the *Genoeſe*. At the next election they made a ſmall alteration in the form of government, and choſe eight ſupreme magiſtrates for four years, four of whom were to govern the firſt two years, and the other four during the remaining time. In the firſt

f year of this conſulſhip, according to the *Genoeſe* writers, pope *Gelaſius* the ſecond, had recourſe to the protection of the republic againſt the emperor *Henry* the fifth, and was conducted by their gallies from *Gaeta* to *Provence*, after having ſtopped at *Genoa*, where, in the A. D. 1118. month of *October*, he conſecrated the church of St. *Laurence* [x]. Other cotemporary writers, however, make no mention of the pope's arrival at *Genoa*; but, on the contrary, tell us, that he ſtopped ſome time at *Piſa*, and was honourably entertained by that republic [y].

A few months after a new war broke out betwixt the *Genoeſe* and *Piſans*, on account of *A new war betwixt them and the* Piſans. A. D. 1119. the iſland of *Corſica*, which had been lately invaded by a *Piſan* fleet. According to *Caffarus*, hoſtilities were commenced by the *Genoeſe*, who with a fleet of ſixteen gallies, in the

[s] Caffar. Annal. Genuens. l. 1. Chron. Januens. Foliet. ut ſupra. [t] Foliet. ibid. [u] Gul. Tyr. de bell. ſacr. l. 11. Foliet. ut ſupra. [w] Caffar. Annal. Chron. Jacob de Varagine. Foliet. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Falco. Benevent. Chron. Pandulf. in vit. Gelaſ. II. Chron. S. Monaſt. Caſſin. ap. Murator.

month of *May* ſurpriſing the *Piſans* in a port of *Sardinia*, obtained a complete victory, and a very rich booty. The *Piſans* tell us, that the year following their archbiſhop embarked on board their fleet, and defeated the *Genoeſe* in *Porto Venere*, which ſeems ſcarce to agree with the account of *Caffarus*, who relates, that his countrymen fitted out a moſt formidable fleet, conſiſting of no leſs than eighty galleys, with ſixty-eight other veſſels, on board of which were embarked twenty-two thouſand horſe and foot, five thouſand of whom were clad in complete armour of poliſhed ſteel, as bright as ſnow. The *Piſans*, he ſays, upon ſight of this armament, which appeared before their city, were ſo terrified, that they immediately ſubmitted to the terms of peace preſcribed by the *Genoeſe*, reſtored *Corſica*, and reſigned all pretenſions to the inauguration of the biſhops of that iſland. a

A. D. 1121. THIS peace, however, was of very ſhort continuance; for two years after the *Piſans*, not able to bear the hard conditions impoſed upon them, imprudently renewed the war. The *Genoeſe*, who ſome months before had been employed in an expedition in the *Apennines*, where they made ſeveral conqueſts, immediately marched with their army into the territories of the *Piſans*, which they ravaged, and carried off one thouſand captives, whom they impriſoned at *Genoa*. At ſea likewiſe they made prizes of two rich veſſels belonging to the *Piſans*, who in their annals make no mention of theſe loſſes; but give an account of ſix *Genoeſe* gallies taken by them in the river *Arno* [z]. The hiſtorians of each republic appear to have been ſolicitous only to narrate the advantages and victories of their countrymen, and to have ſacredly abſtained from ſtaining their glory by mentioning their loſſes and defeats. b

The diſputes between the two republics troubling the repoſe of *Italy*, pope *Calixtus*, who

A. D. 1123. had aſſembled a general council at the *Lateran* church the following year, ſummoned the two parties to *Rome*, to decide the controverſy about the conſecration of the *Corſican* biſhops. The affair being left to the arbitration of twelve archbiſhops and twelve biſhops, it was at laſt decided, that the right of the conſecration of the *Corſican* biſhops ſhould for the future be reſerved to the popes. c

BY this ſelfiſh determination the pope rather inflamed than quieted the diſcords; for tho' the *Genoeſe* declared themſelves ſatisfied with the ſentence, yet the *Piſans* were highly enraged. The archbiſhop immediately pulled off his ring and mitre, and threw them at the feet of the pope, who kicked them from him in great diſdain. Their deputies alſo left *Rome* without taking leave; and the year after the war was renewed with greater animoſity than before. The *Genoeſe* gained ſeveral advantages over the *Piſans*; recovered from them the caſtle of *St. Angelo* in *Corſica*; and took twenty-two of their veſſels richly laden from *Sardinia*, which had been deſerted by their convoy of nine gallies, though the *Genoeſe* attacked them only with ſeven. The *Piſan* hiſtorians, however, tell us, that the following year their republic fitted out a fleet of eighty gallies, and recovered *St. Angelo*; which, as to the taking of the caſtle, may be probable, as the *Genoeſe* make mention of recovering it again from the *Piſans*; but the ſtrength of their fleet ſeems not to agree with the account of *Caffarus*, who was this year conſul, and relates, that the *Genoeſe* kept the *Piſan* coaſts blocked up for a great part of the ſummer with ten gallies; and that in the month of *September* hearing that eight *Piſan* gallies had ſailed from the *Arno*, they went in purſuit of them with ſeven; but not meeting with them, they ſailed to *Piombino*, which they took and plundered, and carried off a great number of the inhabitants priſoners to *Genoa* [a]. d e

*The* Genoeſe *invade the territories of* Piſa. A. D. 1126. THE war ſtill continuing, the *Genoeſe* the next year ſailed with a numerous fleet up the *Arno*, landed their forces in the territory of the *Piſans*, and after ſome ſlight ſkirmiſhes ſailed to *Piombino*, which they again made themſelves maſters of; and from thence proceeded to *Corſica*, where they took three hundred *Piſans* priſoners, and recovered the caſtle of *St. Angelo*. This far *Caffarus*; but, according to *Volateranus*, the *Genoeſe* beſieged the city of *Piſa* a whole year, and reduced the *Piſans* to the greateſt diſtreſs; which account the *Piſan* hiſtorians alledge is a mere fable, without any foundation [b]. Two years after the *Genoeſe* made themſelves maſters of *Montalto*; and the following ſummer they attacked the *Piſans* with ſixteen gallies in the harbour of *Meſſina*, and as the *Meſſinians* gave aſſiſtance to their enemies, they even took poſſeſſion of their city, which, however, they quitted at the intreaty of king *Roger* [c]. Pope *Honorius*, dying a few months after, the ſucceſſion to the papal chair was diſputed by *Innocent* and *Anaclet*, who were both elected on the ſame day. The king of *Sicily* and the *Romans* having declared for *Anaclet*, *Innocent* was obliged to quit *Rome*, and to go to *France*, to implore the aſſiſtance of the *French* king and the emperor: but before he left *Italy*, he prevailed upon the *Genoeſe* and *Piſans* to agree to a truce till his return from f

A. D. 1130. *France*. The *Genoeſe* in the mean time reduced the inhabitants of *St. Remo*, where they built a ſtrong caſtle, and obliged the communities of *Ventimiglia*, *Bajardo*, and *Poipino* to ſwear allegiance to the republic of *Genoa*, and the biſhop *Syrus*, who that ſame year had g

[z] CAFFAR. Annal. Chron. Var. Piſan. [a] CAFFAR. ut ſupra. FOLIET. Chron. Januenſ. JACOB DE VARAG. [b] FOLIET. [c] CAFFAR. Annal. Chron. Januenſ.

been

a been conſecrated by the pope. About two years after, the pope having prevailed on the emperor *Lotharius* II. to march into *Italy* to his aſſiſtance againſt *Anaclet*, returned himſelf to *Piſa*, where he continued ſeveral months, and at length mediated a peace betwixt the *Genoeſe* and *Piſans*. To prevent any future diſputes about conſecrating the *Corſican* biſhops, he erected the ſee of *Genoa* into an archbiſhopric, and ſubjected to its juriſdiction three of the biſhops of *Corſica*, leaving the three other biſhops of that iſland under the juriſdiction of the archbiſhop of *Piſa*. The *Genoeſe* the ſame year ſent eight gallies to *Rome* to the aſſiſtance of the emperor and the pope againſt the party of *Anaclet*; and as the city of *Lavagna* had revolted, the conſuls marched with an army, and obliged it again to ſubmit to the republic.

*A peace concluded betwixt the two republics.* A. D. 1130.

b The following year the *Genoeſe*, to the ſeven old corporations or companies added a new one, and for every company choſe two conſuls. Having now no enemy to contend with in *Italy*, they turned their arms againſt the *Moors* in *Africa* and *Spain*, who by their piracies diſturbed the trade of the *Mediterranean*: they were very ſucceſsful during the four following years in their expeditions againſt the infidels, from whom they took many rich prizes. Having cleared the *Mediterranean* ſea of thoſe pirates, the year after they obtained a golden bull from the emperor *Conrad* the third, confirming their privilege of coining money; in gratitude for which favour they decreed, that the name of *Conrad* ſhould be ſtamped upon their money; and calling in the *bruneti*, publiſhed a new coin. A few months after the *Ventimiglians* revolting, the *Genoeſe* the following year inveſted their city by ſea and
c land, and quickly obliged it to ſurrender, having at the ſame time reduced the whole county, and obliging all thoſe under its juriſdiction again to renew their allegiance with the republic. During the two following years the *Genoeſe* were not engaged in any enterprize of importance; but the year after they took *Montpelier*, which they reſtored to its proprietor, who, in return for their aſſiſtance, granted them a ſettlement in that city, with a ſmall territory in *Thouloufe*, and an exemption from all duties in his dominions [d]. The *Genoeſe* about the ſame time, ſent ambaſſadors to *Rome*, who, after long ſolicitation, at length obtained from pope *Lucius* the ſecond, a remiſſion of the annual tribute of a pound of gold for the iſland of *Corſica*, with many other privileges, and a confirmation of all their rights in *Syria* [e].

*The* Genoeſe *turn their arms againſt the* Moors. A. D. 1134. A. D. 1139. A. D. 1144.

d As the *Moors* again infeſted the *Mediterranean*, the *Genoeſe* about two years after fitted out a fleet of twenty-two gallies, and ſix other veſſels, and ſent them under the command of *Caffarus* and *Oberto Torre* to *Minorca*. *Caffarus*, landing his troops at the port of *Furnelles*, ravaged a great part of the iſland, and the fourth day after returned with the booty to the port, when he was almoſt ſurpriſed by three hundred *Mooriſh* horſe, with a large body of foot: though he had only one hundred horſe, yet he immediately attacked the enemy, and after an obſtinate diſpute, repulſed them and purſued them eight miles. He afterwards took and plundered the chief city of the iſland; and, embarking his troops with the booty, he ſailed over the coaſt of *Granada*, and in the harbour of *Almeria* ſeized a great many *Mooriſh* ſhips. Having then landed his troops, he inveſted the city, which ſtruck
e the *Moors* with ſo great a panic, that they immediately offered a large ſum of money to the *Genoeſe*, on condition that they would quit their territories. The offer being accepted, part of the money was directly paid, and hoſtages given till the remainder of the ſum ſhould be collected. The king in the mean time abſconding with his treaſure, the *Moors* elected another chief, who promiſed to fulfil the engagements of his predeceſſor; but the time limited for the payment elapſing, the *Genoeſe*, who now deſpaired of taking the city, ravaged the country in its neighbourhood, and in the beginning of winter returned to *Genoa*.

A. D. 1146.

The *Moors* of *Granada*, about this time, making frequent irruptions into *Caſtile*, the king of *Spain* earneſtly ſolicited pope *Eugenius* the third to intereſt himſelf in his behalf.
f The pope accordingly, for that purpoſe, the following year ſent a legate to *Genoa*, whoſe endeavours being ſeconded by the archbiſhop, the *Genoeſe* were perſuaded to lay aſide their domeſtic diſſentions, which even then began to diſturb the tranquility of the republic, and with great ardor made immenſe preparations for an expedition againſt the infidels. The women having even contributed to the expence of the armament, about four months after the firſt reſolution, a powerful fleet was equipped, conſiſting of ſixty-four gallies and one hundred and ſixty-three tranſport veſſels, which ſailed to *Almeria*, under the command of ſix of the conſuls. The *Genoeſe*, after their arrival upon the coaſt of *Granada*, being joined by a few gallies and troops belonging to the count of *Barcelona*, immediately inveſted *Almeria*; and being reinforced by the arrival of the king of *Spain*, with one thouſand foot and four
g hundred horſe, they quickly made a breach in the wall, and, on the eighteenth of *October*,

[d] Idem ibid. [e] Foliet.

took

*They take* Almeria. A. D. 1147.

took the city by ſtorm, when, 'tis ſaid, twenty thouſand *Moors* were ſlain, and ten thouſand made captives, who were afterwards carried to *Genoa*. The booty of the city, with the money paid by the *Moors*, who ranſomed themſelves, was computed at ninety thouſand crowns of gold, the greateſt part of which was diſtributed by the conſuls to the ſoldiers and mariners. a

*ALMERIA* being thus reduced, the *Genoeſe* left a garriſon of one thouſand men in the city, and ſailed with the reſt of their forces to *Barcelona*, where, at the entreaty of the count, they fixed their winter ſtation, in order to aſſiſt him the following year in an expedition againſt *Tortoſa*. Accordingly, in the beginning of *July*, having received conſiderable ſupplies from *Genoa*, they ſailed up the *Ebro*, and being joined by the counts of *Barcelona* and *Montpelier*, and by ſeveral *Engliſh* knights templars, they inveſted the city, which they quickly made themſelves maſters of by ſtorm. The citadel, however, did not ſurrender till near ſix months after, as the *Genoeſe* during the ſiege had been deſerted by all their allies. Upon the reduction of the place, the count of *Barcelona*, who had remained after the deſertion of his troops, granted a third part of the city and all the booty to the *Genoeſe*, who returned in a triumphant manner in the beginning of the following year to *Genoa* [f]. b

*Make themſelves maſters of* Tortoſa. A. D. 1148.

DURING the remaining part of the year, and the four following annual conſulſhips, the *Genoeſe* were engaged in no enterprize of importance, which is attributed by *Folieta* partly to their opulence and internal diviſions, and to their apprehenſion of their arrival of the emperor *Frederic Barbaroſſa*, whoſe fierce and impetuous diſpoſition had alarmed all *Italy*, as he had been threatening for two or three years utterly to deſtroy thoſe *Italian* cities that ſhould refuſe obedience to his commands. *Caffarus* informs us, that about this period the whole ſtate ſeemed to be ſeized with a lethargy; ſo that the conſuls who were choſen at the following election, with difficulty were prevailed upon, by the moſt preſſing entreaties of the archbiſhop, to accept of the conſulſhip. Having at length entered upon the magiſtracy, they immediately ordered a great many new gallies to be built, and cauſed others to be repaired: they likewiſe applied themſelves to diſcharge the public debts, which in a ſhort time they partly accompliſhed. Before the expiration of their conſulſhip, the emperor *Frederic* arriving with an army at *Ronkalia*, in the plains of *Lombardy*, they ſent their archdeacon and the hiſtorian *Caffarus* to his camp, to take the oath of allegiance to him in the name of the republic. *Caffarus* has even omitted to give us any detail of his ambaſſy, and only mentions that they were received with great honour by the emperor, with whom they had many ſecret conferences, in which he was very liberal of his promiſes to the republic. But we are informed by *Folieta*, that *Frederic*, who wanted to make uſe of the *Genoeſe* naval forces in his expeditions in *Italy*, concluded nothing abſolutely with the ambaſſadors, hoping by keeping the republic in ſuſpence to prevail with it to ſecond his deſigns. His expectations, however, were diſappointed; for the following conſuls refuſed to agree to his demand, or to ſend hoſtages to his camp for their fidelity. The *Genoeſe*, apprehenſive of his reſentment, which they heard he openly expreſſed againſt them, immediately began to prepare for their defence, and to fortify the city with great ardour. By their vigorous meaſures the emperor was deterred from advancing into their territories, and declared himſelf ſatisfied with their oath of allegiance. c d e

A. D. 1155.

THE conſuls, in the mean time, redeemed all the mortgages upon the revenues of the republic, and concluded an alliance with the *Greek* emperor, who promiſed to pay a large ſubſidy yearly to the republic, granted the *Genoeſe* a ſtreet and church in *Conſtantinople*, and lowered the duties on commerce to them forty *per cent.* through all his dominions, They probably obtained theſe advantageous terms by refuſing to concur with the emperor *Frederic*; for we find a few years after the *Greek* emperor rejected the offered alliance of the *Piſans*, becauſe they would not agree to abandon the intereſts of the emperor of *Germany* [g]. During the ſame conſulſhip, the *Genoeſe* eſtabliſhed their authority in the *Italian* territories upon a more certain foundation, and ſent an ambaſſador to the pope to make a complaint againſt the king of *Jeruſalem*, the prince of *Antioch*, and the count of *Tripoli*, who had infringed the privileges of their ſubjects in their dominions. *Adrian* the fourth, who was then at *Benevento*, having conſidered the remonſtrances of the *Genoeſe*, immediately wrote to the three eaſtern princes, threatening them with excommunication, if they did not without delay reſtore the ſubjects of the republic to their privileges. f

A. D. 1156.

THE following conſuls ſent an ambaſſy to *William* the firſt, king of *Sicily*, with whom they concluded a treaty of commerce, and prevailed with him to expel all the *Provincial* and *French* merchants from his dominions; which he was eaſily perſuaded to, as one *Bernard*, a *French* pirate, had ſeized and plundered many veſſels belonging to his ſubjects [h]. The year after, the count of *Ventimiglia* at length voluntarily ſubmitted to the republic; and upon g

[f] Idem ut ſupra. CAFFAR. Annal. Chron. Januens.
[g] Chron Var. Piſan. CAFFAR. Annal.
[h] FOLIET. l. 1. CAFFAR. Annal.

a taking the oath of allegiance, received the inveſtiture of all his eſtates from the conſuls. While the *Genoeſe* were thus occupied in extending their commerce and aggrandizing their ſtate, they were again alarmed with the news of the emperor's arrival in *Italy* in a hoſtile manner, attended by a formidable army, compoſed of different nations. *Frederic*, by beſieging and reducing *Milan*, ſtruck a terror into all the cities of *Lombardy*, who immediately ſubmitted, acknowledged themſelves tributary to him, and renounced the regalia, or rights of ſovereignty, which they had aſſumed. The *Genoeſe*, however, ſtill abſolutely refuſed to renounce their regalia, or to give him hoſtages, inſiſting that they had been exempted from tribute by former emperors, in conſideration of defending the coaſts of the *Mediterranean* betwixt *Rome* and *Barcelona* from the ravages of the infidels. The citizens in the mean time, A. D. 1158.

b being firmly reſolved to oppoſe the emperor's demands, both men and women, young and old, wrought at the walls, the foundation of which had been extended, and begun about four years before, without intermiſſion; ſo that in eight days they compleated what by any other city of *Italy* would have been reckoned the work of twelve months. The emperor, finding them inflexibly bent upon defending their liberty, and conſidering the great difficulty of attacking their city, which was ſtrongly garriſoned and open to the ſea, conſented to a treaty with them, and upon promiſing them his protection, received their oath of fidelity, and a preſent of one thouſand two hundred marks [i].

As the emperor ſtill continued in *Lombardy*, and became every day more formidable, the *Genoeſe* thought proper the following year to complete the wall of their city, which we are

c told by *Caffarus* and *Folieta* extended 5520 feet, and was ornamented with 1070 merlans, but at the ſame time comprehended only one half of the city, which towards the ſea was naturally fortified by ſteep precipices. The factions of the city were by this time become very violent, ſo that the two parties ſometimes committed hoſtilities againſt each other; but by the prudence of the following conſuls, *Caffarus* informs us, they were greatly ſuppreſſed. The ſuſpenſion of their civil animoſities was perhaps chiefly owing to their being engaged anew in foreign expeditions; for we find the next year one of the conſuls, *Oberto Spinola*, ſailed with five gallies to *Spain*, and obliged one of the *Mooriſh* kings, whoſe ſubjects had lately infeſted the trade of the republic, to agree to a peace for fifteen years; in which treaty it was ſtipulated, that he ſhould pay a certain ſum yearly to the *Genoeſe*, and

*They oblige the* Moors *of* Spain *to agree to a peace.* A. D. 1161.

d allow them the freedom of trade in his dominions. A few months after the return of the conſul, *Alexander* the third arrived at *Genoa*, in his way to *France*, being obliged to leave *Italy*, on account of the protection granted by the emperor to the anti-pope *Victor*. The pope, in return for the kind reception he met with from the *Genoeſe*, enlarged the privileges of their ſee, and, according to *Folieta*, created the archbiſhop perpetual legate of the provinces beyond ſea.

While *Alexander* was preparing for his departure from *Genoa*, the emperor *Frederic* on the A. D. 1162.
firſt of *March* obliged the city of *Milan* to ſurrender, after a long ſiege of ſeveral months; and being highly irritated againſt the inhabitants, on account of their breach of faith, he entirely deſtroyed the city, and obliged them to live in four towns, at two miles diſtance from each

e other. This example of ſeverity ſtruck a new panic into all the ſtates of *Lombardy* and *Tuſcany*, whom he again ſummoned to his court at *Pavia*. The *Genoeſe* deputies, being privately urged by his courtiers to ſubmit quietly to his demands, they declared their willingneſs to obey, but inſiſted that the emperor, in return, ought to diſtinguiſh them above the other cities of *Italy*. *Frederic*, being pleaſed with their ready compliance, accordingly entered into a treaty with them, by which he confirmed their privileges, and extended their juriſdiction over all the coaſt of *Liguria*, from the city of *Monaco* to the river *Macra*, great part of which had hitherto been ſubject to different marquiſſes, who had never acknowledged their authority. The *Genoeſe*, for theſe favours, promiſed to aſſiſt the emperor with their fleets and forces in all his expeditions [k].

f The republic had no ſooner concluded this treaty with the emperor, than it was engaged in a new war with the *Piſans*, which was occaſioned by a quarrel betwixt the ſubjects of the two republics at *Conſtantinople*. According to *Caffarus*, one thouſand *Piſans*, being aſſiſted by ſome *Venetians* and *Greeks*, attacked three hundred *Genoeſe* in their quarter, and after an obſtinate diſpute drove them from the city, and killed ſome of thoſe they took priſoners in cold blood. The *Genoeſe* immediately declared war againſt the *Piſans*, and hoſtilities commenced betwixt the two republics with various ſucceſs; but the emperor interpoſing his authority, deputies from both ſtates waited upon him at *Turin*, and in the end of the year agreed to a truce till his return from *Germany*. About two years after, the emperor returning to *Italy*, deputies immediately waited upon him from *Genoa* and *Piſa*,

*A new war between the* Genoeſe *and* Piſans.

g for negotiating a peace, which, however, was interrupted upon the following account. One *Bariſſo*, a judge or governor of one of the four provinces of *Sardinia*, by the perſuaſion of

[i] Idem ibid. [k] Idem ut ſupra. Sigon. in regn. Ital. l. 13. Justiniani. An. 1162.

the *Genoeſe*, who had a great party in that iſland, ſent an ambaſſador to *Frederic*, aſking the crown of *Sardinia*, offering to pay him an annual quit-rent, and to give him directly four thouſand marks of ſilver. The emperor, who graſped at every opportunity of extending his dominion over the *Italians*, readily hearkened to this propoſal; and, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the *Piſans*, who inſiſted with great warmth that the ſovereignty of *Sardinia* belonged to them, he created *Bariſſo* king of the iſland, and ſolemnly put the crown upon his head in the church of St. *Syris* in *Pavia*. The *Genoeſe*, in oppoſition to the *Piſans*, ſtrenuouſly alledged, that *Sardinia* belonged to them; and, as *Bariſſo* wanted money, they paid the four thouſand marks for him to the emperor, and upon his return to *Genoa* lent him other conſiderable ſums, which he promiſed to pay before he landed on the iſland. The *Genoeſe* accordingly accompanied him thither; but perceiving he had ſome intrigues with the *Sardinians* and *Piſans*, they would not allow him to land till the money was paid. After various delays, finding the *Sardinians* intended only to deceive them, they carried back the king to *Genoa*, and committed him a priſoner to ſome nobles.

A. D. 1164. a b

THE civil diſſentions at the ſame time were very violent in the city. Tumults and ſkirmiſhes were very frequent; and in the month of *November*, one of the conſuls was murdered at his country ſeat by the plebeians. The following conſuls, immediately after their election, applied themſelves to put a ſtop to the civil diſcords, and obliged all the citizens to go unarmed, and agree to a truce during their conſulſhip. As the *Piſans*, about the ſame time, were accuſed of violating the truce which had hitherto ſubſiſted, by plundering a *Genoeſe* veſſel which had been ſhipwrecked on the coaſt of *Sardinia*, the conſuls of the two republics appeared before one of the emperor's chaplains at *Porto Venere*, whom *Frederic* had appointed arbitrator of their differences. After long debates, the conferences were broke off without any effect, and hoſtilities were renewed with great animoſity, and mutual damage to each republic. The *Genoeſe* made a deſcent upon *Sardinia*, which was almoſt wholly under the dominion of the *Piſans*, who ſurpriſed and burnt *Albenga* and another town in the *Genoeſe* territories. The war continued with various ſucceſs to each of the parties for ten years, during which time the *Genoeſe* conſuls with great difficulty could ſuppreſs their domeſtic factions. Six of the chiefs of each party having agreed to fight ſingle combats, the conſuls granted them permiſſion, and a day was appointed to decide their quarrel; but the combatants, with many other citizens, being then aſſembled in the archbiſhop's palace, where the ſacred relicks were produced, the ſerious exhortations of the prelate had ſuch an effect, that both parties dropt their animoſities, and embraced as friends. The archbiſhop of *Mentz*, in the mean time, who was chancellor of the empire in *Italy*, was perſuaded by the *Piſans* to grant them the inveſtiture of *Sardinia*. The *Genoeſe*, to occaſion a diverſion to their enemies, entered into an alliance with the *Luccheſe*; and the *Piſans*, on the other hand, concluded a treaty with the *Florentines*: but all parties at length being weary of the war, they referred their diſputes to the arbitration of the emperor, who had returned a fifth time to *Italy*, and was then at *Pavia*. *Frederic*, after conſidering the claims of both republics, principals in the war, divided the iſland of *Sardinia* betwixt them, without any regard to the inveſtiture formerly given to *Bariſſo*, who was ſtill a priſoner in *Genoa*, though we are informed by the continuator of *Caffarus*, that a few years before he had been carried to *Sardinia*, and had made a ſecond unſucceſsful attempt to raiſe the money he owed to the *Genoeſe*. By this peace, the *Genoeſe* were likewiſe ordered to demoliſh a caſtle which they had built againſt the *Piſans*; and theſe laſt were prohibited from coining falſe *Luccheſe* money [l].

c c c

*The emperor mediates a peace betwixt them.*

A. D. 1175.

A. D. 1177. As the ſaladin of *Egypt*, about this time, was threatening to attack the Chriſtians in *Paleſtine*, the *Genoeſe*, two years after the peace with the *Piſans*, concluded an alliance with him, by which he promiſed not to moleſt their territories in *Syria*, provided the republic ſhould give no aſſiſtance to his enemies [m]. During the nine following years the *Genoeſe* enjoyed great tranquility, the violence of their factions being moderated by the prudence of the conſuls. They were, in the mean time, obliged to ſend a body of troops againſt ſome towns in their eaſtern and weſtern territory, which had committed ſeveral outrages againſt their neighbours. The conſequence of thoſe diſturbances was the ſubmiſſion of the city of *Nice*, which put itſelf under the protection of the republic. The following year the animoſities which had formerly diſturbed the ſtate, were again revived, on account of the murder of one of the conſuls, and two other nobles. The aſſaſſins being diſcovered were baniſhed the city, and their houſes and all their effects were deſtroyed. The *Piſans* about the ſame time, in violation of the late treaty, having attacked the *Genoeſe* merchants in *Sardinia*, and expelled them from the diſtrict of *Calaris*, the republic immediately raiſed an army, and fitted out a ſtrong fleet, which they ſent to *Porto Venere*, with the intention of revenging the inſult: however, at the interceſſion of the emperor's ſon *Henry*, they recalled their land

f

A. D. 1178.

g

[l] Idem ibid. [m] FOLIET. l. 2.

forces;

a forces; but *Fulco di Caſtello*, with ten gallies, ſailed to *Corſica*, and deſtroyed a caſtle which had been erected on the coaſt by the *Piſans*.

In the mean time, news arriving in *Italy* that the ſaladin of *Egypt* had taken *Jeruſalem*, and entirely defeated the Chriſtians, who had loſt all their territories in *Syria*, except *Tripoli*, *Tyre*, and *Antioch*, *Clement* the third, who, the following year was promoted to the pontificate, publiſhed indulgences over all *Chriſtendom* for a new cruſade againſt the infidels; and that the diſpute betwixt the *Genoeſe* and *Piſans* might not interrupt the ſacred expedition, he prevailed upon the two republics to agree to a peace. The city of *Genoa* being likewiſe in great confuſion by the violence of the two oppoſite factions, who were continually ſkirmiſhing with each other, the pope intereſted himſelf alſo in their diſputes; and by means of a b cardinal legate perſuaded the two parties to agree to an amicable accommodation, which, however, was of very ſhort continuance; for the next year hoſtilities were again renewed, and with great difficulty quelled by the conſuls. The kings of *France* and *England*, in the mean time, making immenſe preparations for a new expedition to the *Holy Land*, and requeſting the aſſiſtance of the *Genoeſe*, the republic ſent an ambaſſador to *England*, and another to *France*, declaring their great readineſs to ſecond the enterprizes of the cruſards. At the ſame time ſeveral of the conſuls ſailed from *Genoa* with a large body of horſe and foot, who aſſiſted at the ſiege of *Acon*, which, two years after, was taken chiefly by means of the battering engines that they brought with them, and conſtructed after their arrival [n]. The year following another fleet of cruſards and pilgrims ſailed from *Genoa*.

*The Chriſtians loſe* Jeruſalem, *and almoſt all their territories in* Syria.

*The* Genoeſe *ſend a fleet to* Syria. A. D. 1189.

c The factions in the mean time diſturbing the city, and becoming every day more violent, the conſuls at length reſolved to imitate ſome other ſtates of *Italy*, and to commit the government of the republic to a foreigner. Accordingly, after mature deliberation, *Manegold de Tetocio*, a citizen of *Breſcia*, of great reputation for prudence and juſtice, was choſen podeſta. The daring inſolence of the factions may be eaſily perceived from the behaviour of *Fulco di Caſtello*, who with ſome of his family, ſoon after broke into the room where the podeſta and conſuls were aſſembled, and killed *Lanfranc Piper*, one of the conſuls. *Manegold* next day called a general council; and after addreſſing the people, he put on his armour, and went with ſome forces to the palace of *Fulco*, which he ordered to be directly razed. The aſſaſſins eſcaped puniſhment by abandoning their native country, and taking refuge in d *Placenza*. A. D. 1190.

As the ſucceſſion to the kingdom of *Naples* was at this time diſputed betwixt the emperor *Henry*, and *Tancred*, a royal baſtard, the *Genoeſe* entered into a treaty with *Henry*, who, on condition that they would aſſiſt him againſt his competitor, confirmed to them the privileges granted by former kings of *Sicily*, and beſides gave them the city of *Syracuſe*, with a large territory in that iſland. Upon the concluſion of this treaty, the podeſta immediately fitted out a fleet of thirty-three gallies, which in the end of ſummer ſailed to the coaſt of *Naples*; but the emperor being prevented by ſickneſs from proſecuting the war, a few weeks after the fleet returned to *Genoa*, without having been engaged in any action [o].

The *Genoeſe*, finding no good effects from the alteration of the form of government, the A. D. 1191. e following year reſtored the conſuls, who enjoyed, however, a mere ſhadow of authority, the violence of the factions filling the whole city with confuſion and anarchy. The chiefs of the oppoſite parties aſſaulted each other's houſes and towers with battering engines, while their partizans were continually engaged in ſkirmiſhing; ſo that the conſuls, at length intimidated, renounced their office, and hid themſelves in their houſes. Theſe tumults continued near three years, till the arrival of *Marcoald*, ſeneſchal of the emperor, who fearing leſt the civil diſſentions would prevent the equipping of a fleet for the *Sicilian* expedition, called a general aſſembly of the people, and prevailed with them to ſuſpend their animoſities, and to chuſe *Oberto d'Oliveno*, a nobleman of *Pavia*, of a diſtinguiſhed character, as the podeſta for the remaining part of the year, and the year following [p].

f *HENRY* ſoon after arrived at *Genoa*, and declaring, that if *Sicily* was conquered, it A. D. 1194. would wholly belong to the republic, as he intended to ſpend his life in *Germany*, he cajoled the *Genoeſe* to eſpouſe his intereſts with ardour; ſo that in the month of *Auguſt* the podeſta, having appointed a vicar to govern in his abſence, ſailed with a numerous fleet to *Naples*, and from thence to *Sicily*; where he performed many ſignal ſervices to the emperor. A quarrel happening betwixt the *Genoeſe* and *Piſans* at *Meſſina*, in which the *Genoeſe* were worſted, the diſgrace ſo affected him, that he ſickened and died; but his ſucceſſor in command ſtill continuing to aſſiſt the *Germans*, they at laſt made themſelves maſters of the whole iſland of *Sicily*. *Henry*, however, who was noted for his perfidy and tyrannical diſpoſition, inſtead of fulfilling his engagements to the *Genoeſe*, deprived them of all their former privig leges, in *Sicily*; prohibited, under pain of death, any of their ſubjects from taking the title of conſul in his kingdom; and threatened, if they ſhould expreſs any reſentment, to deſtroy their city.

[n] Idem ut ſupra. Roger Hoveden. Annal. Angl. [o] Caffar. Annal. l. 3. [p] Idem ibid. Sigon. in regn. Ital. Ritices de regn. Neap. & Sicil. in fol.

The

THE *Genoese* immediately quitted *Sicily* and returned home, when *James Munerius* of *Milan* was chosen podesta for the ensuing year. During his government, the *Genoese* were employed in repressing the insults of the *Pisans*, who in a piratical manner took many of their ships, and rebuilt the castle which had been formerly destroyed in *Corsica*. The republic, during the two following years, was governed by the same podesta, namely *Drudus Marcellinus*, a nobleman of *Milan*, of great activity and resolution, who, being assisted by eight collegues, exerted himself both against the *Pisans* and the seditious nobles. He ordered all the towers of the city, which were the chief receptacles of the factious, to be lowered to the measure of eighty feet; and by punishing some criminals of note, struck a terror into all offenders. He was succeeded in authority by another noble citizen of *Milan*, *Albert de Mandello*, who, being likewise assisted with eight collegues, governed the republic with great prudence and success. His successor was *Beltram Christian* of *Pavia*, who was assisted by six rectors; and, in the beginning of his government, sent eight gallies to meet and convoy the ships returning from the *Levant*. As the inhabitants of *Ventimiglia* that year revolted, the *Genoese* invested their city by land and sea for two months; but, from some treachery in the army, the siege proving unsuccessful, it was raised in the end of *August*, when the troops returned to *Genoa*. Two years after, however, the *Ventimiglians* came and voluntarily submitted to the consuls, to whom the government of the republic was again committed.

*Ventimiglia revolts and is besieged without success.* A. D. 1199.

UPON the expiration of their consulship, the *Genoese* again chose a podesta, named *Guifredottus Grassellus*, a nobleman of *Milan*, who governed the republic three years. As a proof of the great extent of the *Genoese* commerce at this period, *Folieta* informs us, that the republic obtained several privileges from the king of *Armenia*, who besides granted them a church, and a certain district, in three of his cities [q]. The new podesta, desirous of putting an end to the piratic war, which, from the quarrel at *Messina*, had now subsisted near eight years betwixt the *Genoese* and *Pisans*, had a conference with several *Pisan* deputies for a peace. An accommodation, however, could not be effected, and hostilities still continued, to the mutual damage of both republics. After the conferences, the podesta entered into treaty with the marquisses of *Gavi*, who, upon receiving a large sum of money, and being created citizens of *Genoa*, resigned their whole territories, situated in the *Alpes Cottiæ*, to the republic [r]. *Guifredottus*, in the last two years of his government, was engaged in quelling the factions among the nobles, and accommodating some particular differences betwixt several towns and districts of the territories of the republic. He was likewise attentive to prosecute the war against the *Pisans*, who had seized *Syracuse*, and expelled the bishop and a great many of the inhabitants. Great numbers of the *Genoese* ships having assembled at *Crete*, in their return from the *Levant*, a resolution was formed by their commanders to attack *Syracuse*, which they accordingly made themselves masters of by assault; and, putting the *Pisans* to death, restored the bishop and inhabitants, but gave the command of the city to one of their own citizens.

A. D. 1202.

*Hostilities betwixt the* Genoese *and* Venetians. A. D. 1204.

TOWARDS the end of his government, the *Genoese* attacked and seized a *Venetian* ship returning from *Constantinople*, loaded with wealth and many precious relicks, among which was the real cross presented by the empress *Helena* to her son. The *Genoese* annalists assign no reason for this rupture with the *Venetians*: perhaps the republic of *Genoa* espoused the interests of *Alexis Commines*, who the year before had been expelled by the *Venetians* and crusards from the throne of *Constantinople*, which he had usurped from his brother [s]. However it be, we find the *Genoese* the following year, when *Fulco di Castello*, by the interest of his faction, had caused himself to be elected podesta, again attacked the *Venetians* in the *Archipelago*, and took from them two rich ships, on board of one of which were upwards of nine hundred men [t]. At the same time they gave assistance to the count of *Tripoli* against the *Turks* in *Syria*, and relieved the city of *Syracuse*, which was besieged by the *Pisans*, who venturing a naval engagement were entirely defeated, and lost about twenty vessels. This was one of the most considerable actions that had been done for several years; for though there was great rivalship and enmity betwixt the two republics, yet the war was carried on without any general plan by both of them, who were chiefly intent upon extending their commerce. The military expeditions seem to have been most frequently undertaken by private adventurers, and the whole operations of a summer to have been confined to the taking of a few trading vessels and gallies. The war continued in this manner for three years longer, when a truce was agreed to, which the year after was converted into a perpetual peace.

*The* Venetians *expelled from the island of* Crete. A. D. 1207.

THE consuls, in the mean time, were again restored, and the island of *Crete* was taken from the *Venetians* by a noble *Genoese*, *Henry* count of *Malea*, by some called *Malta*, who, having received considerable reinforcements from *Genoa*, defeated the *Venetian* fleet, and took *Raynerius Dandulus*, the doge and admiral, prisoner, who died a few days after [u]. As

[q] FOLIET. l. 3. [r] Idem ibid. CAFFAR. Annal Gen. l. 4. Chron. Januens. [s] Vide NICET. hist. Isaac Ang. [t] CAFFAR. l. 4. [u] Chron. Januens. ap. MURATOR. t. 9. col. 44. CAFFAR. Annal. An. 1206. FOLIET.

the

a the *Venetians*, however, made great preparations for recovering the iſland, the *Genoeſe*, tho' again at war with the *Piſans*, who in a few months had violated the peace, fitted out a formidable fleet in ſupport of count *Henry*; and to defray the expence of the armament, impoſed a new tax for ſix years. Mean while the emperor *Otho* the fourth arriving in *Italy*, by his mediation a ceſſation of hoſtilities was again agreed to betwixt the *Genoeſe* and *Piſans* for two years. The republic the following year elected *Rayneriius*, or *Renatus Cotta*, a citizen of *Milan*, podeſta, who began his government with appointing a board of eight nobles to proſecute a war againſt the *Marſilians*, who had countenanced ſome of their ſubjects in depredations upon the trade of the *Genoeſe*. The *Marſilians*, being quickly diſtreſſed by the *Genoeſe* armaments, in the end of the year ſent ten of their nobles to *Genoa*, who prevailed on
b the republic to grant them a peace for twenty-one years. The *Genoſe*, at the ſame time, were obliged to puniſh the inſolence of the inhabitants of *Nice*, who, though they had formerly put themſelves under the protection of the republic, now piratically ſeized the *Genoeſe* ſhips. The ſame podeſta enlarged the territories of the republic by purchaſing *Corvaria*, ordered the marquis of *Gavi*, who had revolted, to be impriſoned for ten years, and cauſed ſome public roads to be made for the conveniency of inland commerce. The following year the *Genoeſe* again committed the government to conſuls, who were ſo ſucceſsful as to conclude a truce with the *Piſans* for five years, and with the *Venetians* for three (A). A. D. 1211.

BEFORE the expiration of the truce with the *Venetians*, the *Genoeſe* enlarged their territories by the acquiſition of the eſtates of the marquis *Caretto*, who reſigned them voluntarily A. D. 1215.
c to the republic: they likewiſe fortified the caſtle of *Monaco*, and made ſeveral alterations in the ſtate of the revenue, which they ordered to be farmed annually. Soon after they received the ſubmiſſion of the *Niceans*; and being informed that ſome *Venetian*, *Piſan*, and *Provençal* gallies, had ſailed from *Conſtantinople*, and ſeized ſeveral *Genoeſe* ſhips in *Sicily*, they ordered preparations to be made for an expedition to the *Levant*; but the year after, hearing that the *Venetians* were making no warlike preparations in *Romania*, they likewiſe deferred their armament.

ACCORDING to *Folieta*, the *Genoeſe* about this time ſent an ambaſſy to the king of *Armenia*, who confirmed to them their privileges in his dominions, particularly the freedom of juriſdiction. Though they always inſiſted on a free juriſdiction in foreign countries, yet,
d what is remarkable, this year they introduced a new eſtabliſhment at home, and for the firſt time committed the deciſion of civil cauſes to five foreign judges [w]. The following year A. D. 1216.
the government of the republic was again committed to a podeſta; and by the interceſſion of pope *Honorius* the third, who was very deſirous of forming a third general cruſade to the *Holy Land*, a peace was concluded betwixt the *Genoeſe* and *Piſans*; which, not many months after, was followed by an accommodation betwixt the republic and the *Venetians*. The *Genoeſe*, about the ſame time, conducted a great many *French* barons to the *Holy Land*; and the year after, ſent ten gallies to the aſſiſtance of the Chriſtians at the ſiege of *Damiata* in *Egypt*.

THE two following years were ſpent in expenſive and ineffectual expeditions againſt the
e *Ventimiglians*, who, being, aſſiſted by the *Provençals*, made many ſallies againſt the beſiegers, in which they were generally ſucceſsful; but the entrance of their harbour being at length blocked up, they were obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion to the podeſta, who generouſly granted them a pardon. Soon after the ſubmiſſion of the *Ventimiglians*, the *Genoeſe* having received ſome injury from the *Piſans* in *Acon*, which is not particularized by their hiſtorians, after a ſhort engagement drove the *Piſan* from the city: but their enemies being countenanced by the king of *Jeruſalem*, they themſelves retired from *Acon*, with all their effects, to *Berytus*. *The* Ventimiglians *again revolt.* A. D. 1220.

As the *Genoeſe* about this period had enlarged their territory even beyond the ſkirts of the *Appennines*, either by purchaſes or the voluntary ſubmiſſion of the proprietors, their opu- A. D. 1224.
f lence and grandeur began to give great jealouſy to their neighbours in the plains of *Lombardy*, particularly the inhabitants of *Alexandria* and *Tortona*; who, under pretence that the proprietors of thoſe territories were their feudatories, declared war againſt the republic, which continued for two years with various ſucceſs. The immoderate expence of this war, and the arrival of the emperor *Frederic* the ſecond at *Cremona*, tempted the inhabitants of *Savona* and *Albenga* the following year to revolt, and put themſelves under the protection of the count of *Savoy*, the Imperial vicar in *Italy*. But the republic not being ſo much ex-

[w] Annal. CAFFAR. FOLIET. l. 3.

(A) The continuator of *Caffarus* relates, that one *Nicolas*, a *German* boy, arrived this year at *Genoa* in the habit of a pilgrim, followed by upwards of ſeven thouſand men, women, and children, who had taken the croſs with the intention of proceeding to *Syria*, being actuated by a ſuperſtitious opinion that the ſea was to be dried up, to allow them to walk directly to *Jeruſalem*. The conſuls ordered them immediately to quit the city; but as they had no home, many of them, who laid aſide the thoughts of their pilgrimage, were allowed to continue.

hauſted as they expected, and the emperor neglecting to give them any aſſiſtance, they were obliged the year after again to ſubmit to the *Genoeſe*, who about the ſame time concluded a peace with *Tortona* and *Alexandria*, by the mediation of the inhabitants of *Milan*. The republic was no ſooner freed from foreign wars than the domeſtic diſſentions again revived, it being diſcovered that a ſociety had been ſecretly formed by many of the nobility for dividing among themſelves all the offices of the ſtate, to the excluſion of the other citizens. The podeſta, however, found means of pacifying the oppoſite parties, as the republic was ſtill threatened with a renewal of the war with the *Alexandrians*, who appeared diſſatisfied with the late accommodation, and the following year treacherouſly ſurpriſed *Capriata*. This
A. D. 1230. war, however, was at length terminated two years after, by arbitration of three of the clergy, who adjudged *Capriata* to the republic. a

THE *Genoeſe* being now freed from all apprehenſions of diſturbances in *Italy*, the next year ſent ſeveral ambaſſies to the *Levant*, to renew their alliances with the eaſtern princes. They
*The Genoeſe ſend a fleet againſt the* Moors *of* Spain. likewiſe ſent a fleet to *Spain* againſt *Muleaſſes*, king of *Murcia*, who, contrary to the faith of treaties, had plundered the *Genoeſe* merchants in his dominions. The fleet acted in conjunction with the forces of another *Mooriſh* king, then at war with *Muleaſſes*, and by its formidable appearance procured for the republic the friendſhip of the king of *Seville*. Towards
A. D. 1231. the end of the year, their deputies appeared at the general diet held by the emperor in *Ravenna*, and exceeded in ſplendor and magnificence the ambaſſadors of all the other *Italian* ſtates. Though they profeſſed great attachment to the emperor, yet they excuſed themſelves from ſubmitting to his mandate, prohibiting them from taking a podeſta from the revolted cities of *Lombardy*, by alledging that they had already, in the month of *September*, c
*A rupture betwixt them and the emperor.* choſen *Pagan de Petra Sancta*, a nobleman of *Milan*, podeſta for the enſuing year. *Frederic* was no ſooner informed that the *Genoeſe* had received their podeſta from *Milan*, than he ordered all their merchants in *Naples* and *Sicily* to be impriſoned, and thoſe in *Syria* and
A. D. 1232. *Tunis* to be expelled, and their effects ſeized. The *Genoeſe* were greatly alarmed and irritated by theſe proceedings, and immediately ſent ambaſſadors to the confederated cities of *Lombardy*, with whom they propoſed to enter into an alliance. The podeſta, however, privately ſent an ambaſſador to the emperor; but *Frederic* rejecting all accommodation, the republic with great ardor fitted out ſeveral gallies, and diſpatched them to *Tunis* and the *Levant*. The emperor's troops in the *Holy Land* about the ſame time being almoſt all cut d
Frederic *conſents to an accommodation.* off by the infidels, and the *Genoeſe* quickly becoming maſters of the ſea, *Frederic*, in the end of the year, willingly hearkened to an accommodation, and reſtored the *Genoeſe* to all their former privileges.

THE republic, during the two following years, was engaged in quelling an inſurrection
A. D. 1233. of the peaſants, and aſſiſting the king of *Ceuta* on the coaſt of *Africa* againſt the *Spaniſh* cruſards. Though the *Spaniards* were repulſed by the aſſiſtance of the *Genoeſe* admiral, yet the *Mooriſh* king, inſtead of fulfilling his engagements to the republic, aſſaulted their gallies, and burnt the houſes and merchandize of the *Genoeſe* in the city. He excuſed himſelf the following year to the ambaſſador of the republic, by alledging that the citizens, without his permiſſion, had quarrelled with the ſailors; but ſtill deferring to fulfil his engage- e
ments, the ambaſſador declared war againſt him, and retired to *Spain*, where he died. His ſucceſſor, aſſembling all the *Genoeſe* ſhips on the *Spaniſh* coaſts, returned before *Ceuta*, and by his vigorous aſſaults quickly obliged the *Moors* to offer an honourable accommodation.

NOTHING remarkable happened during the three following years, excepting the concluſion of a peace and alliance betwixt the *Genoeſe* and *Venetians* for nine years, by the mediation of the pope, and the revolt of *Savona*, *Albenga*, and *Ventimiglia*, which were ſoon obliged to
Savona *and* Albenga *revolt.* return to their obedience. The following year, however, *Savona* and *Albenga* again revolted, with ſeveral marquiſſes in their neighbourhood, at the inſtigation of the emperor, who being offended that the *Genoeſe* refuſed to take the oath of homage to him, made large promiſes of aſſiſtance to the rebels. On account of this new revolt, the *Genoeſe* fitted out thir- f
teen gallies, which quickly reduced all the weſtern coaſt, excepting *Albenga*, and *Savona*, while the podeſta repulſed *Oberto Pallavicini*, the emperor's vicar, who had made an incurſion into the territories of the republic.

As the animoſities which had long ſubſiſted betwixt the emperor and the pope now broke out into an open rupture, the *Genoeſe*, who were ſoothed by *Gregory*, and irritated by *Frederic*, eſpouſed the party of the former, and this year entered into the confederacy of the *Lombard* cities, and allowed the pope's legate to preach a cruſade againſt the emperor in
A. D. 1240. *Genoa*[x]. This fatal diſſention betwixt the emperor and the pope, about the extent of their juriſdiction, divided all *Italy* into two oppoſite factions, which long perſecuted each other with the moſt rancorous animoſity. Though *Genoa* at firſt declared unanimouſly for the g
pope and the confederates, many of the noble citizens, and powerful families, however,

[x] CAFFAR. Annal. An. 1240.

ſoon

a ſoon privately embraced the party of the emperor, and afterwards openly eſpouſing his intereſt retired to *Savona*, which they made their head-quarters. *Savona*, in the mean time, having received a *German* garriſon, the *Genoeſe* troops the following ſpring did not think proper to inveſt the city; but after plundering its territories, returned to *Genoa*. Soon after their return the podeſta, having diſcovered a letter of the emperor to ſeveral of the nobles incloſed in a cake of wax, he immediately ordered their houſes, which were too ſtrong to be taken by aſſault, to be inveſted, and equipped twenty-ſeven gallies, which about the end of *April* ſailed from *Genoa*, with a great number of prelates, for the council of *Rome*. By the imprudence of the admiral, who refuſed to ſail round *Corſica*, a few weeks after they fell in with the imperial and *Piſan* fleet, and after a ſharp engagement were almoſt all b taken or ſunk, five of the whole number only eſcaping [y]. A. D. 1241.

THE news of this diſgrace ſtruck the *Genoeſe* with conſternation; their vigour, however, was not thereby abated, for they immediately ordered fifty-two gallies to be put upon the ſtocks, and commanded all their ſubjects to be ready to take arms at a moment's warning. Many of theſe gallies, about three months after, were completed, and ſailed out to attack the emperor's fleet, which had appeared off the harbour. The imperial admiral, who was a *Genoeſe*, declined an engagement, but ſoon after entered the harbour during the night, and unſucceſsfully attempted to deſtroy the ſhipping. Many of the imperial party, who were diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Maſcarati*, having by this time been expelled the city by the other faction, who were called *Rampini*, *Pallavicini*, at the requeſt of the exiles, c again invaded the *Genoeſe* territories, but was quickly obliged to retire [z]. The following podeſta, who was a citizen of *Breſcia*, notwithſtanding the diſtreſſes of the republic, entered upon his office with great ſpirit; and hearing that the emperor had been ſolicited by *William Spinola* to invade the *Genoeſe* territories, he ſurprized and deſtroyed many of the caſtles belonging to that nobleman. Being informed ſoon after that the emperor was making immenſe preparations, with intention of entirely deſtroying the *Genoeſe* naval force, which he found the greateſt interruption to his deſigns, he with great diſpatch fitted out eighty-three gallies, and ſixteen other veſſels, and gave orders through the whole *Genoeſe* territory that all ſhould be ready with arms and proviſions to man the fleet. The enemy carefully ſhunned all ſummer to encounter with this formidable armament; and in the end d of the year, after they had loſt ſeveral veſſels near *Corſica*, retired to *Sicily* [a].

THE following ſpring the *Genoeſe*, being under no apprehenſion from the Imperialiſts, reſolved, if poſſible, to reduce *Savona*, and inveſted the city for ſeveral weeks; but the emperor, having ordered his baſtard ſon *Hentz*, or *Henry*, whom he had created king of *Sardinia*, to ſail to the relief of the beſieged, the podeſta, on the nineteenth of *April*, made a general aſſault, but without ſucceſs, which obliged him to raiſe the ſiege. A few months after, when the troops were allowed to go to the country on account of the vintage, the *Piſan* and imperial fleets, to the number of one hundred and thirty-five ſail, appeared off the city; but upon the appearance of the *Genoeſe* gallies, they immediately retired. A. D. 1243.

POPE *Innocent* the fourth, a native of *Genoa*, about this time being promoted to the pa- e pal chair, the *Genoeſe* expreſſed the greateſt demonſtrations of joy; and the following year, being informed that he was in danger of being taken a priſoner by the emperor, they conducted him by ſea to *Genoa* with twenty-two gallies, where he continued about three months, and then proceeded by land to *France*. The *Genoeſe* the following year were not engaged in any remarkable expedition: they conducted their trading fleet in ſafety from the *Levant*, and deſtroyed ſeveral *Piſan* gallies, which had endeavoured to intercept them; but on the ſixteenth of *December*, the greateſt part of their gallies were ſunk or daſhed to pieces by a moſt violent ſtorm, which alſo broke down part of the mole. Being informed that their enemies intended to take advantage of this calamity, with great ardour and diſpatch they repaired their ſhattered veſſels, ſo that in a few months they were again able to put to ſea f with a formidable fleet, and could even ſpare ſixteen new gallies, which were hired by St. *Lewis* to conduct him to the *Holy Land*. The following year they made another unſucceſsful attempt to reduce the *Maſcarati*, or rebels of *Savona*, *Albenga*, and ſome other places of the weſtern coaſt, or *Riviera*. A. D. 1244.

As the naval preparations the next year were again renewed for the paſſage of St. *Lewis*, *Frederic* was apprehenſive leſt the *Genoeſe* intended to make a conqueſt of the iſland of *Sicily*; he accordingly ordered *Pallavicini* to march with a large body of forces into their territory, and ſent for twenty-five gallies from *Naples* to aſſiſt the *Piſan* fleet in blocking up the harbour, propoſing to command in perſon againſt the city: but ſoon after, being entirely defeated by the garriſon of *Parma*, which city he had beſieged near two years, all his g ſchemes were baffled, and the *Genoeſe* were freed from their apprehenſions of a ſiege. Their *The emperor intends to beſiege* Genoa, *but is defeated before* Parma. A. D. 1248.

[y] Idem ibid. An. 1241. VILLAN. l. 6. c. 20. ANTON l. 19. c. 4. [z] FOLIET. Hiſt. Gen. l. 4. Chron Januenſ. ut ſupra. CAFFAR. [a] Annal An. 1242.

inveterate

inveterate enemy, being entirely humbled by the loſs of his army and treaſure at *Parma*, the *Genoeſe* a few months after ſent a fleet to *France*, which, according to agreement, conducted St. *Lewis* to *Egypt*. a

*The city of* Savona *ſubmits to the republic.* A. D. 1251.

As the emperor died two years after, about the middle of *December*, the *Genoeſe* the following ſpring marched with a powerful army againſt the rebels of *Savona* and *Albenga*, who were now in the utmoſt conſternation. Upon the approach of the army, they ſent deputies to the podeſta begging a peace, which with ſome difficulty was at length granted them, by the interceſſion of the counts of *Lavagna*, the pope's nephews, who were connected by friendſhip and alliances with many of the *Maſcarati*; and the year before, by their unwearied entreaties, had ſoftened the other party, and prevailed upon them to refer all their differences to the arbitration of their uncle *Innocent* [b]. Soon after the ſubmiſſion and reconciliation of the rebels, two *Venetian* deputies arrived at *Porto Venere*, and renewed the alliance betwixt the two republics for ten years. Though the *Maſcarati*, who with all the other Imperialiſts began to be diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Gibellines*, were now reſtored to their native country, yet it happened otherwiſe to almoſt all of that faction in *Italy*; for the pope, now returning from *France*, the *Guelfs*, who had been the greateſt ſufferers during the war, began to retaliate the injuries they had formerly received from the other party. b

A. D. 1253. THE *Genoeſe*, about two years after, according to the terms of accommodation made with the rebels, filled up the ditch of *Savona* with the ruins of the walls, which were entirely levelled with the ground; and during the three following years, in conjunction with the *Florentines* and *Luccheſe*, with whom they had concluded an alliance, they ſo diſtreſſed the *Piſans*, that they obliged them to offer very diſadvantageous terms of peace. That republic, however, prevailed on the *Florentines* and *Luccheſe* to agree to a ſeparate peace, abſolutely refuſing any accommodation with the *Genoeſe*, unleſs they would renounce the alliance concluded a few months before with the marquis of *Calaris* in *Sardinia*, who had put one of his towns into their poſſeſſion, on condition of receiving a *Genoeſe* lady for his wife, and being protected from the judge of *Arborea*, who was ſupported by the *Piſans*. c

THE following year is remarkable for a new alteration in the form of government, which the *Genoeſe* annaliſts only ſlightly mention, without aſſigning any reaſons of ſo memorable a tranſaction. When the podeſta, according to cuſtom, ſhould have entered upon his office, part of the nobility raiſed a furious ſedition; and calling out that they would have a captain of the people, they were immediately ſeconded by the commons, who, in a tumultuous manner, directly choſe *William Buccanigra* captain for ten years. If he ſhould die within that time, one of his brothers was appointed to ſucceed him, and next day thirty-two of the people were choſen by the title of Ancients, to aſſiſt him as a council. The captain and his council ſoon after nominated a podeſta, who now became an inferior officer. d

*A rupture betwixt the* Genoeſe *and* Venetians. A. D. 1258.

IN the ſecond year of his government, a rupture happening betwixt the *Genoeſe* and *Venetians*, *Alexander* the fourth, who had ſucceeded *Innocent*, ordered the two republics and the *Piſans* to ſend their deputies to *Rome*, to treat of an accommodation. This diſpute, which engaged the *Genoeſe* in many ruinous wars, that in the end quite enervated and exhauſted the republic, was firſt occaſioned in *Acon*, by a quarrel betwixt a *Venetian* and *Genoeſe*, which laſt being ſtruck by his antagoniſt, excited his countrymen to revenge the affront. The *Genoeſe* accordingly attacked the *Venetians*, and ſeized almoſt all their ſhips in the harbour, which the *Venetian* doge being informed of, he made loud complaints to the republic. A congreſs was appointed this year at *Bologna*, for accommodating the difference; but the *Genoeſe* delaying to ſend their deputies, the *Venetians* privately fitted out ſeveral gallies, and ſent them with their trading fleet to *Syria*. The *Genoeſe*, having intelligence of this armament, ſent likewiſe armed veſſels with their *Levant* fleet; and upon hearing that more gallies had gone from *Venice*, they immediately ordered a ſecond ſquadron to ſail to *Syria*. e

*An accommodation concluded betwixt them at* Rome.

The pope, in the mean time, intereſting himſelf in the diſpute, prevailed with the *Genoeſe*, *Venetian*, and *Piſan* deputies at *Rome*, to agree to an accommodation: but in the ſame month, or according to *Folieta*, on the ſame day that this treaty was concluded, the *Venetian* fleet in *Syria*, being joined by the *Piſan*, *Provençal*, and *Marſilian* gallies, amounting in all to eighty ſail, entirely defeated the *Genoeſe*, who loſt twenty-five gallies, and were obliged to abandon *Acon*. Though the treaty of peace was nevertheleſs put in execution, yet this unfortunate engagement heightened the rivalſhip and animoſity betwixt both republics, which broke out with greater violence afterwards. f

*BUCCANIGRA*, in the mean time, abuſing his authority, and governing in an inſolent and arbitrary manner, a conſpiracy was formed againſt him by the nobility, which however, ſerved only to eſtabliſh his dominion more ſecurely, and to encreaſe his arrogance; for their deſign being diſcovered, the following year many of them were obliged to fly from *Genoa*, and a larger revenue and guard were aſſigned to the captain. Two years after *Mi-* g

[b] Idem. ibid.

a *chael Paleologus*, recovering *Conſtantinople* from the *Latins*, who had poſſeſſed it about ſixty years, the *Genoeſe* immediately ſent an embaſſy to him, offering him their aſſiſtance to expel the *Venetians* from the iſlands of the *Archipelago*. An alliance was accordingly concluded betwixt him and the republic, who being put in poſſeſſion of the city of *Smyrna*, and, according to ſome, of the iſland of *Chios*, and *Pera*, one of the ſuburbs of *Conſtantinople*, ſent a fleet of ten gallies and ſix ſhips to the *Archipelago*, which enabled the emperor to fruſtrate the efforts of the *Venetians*. The pope, who favoured the *Latins*, immediately denounced a ſentence of excommunication againſt the *Genoeſe*, as violators of the treaty lately concluded at *Rome* [c]. A. D. 1261.

The following year is remarkable for the depoſition of *Buccanigra*, whoſe deſpotic and
b oppreſſive government had rendered him odious to the whole republic. In the end of *May*, a numerous party of the nobility and commons ſeized all the gates of the city, whilſt another body marched againſt the captain, who, being deſerted by his guard, and his brother being killed, was forced to reſign his authority, which was conferred on a podeſta for the remaining part of the year. The republic, during the following year, was likewiſe governed by a podeſta, who having received many accuſations againſt the *Genoeſe* commanders in the *Archipelago*, where by their infamous proceedings they had diſhonoured the republic, before he reſigned his government, obliged all the maſters of ſhips to give ſecurity for their behaviour, and appointed a board of three nobles to puniſh thoſe who had committed any injuries in *Romania*. His ſucceſſor was intent upon proſecuting the war
c againſt the *Venetians*; and, in the month of *June*, ſent a fleet of twenty-two gallies and two large ſhips, towards the *Archipelago*, which engaged and defeated the enemy off *Durazzo*.

The city in the mean time, was thrown into the utmoſt confuſion, by the ambition of A. D. 1264.
the *Spinolæ*, the *Doriæ*, the *Grimaldi*, and the *Fieſci*, which four families, exceeding the other nobles greatly in wealth and number of dependants, had been endeavouring for ſeveral years to ſeize the ſupreme authority. The *Spinolæ* and *Doriæ* were the chiefs of the *Gibelline* faction, and the other two families were at the head of the *Guelfs*. *Oberto Spinola* having perſuaded his faction, that the only means to ſuppreſs the *Guelfs* was to confer the ſupreme authority upon a *Gibelline*, on the firſt of *October* at midnight, he ſurpriſed and impriſoned the podeſta, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed captain of the republic by his
d followers. Next day he endeavoured to have his authority confirmed in a legal aſſembly; but finding the other party more powerful than he expected, he willingly hearkened to an accommodation; by which it was ſtipulated, that he ſhould not be puniſhed for what he had done; and that *Guido Spinola* and *Nicolas Doria* ſhould govern the city for the enſuing year. They behaved, during their government, with ſo much moderation and mildneſs, that upon the expiration of their office they received univerſal applauſe. The year following the government was again committed to a podeſta, who was a native of *Parma*. A. D. 1266.
As the war ſtill continued with the *Venetians*, the republic, in the month of *April*, ſent a fleet of twenty-ſeven gallies to *Sicily*, under the command of *Lanfranc Barbarini*,
e who allowed his whole fleet to be ſeized by the enemy, by baſely declining an engagement, and chaining his veſſels together near the ſhore, ſo that they could make no reſiſtance. Upon his return to *Genoa*, he was fined and baniſhed, and the command of another fleet of twenty-five gallies was given *Oberto Doria*, a young man of great reputation, who in his cruiſe took ſeveral veſſels from the enemy, and plundered and burnt a town on the coaſt of *Crete*. Some inconſiderable advantages were gained during the ſummer by the private adventurers.

The following year the *Genoeſe* were abſolved from the ſentence of excommunication, and were ſolicited by the pope, and the kings of *France* and *Naples*, to agree to an accommodation with the *Venetians*. The propoſal of peace was not, however, acceptable to the republic, which at the ſame time carried on the war in a languid manner, and only ſent
f one fleet to *Syria* of twenty-five gallies, five of which were taken by the *Venetians* before *Acon*. The year following the young *Conradin*, grandſon of the late emperor *Frederic*, being defeated and taken priſoner by *Charles* of *Anjou*, who a few years before, by the aſſiſtance of the pope, had made a conqueſt of *Naples*, the *Genoeſe* the year after entered into an *The* Genoeſe *enter into an alliance with* Charles *king of* Naples.
alliance with *Charles*. About the ſame time, they concluded another treaty with St. *Lewis*, and promiſed to furniſh him with a great number of gallies and tranſports for another expedition againſt the infidels. The fleet, conſiſting partly of veſſels of two decks, accordingly ſailed from *Genoa* the year following, having on board upwards of ten thouſand *Ge-* A. D. 1269.
*noeſe*, ſome of whom were deſigned for navigating the royal gallies. This expedition was very fatal to the *Genoeſe*; for the *French* king, and great part of the army, died of an epi-
g demical diſtemper before the city; and upon their return in the end of *November*, many A. D. 1270.

[c] Idem ut ſupra. Foliet. Hiſt. l. 4. Nebicus. l. 3. Spond. Annal.

more periſhed in a ſtorm in the port of *Trapani*, which deſtroyed ſeveral of their gallies. a
This dreadful calamity was heightened by the rapacity of king *Charles*, who, inſtead of relieving the diſtreſſed, ſeized all that was ſaved of the wreck, as belonging to his exchequer.

MEAN while not only the city, but even the whole territory of the republic, was filled with diſſention and ſtrife, which tempted *Oberto Spinola* to renew his ambitious deſign of ſeizing the ſovereign authority. At the election of a podeſta in *Ventimiglia*, one of the family of the *Grimaldi* had, by fraudulent means, procured the dignity, and forcibly expelled his competitor, who having recourſe to the *Gibelline* faction in *Genoa*, returned with an armed force to *Ventimiglia*, where he was a ſecond time repulſed, and many of his followers made priſoners. *Grimaldi* refuſing abſolutely to ſet his priſoners at liberty, *Oberto Spinola* and *Oberto Doria*, on the twenty-eighth of *October*, aſſembled the people, and per- b
ſuaded them to declare them captains of the republic, with an unlimited authority, having on the ſame day ſeized the podeſta, and defeated the *Guelf* faction, which had attempted to oppoſe their deſigns. They afterwards compelled the whole city to take the oath of fidelity to them, and arbitrarily baniſhed ſome of the chief citizens, who they ſuſpected would never cordially ſubmit to the new government. To ſoothe the commons, and retain their affection, they created a new magiſtrate, who was called abbot of the people; and alſo allowed a podeſta to be elected for the following year: however, they dropped the office of podeſta the year after, when they were alarmed with the news that the exiles, by the perſuaſion of cardinal *Fieſco*, had entered into a treaty with the king of *Naples*, then at *Rome*, and promiſed to deliver up the city to him, on condition of recovering it by his aſ- c
ſiſtance from the *Gibellines*.

A. D. 1272. THAT tyrannical and ambitious prince, without regard to his treaty with the republic, immediately cauſed all the *Genoeſe* merchants and their effects in his dominions to be ſeized, while the exiles returned from *Rome*, and in vain endeavoured to raiſe inſurrections in the eaſtern and weſtern *Riviera*. *Charles*, who was a favourite of the pope's, by whom he had been appointed vicar of *Tuſcany* the following year, ordered the *Alexandrians*, and the marquiſſes of *Caretto* and *Saluces*, to invade the *Genoeſe* territories. The *Genoeſe*, having concluded a truce with the *Venetians*, exerted themſelves ſo vigorouſly in oppoſing their new enemies, that they prevented them from gaining any advantages of conſequence during the whole ſummer. The *Luccheſe*, and ſome other *Tuſcan* ſtates, who at firſt had baſely com- d
plied with *Charles*, even ſent ambaſſadors to *Genoa*, excuſing their proceeding, and renewing their alliances. The year after, the republic concluded an alliance with the marquis of *Montferrat*, and the cities of *Aſti* and *Pavia*, againſt king *Charles*; and hearing that a *Provençal* fleet had made a deſcent upon *Corſica*, they immediately armed twenty-two gallies, and ſent them thither under the command of *Pignatarius*. The *Genoeſe* admiral, finding that the enemy had retired, ſailed to *Sicily*, attacked the city of *Trapani*, and burnt all the veſſels in the harbour. After continuing ſome time in the *Sicilian* ſeas, and taking ſeveral of their ſhips, he ſailed to *Naples*, where he cauſed all his gallies to row after each other cloſe by the ſhore, and in the king's preſence to tear the enſigns of *France*, and to throw them into the ſea. After his return to *Genoa*, forty *Provençal* gallies made their ap- e
pearance before the harbour, but retired in the evening, and in their courſe to *Naples* pillaged the iſland before *Porto Venere*. The exiles in the mean time, by the intereſt of cardinal *Fieſco*, prevailed on the pope to excommunicate the republic, which it was alledged

A. D. 1276. had ſeized ſome of the cardinal's revenues. Two years after, however, *Innocent* the fifth, who ſucceeded *Gregory*, having received an ambaſſy from the republic, prevailed on the king of *Naples* to agree to a peace. He died immediately after, and was ſucceeded by cardinal *Fieſco*, who ſurvived his election about a month, but before his death abſolved the republic from the ſentence of excommunication. In conſequence of the peace, the exiles were reſtored, when the count of *Lavagna*, one of them, ſold his extenſive territories to the republic. f

THE following year, the republic likewiſe made ſeveral large purchaſes of eſtates within their territory; and the two captains, having diſcovered that the exiles who had returned, were endeavouring to raiſe new diſturbances, condemned a great many nobles of the *Guelf* faction to perpetual baniſhment. Theſe exiles, the year after, entered into a new confederacy with their friends in the city againſt the ruling faction, and in the end of *March*, having aſſembled one thouſand two hundred foot, and three hundred horſe, ſurpriſed *Chiavari*, where they committed all manner of hoſtilities. Upon the approach, however, of *Oberto Doria*, with a large body of horſe and foot, next day they abandoned the place, and retired to the valley of *Trebia*, where they diſperſed. The captain having deſtroyed ſeveral caſtles belonging to them, returned to *Genoa*; and, to protect the republic from their future inſults, g
ſent to *Pavia*, and hired a body of auxiliaries. Two years after, the *Venetians* violated the truce with the republic, by attacking ſeveral of their rich ſhips in their paſſage to *Conſtantinople*.

a *tinople*. The war, however, was not then renewed betwixt the two republics; for the *Genoeſe*, proving victorious, generouſly ſet at liberty the aggreſſors, who appear not to have been countenanced by their government.

THE following year the *Genoeſe* were ſolicited, by the reſtleſs and ambitious king of *Sicily*, to join him and the *Venetians* in an expedition againſt the *Greek* emperor, whom pope *Martin*, in complaiſance to king *Charles*, had excommunicated with all his ſubjects, as ſchiſmatics. The *Genoeſe* excuſed themſelves from entering into an alliance with the king; and immediately ſent a galley to *Conſtantinople*, to inform the emperor of the intended invaſion, which *Charles* was prevented from executing by the famous revolt of *Sicily*, that happened the year after in the end of *March*. While *Charles* was ruining his army in a vain attempt b to reduce *Meſſina*, a new war broke out betwixt the *Genoeſe* and *Piſans*, which continued about five years with great animoſity, till the *Piſans*, whoſe power and wealth were then quite exhauſted, ſubmitted to the terms preſcribed by the *Genoeſe*. The rupture was firſt occaſioned by the revolt of one of the four judges of *Corſica*, who with great inſolence plundered the *Genoeſe* in the iſland, and made incurſions into the other judicatures. Finding himſelf, at length, unable to reſiſt the *Genoeſe*, he fled to *Piſa*, and prevailed on the *Piſans*, by ſwearing fidelity to them, to eſpouſe his cauſe. The *Genoeſe* in vain endeavoured to perſuade the *Piſans* to deſiſt; they therefore ſent a conſiderable force towards the iſland in the month of *Auguſt*, which, however, did not then proceed, but ſtopped at *Porto Venere*, where the troops were ſet at liberty on account of the vintage: their troops in *Corſica* returned c to *Italy* a few weeks after for the ſame reaſon, being ſtill in hopes that the *Piſans* would not protect the judge. The *Genoeſe*, having thus imprudently laid aſide their armament, the judge returned to *Corſica*, and recovered all his caſtles, and the *Piſans* made a deſcent upon the iſland of *Porto Venere*, which they plundered, and carried off the bells of the church. The war being now unavoidable, the *Genoeſe* reſolved to proſecute it with the utmoſt vigour; and for that purpoſe they elected a council of fifteen perſons, called the *Credentia*, to aſſiſt the captains, who immediately ordered one hundred and twenty gallies to be fitted out, and laid an embargo upon all ſhipping for ten months. The *Piſans* likewiſe made great preparations; ſo that the following year both parties put to ſea with numerous and formidable fleets. The *Genoeſe* gained ſeveral conſiderable advantages, and took ſome rich prizes; d but they, as well as the *Piſans*, ſeem to have avoided coming to any deciſive action.

A. D. 1281.

*A new war betwixt them and the* Piſans.

A. D. 1282.

THE *Piſans*, being diſſatisfied with the conduct of their commanders, to whoſe miſbehaviour they imputed their loſſes, the following ſummer committed the ſupreme adminiſtration of their republic to *Albert Maurocenus*, a noble *Venetian*, in hopes thereby of engaging the *Venetians* to aſſiſt them in the war, as *Albert* was related to the doge, whoſe power and authority at that time was much more extenſive than at preſent. The *Genoeſe*, in the beginning of *May*, having defeated twenty four of their gallies, eight of which they had taken, the *Piſans* fitted out ſeventy-two gallies, and two other large veſſels, to recover the honour of their arms, boaſting that they intended to ſhoot ſilver arrows, and balls covered with ſcarlet, into *Genoa*. This formidable fleet ſoon after appeared before the city, when a conſie derable number of the *Genoeſe* gallies were abſent. The *Genoeſe*, however, who before had ordered the militia of the eaſtern and weſtern *Riviera* to be ready to embark, with great ardor equipped and armed in one afternoon fifty-eight gallies, and eight larger veſſels, which a few days after, being joined by other thirty gallies that had returned from a cruiſe, ſailed in queſt of the enemy, whom they ſoon diſcovered near the iſland *Meloria*. A general engagement enſued, which ended in the total rout of the *Piſans*, ſixteen thouſand of whom were killed, drowned, or taken priſoners. Among the priſoners were the podeſta *Maurocenus* and a great part of the *Piſan* nobility. The *Genoeſe*, after this deciſive action, which was fought on the ſixth of *Auguſt*, returned home in triumph, with twenty-nine gallies taken from the enemy, and many thouſand priſoners, ſo that it became f a proverb in *Tuſcany*, 'Thoſe that want to ſee *Piſa* muſt go to *Genoa*[a].'

Maurocenus, *a* Venetian, *choſen chief of the* Piſan *republic.*

A. D. 1284.

*The* Piſans *routed with the loſs of* 16,000 *men.*

The *Guelfs* in *Tuſcany* reſolved to ſeize this opportunity of re-eſtabliſhing their faction in *Piſa*. Accordingly the *Florentines*, the *Luccheſe*, the *Sienneſe*, *Piſtorians*, and other *Tuſcan* ſtates, concluded an alliance againſt the *Piſans* with the *Genoeſe* for thirty years. The *Piſans*, confounded with the news of this confederacy, immediately begged a peace: but their requeſt being rejected by the *Genoeſe*, they conferred the ſovereign power of their ſtate upon count *Ugolino*, a *Guelf*, for ten years; which revolution ſatisfying the *Tuſcan* ſtates, they forthwith renounced their new alliance with the *Genoeſe*.

No military expeditions of conſequence happened during the three following years. Beſides the taking a few *Piſan* ſhips, the *Genoeſe* made prizes of ſeveral *Venetian* and *Neapolitan* veſſels g laden with *Piſan* merchandize; and being informed that the ſultan of *Egypt* had ſeized one of their ſhips in *Alexandria*, they ſent ſix gallies to the *Levant*, which obliged him to make

[a] CAFFAR. Annal. l. 10. VILLANI. Hiſt. l. 7. c. 91. FOLIET. Hiſt. l. 5.

A. D. 1288. reſtitution. The year after, the government of the captains having expired, the people in the month of *March*, choſe *Oberto Spinola* and *Conrad Doria*, the ſon of *Oberto*, captains of the republic for five years; but ſo great was the moderation of theſe nobles, that they would only accept of the government for three years. A few weeks after this election, a peace was concluded betwixt the republic and the *Piſans*, by means of the *Piſan* priſoners, who had been negotiating for thirteen months. This peace was very much againſt the inclination of *Ugolino*, the *Piſan* podeſta, who, not daring openly to oppoſe the treaty, privately ordered the *Sardinian* corſairs ſtill to continue hoſtilities againſt the *Genoeſe*; which ſo exaſperated the *Piſans*, that in the month of *July* they roſe againſt him, and impriſoned him, with his children in a tower, where they died of hunger. a

*A peace concluded with the* Piſans.

THE *Genoeſe* the following year ſent a fleet to the relief of *Tripoli* againſt the ſultan of *Egypt*; but the Chriſtians, with all their auxiliaries, not being able to defend the city, the *Genoeſe* conducted as many of the inhabitants as they could to the iſland of *Cyprus*. About the ſame time they ſent another fleet to *Corſica*, which recovered all the places in that iſland that had revolted during the *Piſan* war. Mean while, the *Grimaldi* and ſeveral other noble *Guelf* families formed a conſpiracy againſt the captains of the republic, which, after they A. D. 1289. had plotted ſix months, they endeavoured to put in execution on the firſt of *January*, by aſſaulting the houſe of the abbot of the people. After a ſharp diſpute they were obliged to ſubmit, and four of them only being baniſhed, the others were generouſly pardoned. Before this conſpiracy broke out, the republic had renewed the war with the *Piſans*, who, contrary to the articles of the late peace, had delayed to deliver up the caſtle of *Cagliari* in *Sardinia*. They had, however, offered full ſatisfaction and ſecurity to the *Genoeſe*, if they would indulge them with the delay of twelve months; but the republic, unreaſonably rejecting their requeſt, again choſe a *Credentia* of fourteen perſons, and concluding an alliance with the *Luccheſe*, in conjunction with them attacked the harbour of *Piſa*, ſituated at the mouth of the *Arno*. After ravaging the *Piſan* territory in that neighbourhood, they deſtroyed all the towers that ſecured the harbour, and returned in the end of the year to *Genoa*, carrying with them ſeveral pieces of the chain of the harbour, which near three hundred years after were to be ſeen as trophies of their victory, hanging in different parts of the city. b c

*A new rupture with the* Piſans.

A. D. 1290. THE *Genoeſe*, in the mean time, according to their uſual fickleneſs, being diſſatisfied with the government of the captains, and longing for a new form of adminiſtration, *Oberto Doria*, the father of *Conrad*, conſulting with ſeveral others, drew up a new plan of government, by which it was ordained that the captain of the republic, for the future, ſhould always be a foreigner, elected annually; and that one half of the counſellors and antiani, and all others in office, ſhould be choſen from the nobles, and the other half from the people. The captains accordingly the following year, at the feaſt of *Simon* and *Jude*, peaceably reſigned their office; and *Lanfranc de Suardis*, a nobleman of *Bergamo*, was choſen captain of the republic. The new captain exerted himſelf vigorouſly in proſecuting the *Piſan* war; but the *Piſans*, being aſſiſted by the *Catalans*, recovered the iſland of *Ilba*, which was the chief ſcene of the tranſactions during the ſummer (B). As the Chriſtians this year had been totally expelled from *Syria*, the following captain allowed *Manuel Jacharia* and *Theodoſius Doria* to enter into the ſervice of the church, with twenty gallies, to defend the iſland of *Cyprus* from the infidels, tho' at firſt he had reſolved to fine them for having made an agreement with the ſee of *Rome* without his permiſſion. The *Genoeſe*, at the ſame time, having taken a *Catalan* ſhip of three decks carrying corn to *Piſa*, the captain being afraid of the reſentment of the famous *Roger di Loria*, immediately excuſed the proceeding to the viceroy of *Sicily*, and made good the damage to the *Catalans*. d e

A. D. 1292. THE injuries which the *Genoeſe* daily received from the *Catalans*, did not yet provoke them to declare war againſt them, though they were at this time earneſtly ſolicited by the count of *Artois*, the apoſtolic legate, and the *French* ambaſſador, to declare for the king of *Naples*, againſt the *Sicilians* and *Catalans*. The diſputes in the city on this ſubject were ſo violent, that the neareſt relations fought with each other in the ſtreets, which ſerved the captain with an argument for ſtill adhering to a neutrality. The *French* ambaſſadors immediately left the city in great diſcontent, and upon their arrival in *France* cauſed ſeveral *Genoeſe* merchants to be arreſted, who, nevertheleſs, were quickly after ſet at liberty, the *Genoeſe* having ordered a repreſentation to be made to the *French* court. The *Genoeſe*, in the mean time, fitted out twenty-one gallies and five galleons, for the *Piſan* war; but the *Piſans* during the whole ſummer not appearing at ſea, the fleet took only a few corſairs, and returned to *Genoa*. f

(B) *Foliета* informs us, that this year *Theodoſius Doria* and *Ugolino Vivaldo*, with two gallies, fitted out at their own expence, paſſed the ſtraits of *Gibraltar*, and ſailed weſtward, in ſearch of the *Indies*; but what afterwards became of them, he ſays, there is no account (1).

(1) *Foliet. l.* 5. *An.* 1291.

THE

a THE great proſperity of the republic, which had now humbled its once formidable rival, and flouriſhed above all the ſtates of *Italy*, began to awaken the jealouſy of the *Venetians*, who conſidered the encreaſing grandeur of the *Genoeſe* as a diminution of their own (C): they therefore reſolved, without regarding the truce, to ſeize the firſt opportunity of renewing hoſtilities; and this ſummer four of their gallies ſailing to *Cyprus*, and having on board the crews of two other gallies, attacked ſeven *Genoeſe* trading veſſels, returning from the *Archipelago*. The *Genoeſe*, being haled by the *Venetians*, went on board their gallies, and ſatisfied them who they were, and where they were bound; but perceiving them preparing for an engagement, they returned immediately to their own veſſels, and received the attack of the enemy with reſolution. After a ſhort diſpute they took the *Venetian* gallies, and
b killed three hundred of their men: however, after blaming them for violating the truce, they directly ſet them at liberty, and returned to *Genoa*. To prevent a rupture, the republic ſent two *Dominican* friars to *Venice*; and a conference being agreed to, four ambaſſadors of each ſtate aſſembled at *Cremona*, to terminate all differences; but the *Venetians*, ſhewing no deſire of an accommodation, the *Genoeſe* deputies, at the end of three months, proteſted that they were ready to obſerve the truce, and returned to *Genoa*. The republic, ſtill deſirous of avoiding a war, in the beginning of *January* ſent another ambaſſador, with a public notary, to *Venice*, who made the ſame proteſtation before the doge.

*A rupture betwixt the* Genoeſe *and the* Venetians. A. D. 1293.

THE *Venetians* ſtill declined giving any ſatisfaction; and a few months after ſome of their gallies took three *Genoeſe* veſſels, and committed hoſtilities againſt the ſubjects of the
c republic in different parts. The *Genoeſe*, rouſed at length, determined to have recourſe to force; and the captains of twenty of their trading veſſels, having unladen their merchandize at *Pera*, choſe *Nicholas Spinola*, the reſident at *Conſtantinople*, for their admiral, and went in queſt of the *Venetian* gallies: however, they firſt ſent two *Franciſcans* to demand reſtitution of the late captures. Their requeſt being denied, they ſoon after attacked the *Venetian* fleet, conſiſting of thirty-two gallies, and gained a complete victory, taking twenty-five, or, according to ſome, thirty of the enemy's ſhips. This engagement thoroughly animated each republic to proſecute the war. The *Venetians* immediately laid an embargo on all their ſhipping, and propoſed an alliance againſt the *Genoeſe*, with the *Catalans* and *Sicilians*; and likewiſe with the cities of *Treviſo*, *Padua*, *Ferrara*, and *Cremona*. The *Genoeſe* in the mean time,
d without ſoliciting any foreign alliance, made great preparations againſt the enemy: they ordered all their ſubjects to return home, laid an embargo on their ſhipping, and committed the management of the war to a council, or *Credentia*, who cauſed ſeveral new gallies to be built, ſo that the fleet amounted to two hundred ſail.

A. D. 1294.

*The* Genoeſe *take thirty* Venetian *gallies.*

THAT the war might not be interrupted by their domeſtic factions, a reconciliation was effected in the month of *January*, betwixt the *Maſcarati* and *Rampini*, by the mediation of the archbiſhop *James de Varagine*, who mentions the rejoicings on that account in the end of his chronicle. *Boniface* the eighth, in the mean time, being informed of the great warlike preparations of each republic, ordered both ſtates to obſerve a truce, under the pain of excommunication, till *Midſummer*, and for three or four months endeavoured to effect an
e accommodation at *Rome*. The endeavours of the pope proving fruitleſs, the *Genoeſe*, upon the concluſion of the truce, prepared for the expedition with the greateſt ardour, the council being even obliged to hinder many volunteers from embarking. As the *Venetians* had threatened to appear before *Genoa*, the captain and the *Credentia* wrote to them that they would ſave them one half of the voyage, and would meet them off *Sicily*. *Oberto Doria*, the admiral, accordingly in the end of ſummer, ſailed from *Genoa* with one hundred and ſixty-five gallies, on board of which were ſaid to be forty-five thouſand men. He continued eighteen days on the coaſts of *Sicily*, waiting for the enemy, who having never appeared, he returned to *Genoa* in a triumphant manner before autumn.

A. D. 1295.

THIS ſucceſsful commencement of the war was ſoon followed by a moſt violent ſedition
f in the city. A few days after *Chriſtmas*, the two factions attacked each other in the ſtreets with ſuch fury and animoſity, that many were killed and wounded. Many houſes were burned, and the cathedral church was not even ſpared, its roof being totally burned down, in hopes of expelling one of the parties that had ſeized the ſteeple. Theſe diſturbances continued without intermiſſion till the ſeventh of *February* when the *Grimaldi* and *Fieſci* being at length expelled, *Conrad Spinola* and *Conrad Doria*, the ſons of the two *Obertos*, were choſen captains of the repulic.

*A violent ſedition in the city.* A. D. 1296.

(C) At this period the *Genoeſe* ſtate ſeems to have been at its greateſt height of power, opulence, and grandeur. All the cities and towns both in the eaſtern and weſtern *Riviera*, with ſeveral other territories over the *Appennine* ridge, ſubmitted to the republic, which, ſince the commencement of the laſt *Piſan* war, had armed 627 gallies. Seventy ſail of trading veſſels belonged to *Genoa*, and a greater number to the maritime cities of their territory. Their woollen and ſilken manufactures were very conſiderable, and the revenues of the republic very large (1).

(1) *Foliet. Caffar. l.* 10.

TRANQUILITY being thus again eſtabliſhed, the *Genoeſe* renewed their preparations for the war. The *Venetians*, however, ſeem to have taken the advantage of the diſſentions of their enemy, and this ſummer ſurpriſed *Pera* at *Conſtantinople*, and another city not far from *Smyrna*. After the *Genoeſe* fleet had returned from an unſucceſsful cruize, they put to ſea with their gallies, and likewiſe took a great many *Genoeſe* veſſels on the coaſts of *Sicily*. The year after their fleet ſailed into the *Euxine* ſea, and took the city of *Theodoſia* or *Caffa*, in *Crim Tartary*, which had long been ſubject to the *Genoeſe* [c]. The republic, being exaſperated by theſe and many other loſſes, which, though not mentioned by the *Genoeſe*, are particularized by the *Venetian* writers, the following year fitted out a formidable fleet of ſeventy-eight, or, according to the *Venetians*, of eighty-five gallies, which, in the end of ſummer, ſailed into the *Adriatic*, under the command of *Lamba Doria*, one of the captains who reſolved, if he did not meet with the enemy's fleet, to proceed to *Venice*. On the third of *September*, having diſcovered the *Venetian* fleet, conſiſting of ninety-five ſail, near the iſland of *Curzola*, on the coaſt of *Dalmatia*, he boldly attacked the enemy; and, after a deſperate and bloody action, gained a complete victory, taking ſixty-five, or, according to *Stella*, eighty-five of their gallies. The *Genoeſe* give no account of their own loſs; but *Dandulus* informs us, that in the beginning of the engagement they loſt ten gallies; and adds, what
A. D. 1298. appears improbable, that though they gained the victory, they ſuffered as much as the *Venetians* (D). The admiral having pillaged *Curzola*, and burnt all the enemy's gallies he had taken, excepting eighteen, returned with ſeven thouſand priſoners to *Genoa*, where he was received by the whole city with the greateſt tranſports of joy [f]. This deciſive action was
*Peace concluded.* followed a few months after by a peace betwixt the two republics, which was concluded on
A. D. 1299. the twenty-fifth of *May*, by the mediation of *Matthew Viſconti* of *Milan* [g].

THE *Piſans*, being apprehenſive that the *Genoeſe* would now turn their whole force againſt them, purchaſed a truce for twenty-ſeven years from the republic, by paying 135,000 *Genoeſe* pounds for the expences of the war, reſigning all they poſſeſſed in *Corſica*, and delivering up the city *Jurritana* in *Sardinia*. A few weeks after the concluſion of the peace, the captains reſigned their office, when the government of the republic was again committed to a foreign podeſta. During his adminiſtration, the *Grimaldi* entered the harbour in the night with five gallies, and immediately diſperſed their followers through the ſtreets, in hopes of ſurpriſing the other faction; but the citizens aſſembling at the ſound of the alarm bell, they were repulſed, and many of them taken priſoners. As the republic at this time favoured the king of *Sicily* againſt the *Neapolitans*, *Boniface*, on the eleventh of *November*, denounced a ſentence of excommunication againſt the *Genoeſe*; but the following year the ſentence was removed, upon the concluſion of a peace betwixt them and the king of *Naples*.

THE republic for the four following years enjoyed great tranquility; but the year after the civil diſſentions were again renewed. The great power of the family of *Spinola* had now raiſed the jealouſy of the family of *Doria*, which being perceived by the *Guelfs*, who had been reſtored upon the concluſion of a peace with the king of *Naples* [h], they excited
*A freſh commotion in the city.* the *Doriæ* to take arms againſt their rivals to their own confuſion; for, after a bloody diſpute, *Opicio Spinola* remained conqueror. Next day all the chiefs of the oppoſite faction were baniſhed, and *Opicio Spinola* and *Bernabo Doria*, who alone of all his family adhered to *Spinola*, were declared captains of the people. The exiles the following year having made an incurſion into the *Genoeſe* territories, and ſeized *Tabia* and *Oneglia*, *Bernabo Doria* marched againſt them; but, inſtead of proceeding to hoſtilities, he concluded an accommodation;
A. D. 1306. and the *Doriæ* and *Grimaldi* being reſtored, in the end of *December*, they took the oath of fidelity to the captains.

THIS reconciliation, however, was of very ſhort continuance; for *Spinola* having given his daughter in marriage to the marquis of *Montferrat*, raiſed a new jealouſy againſt himſelf. The nobles of the oppoſite faction perſuaded *Bernabo Doria* to give his daughter in marriage to the marquis of *Saluzzo*; and ſoon after the families of *Doria* and *Grimaldi* diſtinguiſhed themſelves by wearing cloaths of the ſame faſhion and ſame colour, which was interpreted by *Opicio* as the mark of a ſecret conſpiracy againſt his government. To anticipate their deſigns, he attacked them on the twenty-fifth of *Auguſt*, and again expelled them from
A. D. 1309. the city. His reſentment was next turned againſt his collegue *Bernabo*, who had rivalled him in his alliance with the marquis of *Saluzzo*. The next year, in the month of *Novem-*

[c] FOLIET. l. 6. Chron. JAC. DE VARAGINE. ANDR. DANDUL. Chron. Venet. ap. MURATOR. t. 12. p. 405. [f] Chron. Venet. ut ſupra. Annal. Genuenſ. GEORG. STELLÆ, ap. MURAT. t. 17. col. 935. FOLIET. [g] Chron. Venet. [h] VILLANI, l. 8. c. 46.

(D) According to *Villani*, the *Genoeſe* fleet in this action conſiſted of 110 gallies, and that of the *Venetians* of 120 ſail, 70 of which were taken during the engagement (1).

(1) *Villan. l.* 8. *c.* 24. *ap. Murat. t.* 13.

*ber*,

a *ber*, his uncle *Edward* ſeized *Bernabo* while he was attending at a council, and conducted him with a body of armed men to priſon. About a month after *Bernabo* was depoſed, and *Opicio* was declared ſole and perpetual governor of the republic. *Bernabo* ſoon after eſcaped, and joined the exiles, who had ſeized *Albenga*, *Andoria*, and ſeveral other places, and daily became more powerful by the continual concourſe of the partizans of the *Guelf* faction.

*OPICIO* was very diligent in making preparations to oppoſe them; and the following year, on the tenth of *June*, being informed that they were approaching the city with a large body of forces, he marched out againſt them with five hundred horſe and ten thouſand foot. A battle was fought within four miles of the city, when *Opicio* was entirely defeated, and obliged to fly to *Gavi*. The victors entered the city in triumph; and having deſtroyed A. D. 1310.
b the houſes of *Opicio* and two of his relations, they choſe twelve governors of the republic, ſix nobles and ſix commoners, who, with the abbot of the people, aſſumed the ſupreme adminiſtration. *Spinola*, in the mean time, with his ſon-in-law, arrived in the ſuburbs with ſix hundred horſe and about eight thouſand foot, in hopes of raiſing an inſurrection in his favour; but being diſappointed, he took and deſtroyed *Montaldo* and *Vultabia*, while one of his relations, who was in poſſeſſion of *Monaco*, fitted out a galley to cruiſe againſt the *Genoeſe*. This veſſel, however, was quickly taken, and the crew hanged; and *Francis Fieſco*, the general of the republic, ravaged the territories belonging to *Opicio*. After both parties had glutted their reſentment, a reconciliation was effected in the month of *July*, when *Spinola*, who was condemned to two years exile, received a very large ſum for the damage done to his
c eſtates.

As the emperor *Henry* the ſeventh about this time entered *Italy*, *Opicio* the following year waited upon him in *Aſti*, begging his aſſiſtance to be reſtored to his native country. *Henry* at the ſame time receiving an embaſſy from the republic, reſolved to viſit the city, in order to put an end to the diſturbances: he accordingly arrived at *Genoa* on the twenty-firſt of *October*, accompanied with *Opicio* and ſix hundred *German* horſe, being received five miles without the gates by the nobles, clergy, and people, who were cloathed with the greateſt magnificence in ſilk and embroidery. The *Genoeſe* were ſo charmed at the amiable character of *Henry*, who was one of the beſt princes that ever exiſted, that they ſubmitted all their differences to his deciſion, gave him a donative of ſixty thouſand florins, and even
d choſe him governor of the republic for 20 years [k]. How the *Genoeſe*, who were ſo jealous of their liberty, could ſo inconſiderately ſubject themſelves to a foreign dominion, is not eaſily to be accounted for. It was probably owing to the inveterate animoſity of the two factions, who would rather ſee the ſtate diſhonoured or ruined, than ſuffer each other to enjoy the ſupreme adminiſtration. A. D. 1311. *The emperor Henry the ſeventh choſen governor of the republic for twenty years.*

THE emperor dying the following year in *Auguſt*, and the vicar whom he had appointed to govern *Genoa*, a few months after going to *Piſa*, the diſſentions in the city again revived with greater violence than ever. The *Gibellines*, immediately after the departure of the vicar, expelled the chiefs of the *Guelfs* from the city, and committed the government to twenty-four of their own faction, twelve of whom were nobles, and twelve commoners. A. D. 1312.
e A diſſention, however, quickly aroſe betwixt the families of *Spinola* and *Doria*, which the following year, notwithſtanding the endeavours of the podeſta, who was a foreigner, broke out into an open rupture. Both parties fought in the ſtreets for twenty-four days without intermiſſion; they raiſed battering engines againſt each others houſes, and filled the city with blood. The *Spinolæ* at length, finding their rivals ſupported by the *Guelfs* as well as *Gibellines*, in the end of the year thought proper to quit the city, and retired to A. D. 1317.
their territories in the *Appennines*, where the war continued during the two following years with various ſucceſs. The *Spinolæ* the year after made offers of accommodation, which were rejected with diſdain by the *Doriæ*: but the *Fieſci* and *Grimaldi*, whoſe chief aim was to weaken the *Gibellines*, privately entered into an agreement with the exiles, and on
f the fifteenth of *September* admitted them in the night into the city unarmed. The *Doriæ* ſtill refuſed a reconciliation, and a few days after left the city with many followers, which encouraging the *Guelfs* to take arms, on the tenth of *December* they declared *Charles Fieſco* and *Gaſpar Grimaldi* captains of the republic, who nevertheleſs allowed the podeſta the ſhadow of ſupreme authority.

THE family of *Spinola*, alarmed at this revolution, a few hours after again quitted the city, which was very acceptable to the *Guelfs*, who were ſolicitous to eſtabliſh their authority through all the territories of the republic. The cities of *Albenga* and *Savona*, however, declared for the *Gibelline* exiles, who, having made an alliance with *Viſconti* of *Milan*, *Canis Scaliger* of *Verona*, and with the marquiſſes of *Clavexana*, *Ceva*, and *Caretto*, and the counts
g of *Ventimiglia*, fortified *Savona*, which they made their head-quarters. Having formed a large army at *Gavi*, compoſed chiefly of the *Lombard* auxiliaries, under the command of A. D. 1318.

[k] ALBERT MUSSAT. Hiſt. Aug. FOLIET. l. 6. STELLÆ Annal.

*March*

*Marc Viſconti*, they paſſed the ſtraits of the *Appennines*, and on the twenty-fifth of *March* inveſted *Genoa*. After the ſiege had continued three months the *Guelfs*, finding themſelves greatly diſtreſſed, ſolicited the aſſiſtance of *Robert* king of *Naples*, who immediately ſent them by ſea twelve hundred horſe, and a few days after arrived himſelf with twenty-five gallies, and a ſtrong reinforcement. The *Genoeſe* received him as their deliverer, and on the twenty-ſeventh of *July* conferred upon him, and pope *John* the twenty ſecond, the ſovereignty of their ſtate for ten years. The *Guelfs* of *Florence*, *Bologna*, and *Sienna*, encouraged by this new revolution, likewiſe entered into an alliance with the beſieged, and ſent them about eleven hundred horſe. The garriſon, being now very numerous, on the eighth of *Auguſt* ſallied out on the beſiegers; but were repulſed with the loſs of three hundred men. The beſieged being routed afterwards in ſeveral other ſkirmiſhes, the king at length reſolved to attack the poſts of the beſiegers by ſea, and on the fourth of *February* embarked fourteen thouſand foot, and eight hundred and thirty horſe, who, after a deſperate engagement, repulſed the enemy from the ſhore, while the king in perſon attacked their intrenchments towards the mountains, and drove them from thence. The *Gibellines*, finding their attempts thus fruſtrated, were ſtruck with a panic, and at night retreated with precipitation, leaving their arms and baggage, and in their flight even abandoning their wives and children, many of whom periſhed in the ſnow.

*The king of* Naples *arrives at* Genoa, *and is made governor of the republic for ten years.*

A. D. 1319.

a

b

THE ſiege being raiſed, the *Guelfs* ravaged all the country abandoned by the *Gibellines*; and the king of *Naples*, a few weeks after, ſailed with ſeveral gallies to *Avignon* to viſit the pope. After his departure, the *Gibellines*, who were in poſſeſſion of almoſt all the weſtern *Riviera*, and all the territories of the republic beyond the *Appennines*, and were privately aſſiſted by the emperor of *Conſtantinople*, the *Venetians*, *Piſans*, and *Luccheſe*, fitted out a fleet at *Savona*, and in the month of *Auguſt* again inveſted *Genoa* by ſea and land[1]. The ſiege continued during the whole following year with various loſſes to both parties. The *Guelfs* made an excurſion as far as *Albenga*, which was ravaged by their *Provençal* and *Neapolitan* auxiliaries: they likewiſe deſtroyed the palaces of the *Doriæ* and *Spinolæ*, and other *Gibellines* in the city, while the beſiegers, being joined by forty gallies of the king of *Sicily*, commanded the ſea, and took and deſtroyed ſeveral of the enemy's ſhips. In the month of *Auguſt*, the famous *Caſtruccio Caſtracani* of *Lucca*, entered the eaſtern *Riviera*, with five hundred horſe and upwards of twelve thouſand foot, with a deſign of aſſiſting the beſiegers; but the *Florentine Guelfs*, in his abſence, invading the *Luccheſe*, he was obliged to return in a few weeks to defend his own territories, having only taken a few places in the *Riviera*.

A. D. 1320.

c

d

THE *Gibellines* at length, wearied with the ſlow progreſs of the ſiege, in the beginning of *January* withdrew part of their army and inveſted *Noli*, which, after a moſt vigorous defence, ſurrendered on the ſixth of *February*. The caſtle, though battered daily by the engines of the beſiegers, did not capitulate till the ſixth of *April*. The *Genoeſe*, in the mean time, had made an unſucceſsful attempt to relieve the place by ſea, and had ſeveral times attacked the poſts, which were ſtill held by the *Gibellines* on the rocky mountains commanding *Genoa*. The city was not only harraſſed by the enemies from without, but expoſed alſo to the rapine of many of its own inhabitants, who became quite licentious, and, under pretence of defending their country, plundered without controul, the king's vicar not having authority to put the laws in execution. To put a ſtop to the diſorders, a committee was appointed of ten of the chiefs of the people, who executed ſummary juſtice upon all offenders. The beſieged ſoon after were greatly comforted with the pope's bull, granting indulgences to all who ſhould take the croſs againſt the *Viſconti* of *Milan* and their adherents. The bull being publiſhed on the firſt day of *Lent*, was oſtentatiouſly hung up in view of the *Gibellines*, who in a very ſhort time tore it to pieces with arrows and ſtones. To exaſperate the pope againſt them, it was in this manner ſent to *Avignon*.

A. D. 1322.

e

THE *Gibellines* were now in poſſeſſion of ſome of the ſuburbs; but their confederates in *Lombardy*, being hard preſſed by the cruſards, and the beſieged receiving reinforcements by ſea, the whole year was ſpent in daily skirmiſhes, their country being ruined by both parties, while neither gained any ſuperiority. The following year, about the middle of *February*, the beſieged ſallied out into the valley of *Biſagno*, and, after a deſperate engagement, ſeized a poſt on a hill in that neighbourhood, which ſtruck the *Gibellines* with ſuch conſternation, that they immediately abandoned the ſuburbs. A few months after, the pope offered his mediation to reconcile the two parties; but the conferences held for that purpoſe only ſerved to inflame the diſſentions; and the deputies, after attending two months at his court, returned in the beginning of *November*. Hoſtilities ſtill continuing in the neighbourhood of the city, the king of *Naples*, with his queen and many nobles, in the end of *April*, entered the harbour with forty-five gallies. Having aboliſhed ſeveral congregations, or tribu-

A. D. 1323.

f

g

[1] FOLIET. STELLÆ, Annal. ut ſupra. VILLANI. l. 9. c. 85, 88, 90, 92, 93, 95, 96.

a nals that were looked upon as unconſtitutional, and procured a prolongation of his government for ſix years more after the expiration of the firſt term, he proceeded on his voyage to *Naples*.

NOTHING remarkable happened during the two following years. The hoſtilities were carried on in a languid manner, and the ruin and deſolation occaſioned by the war cooling the animoſities of the two parties, who began to treat each other with marks of generoſity, they mutually reſtored the captives without ranſom; and when their fleets met at ſea, inſtead of engaging, they ſaluted each other as friends [m]. The commerce of both parties being now leſs interrupted, *Frederic*, king of *Sicily*, the following year gave leave to the *Guelfs* A. D. 1327. to trade freely in his dominions. *Caſtruccio*, in the mean time, having repulſed the *Flo*b *rentines*, and ſecured his own territories, again entered the eaſtern *Riviera*, and took poſſeſſion of ſome places belonging to the *Guelfs*, who were ſtruck with conſternation upon hearing that the emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria* had arrived in *Italy*. They expected that he would enter their territories with an army in behalf of the other faction. *Lewis*, however, having held an aſſembly of the *Gibellines*, proceeded to *Piſa*, where he was received by *Caſtruccio*, whom he created a duke; and in the end of *December* went with him to *Rome*. Next year both parties were chiefly engaged in ſending ſuccours to their reſpective allies. The *Guelfs*, in the month of *July*, ſent about forty gallies to the aſſiſtance of *Robert*, king of *Naples*, who was apprehenſive of being attacked by the emperor, in conjunction with *Frederic* of *Sicily* and the *Gibelline* party. The *Genoeſe* exiles, at the ſame time, ſent thirty-three gallies c to the aſſiſtance of the emperor; but he being obliged to abandon *Rome*, and *Caſtruccio* dying a few weeks after, the intended expedition againſt *Naples* never took place.

DURING the two following years, hoſtilities were continued betwixt both parties, chiefly at ſea, where the advantage was generally in favour of the *Gibellines*. The king of *France*, about this time, likewiſe offered his mediation for a peace; but though each faction ſent A. D. 1330. their deputies to the *French* court, the conferences broke off without any accommodation. A violent diſſention, in the mean time, ariſing in the city betwixt the people and the nobles on account of an exile who had been concealed in a nobleman's houſe, the nobles, finding the people ſupported by the *Fieſci* and *Grimaldi*, declared that they would rather deliver the city to the *Gibellines* than to the mob. The diſſention weakening the *Guelf* faction, at length d made them think of a reconciliation. Accordingly the following year, on the firſt of *March*, a truce was agreed to betwixt both parties for four months; and, on the ſecond of *September*, a perpetual peace was concluded by the mediation of the king of *Naples*, by which it was ſti- A. D. 1331. pulated, that the exiles ſhould be allowed to return to the city; that the republic ſhould be governed by the king's vicar; and all offices of the ſtate equally divided betwixt the *Guelfs* and *Gibellines*.

SUCH was the concluſion of this moſt ruinous war, by which the *Genoeſe* coaſt, formerly adorned with palaces and vineyards, was now reduced to the appearance of a barren waſte. So great was the general deſolation, that, according to *Petrarch*, the ſpectators that ſailed along were ſtruck with aſtoniſhment and horror [n]. *Villani*, a cotemporary author, relates, e that it was ſuppoſed by the learned, that greater exploits had not been performed at the ſiege of *Troy*; and that the damage and loſſes ſuſtained by each party were ſufficient to have purchaſed a kingdom, the *Genoeſe* republic, he aſſures us, being in his time the richeſt and moſt powerful ſtate in *Chriſtendom* [o]. The annaliſt *Stella* informs us, that before the war the moſt extravagant profuſion and luxury prevailed among the *Genoeſe*; but that towards the end, many noble families were reduced to poverty and indigence: ſo that about a hundred years afterwards it became a faſhion for the nobles to live in a plain manner, without any ſhow or magnificence.

THE accommodation betwixt the two parties was in a great meaſure owing to their apprehenſion of a foreign enemy. The *Catalans*, who had long diſturbed the *Genoeſe* trade, f this year made preparations for invading their territories, in hopes of making advantage of *The* Catalans the diviſions of the republic. They actually arrived in the end of *July* with forty gallies *invade the* at *Monaco*, from whence, being repulſed with loſs, they ſailed to *Savona*, and from thence *coaſts of the* to *Genoa*, being more formidable in appearance than in reality. After burning a monaſtery, Genoeſe. and ſome houſes in *Chiavari*, and deſtroying the vines at *Porto Venere*, they retired in *Sep-* A. D. 1332. *tember* towards *Piſa*. The *Genoeſe* the following year returned the viſit with forty-five gallies to *Catalonia*, where they took and deſtroyed a great many of the enemy's ſhips, and made ſeveral deſcents upon the coaſts. Hoſtilities likewiſe continued during the two years following, to the great detriment of the *Catalans*, who in the end were ſo reduced that they durſt not appear at ſea.

g THOUGH the *Genoeſe* were now under no apprehenſion from any foreign enemy, yet the jealouſies and animoſities of the two factions prevented them from enjoying tranquility.

[m] STELLÆ Annal. An. 1325, 26. [n] PETRAR. ap BLOND. d. 2. l. 9. p. 351. [o] VILLANI, l. 9. c. 115. ap. MURATOR, t. 13.

The *Gibellines* imagined they perceived great partiality in the king's vicar towards the *Guelfs*, and on that account held ſeveral conferences to conſult about their own ſecurity. Upon the arrival of a new vicar, of a rigid and ſevere diſpoſition, who, according to *Folieta*, was commiſſioned by the king to foment the diſſentions, the conferences of the *Gibellines* became more frequent, which ſerved the vicar and the *Guelfs* with a pretext for attacking them on the twenty-fourth of *February*. The aſſailants, however, met with a vigorous reſiſtance; and the *Gibellines*, having fortified ſeveral places of the city, immediately ſent to *Savona* and the two *Rivieras* for aſſiſtance. The moderate of both parties, with the ſixteen abbots of the people, in vain endeavoured to compoſe the differences. The *Gibellines*, who had taken arms, being ſoon joined by their friends from the country, obliged their enemies to abandon the city, when they behaved with great moderation, allowing the king's vicar, with his guard of one hundred and thirty horſe, to depart unmoleſted, and prohibiting by proclamation, any of the *Guelf* faction from being injured, who had a mind to continue in the city. On the ninth of *March*, *Raphael Doria*, who had lately been admiral of the king of *Sicily*, and *Galeotto Spinola*, were choſen captains of the republic for two years, and the government was ſettled on them, and a foreign podeſta, with an abbot of the people, and ancients [p].

A. D. 1335. a b

*A peace betwixt the* Genoeſe *and* Catalans. A. D. 1336.

THE new governors immediately fitted out ſeven gallies againſt the *Catalans*, which returned a few months after with a great many ſhips, taken from the enemy on the coaſts of *Sicily*, *Barbary*, and *Catalonia*. The *Catalans*, affected by theſe loſſes, in the beginning of the following year agreed to a truce, which ſoon after was converted into a treaty of peace. The *Guelf* exiles, in the mean time, having ſeized *Monaco*, fitted out a conſiderable fleet, which, cruiſing along the coaſt of *Italy*, attacked both friends and enemies without diſtinction. The captains of the republic, having armed ſeveral gallies for the defence of the coaſts, next year, on the twenty-fifth of *March*, obtained a prolongation of their government for three years, with the ſupreme authority, the office of podeſta being dropped, and the abbot of the people left to their nomination. The year after, both parties ſuſpending their private animoſities, ſent two fleets of twenty gallies each into the *German* ocean, to the aſſiſtance of the king of *France*, who was engaged in a war with *Edward* the third, king of *England*.

c

*The* Genoeſe *in a tumultuous manner create a duke.* A. D. 1339.

THIS naval expedition proved very memorable to the *Genoeſe*, and was the occaſion of a moſt remarkable revolution in their form of government. The ſailors of the fleet, the following year, thinking themſelves injured by their officers, whom they accuſed of defrauding them of their pay, proceeded to an open mutiny, and having expelled the admiral and the other commanders, ſeized the gallies. The king of *France*, who was choſen arbitrator, deciding in favour of the officers, and impriſoning ſixteen of the chiefs of the mutineers, ſeveral of the ſailors immediately left the fleet, and returned to *Genoa*, where they went round the coaſts repeating their mutinous complaints, which were greedily hearkened to, upon a falſe report that the mutineers, who had been impriſoned, were broke upon the wheel. The ſailors belonging to *Savona*, and the three vallies of *Genoa*, having at length warmed the reſentment of the people againſt the nobles, about the middle of *September* ſurpriſed *Savona*, and committed the government of the city to two rectors of their own chuſing, who were aſſiſted with a council of twenty artificers, and as many ſailors. The factious ſpirit ſpreading to *Genoa*, the *Genoeſe* inſiſted in a tumultuous manner on having an abbot of their own chuſing; and twenty of the people, with the conſent of the captains, accordingly aſſembled for that purpoſe. While the mob were impatiently expecting their deciſion, a forward mechanic, who was looked upon as a fool, leaped up on a bench, and called out, "Let *Simon* "*Buccanigra* be abbot." He was inſtantly ſeconded by his audience, who ſurrounded *Buccanigra*, and compelled him to accept of a ſword, as the badge of his office. The twenty electors, terrified with their noiſe, immediately broke up their aſſembly. and joined in the common voice. *Buccanigra* having at length quieted their clamours, thanked them for the honour they intended him; but as none of his family had condeſcended to be abbots, he deſired them to chuſe another, and returned the ſword. They were for a moment mute; but quickly called out with greater impetuoſity than before, "Be lord! Be lord!" The captains then alarmed, under pretence of preventing diſturbances, begged him to acquieſce with the people. *Buccanigra* accordingly declared, that he was ready to be abbot, or lord, or whatever they pleaſed, when the mob, with one common voice, bawled out, "Be lord! Be "lord! not abbot!" He again addreſſed them, and ſaid, he perceived their intention, that he ſhould be lord with the two captains: but they loudly anſwered, "No!" which being repeated ſeveral times, they at length cried out, "Let him be duke! Let him be duke!" The commons, having thus transferred the government from the nobles to one of their own body, vainly imagined that they might now, without reſtraint, commit the greateſt enormities, and immediately began to plunder the houſes of the nobility; when *Buccanigra* with great ſteadineſs oppoſed their fury, and at length quieted them by cauſing ſome of the chief

d e f g

[p] STELLÆ Annal. FOLIET. l. 7. VILLANI. l. 11. c. 24.



rioters

a rioters to be executed on the ſpot. A few days after, however, he connived at a ſecond riot, when the mob burnt all the books belonging to the cuſtom-houſe, and the public regiſters of debts. He was at this time ſolemnly confirmed in his office during life; and fifteen counſellors, or officials, were elected from the commons, to aſſiſt him in the adminiſtration; when a decree likewiſe paſſed, diſqualifying any of the *Guelf* faction from being elected duke [q].

ALMOST all the ſubjects of the republic quietly ſubmitted to the new governor; but the nobility, with great reluctance, acknowledged his authority; and the following year, ſome of them being diſcovered to have entered into a conſpiracy againſt him, were publicly executed as traitors. The *Genoeſe*, in the mean time, having been inſulted by the *Turks* in the b *Black Sea*, aſſembled all their force in thoſe parts, and attacked the infidels, whom they entirely defeated, taking eleven of their veſſels, and, according to *Villani*, killing ſix thouſand of their men. This advantage was counterbalanced by the loſs of ſix gallies, valued at two hundred thouſand florins, which were taken by the *Engliſh* on the coaſt of *Brittany* [r]. As the king of *Caſtile* was at this time at war with the *Moors* of *Granada*, who were aſſiſted by the infidels in *Barbary*, the duke the following year ſent twenty gallies into the ſervice of the king of *Spain*, under the command of his brother, whom he created an admiral. At the ſame time he armed another fleet for the aſſiſtance of the inhabitants of *Albenga*, who were attacked by the marquis of *Final*. He not only obliged the marquis to raiſe the ſiege; but, being a ſtrenuous aſſertor of his own dignity and that of the republic, compelled him likec wiſe to come and ask pardon at *Genoa*, and to deliver *Final* and all his caſtles to the republic.

*Some nobles, who had conſpired againſt him, are put to death.* A. D. 1340.

THE duke was now in poſſeſſion of all the territories of the republic, excepting *Ventimiglia* and *Monaco*, which were held by the four chief families of the nobles and the other exiles. Some of the family of *Doria*, however, the following year prevailed on the inhabitants of the valley of *Oneglia* to revolt; but the podeſta, who was a native of *Ugubio*, marching againſt them with a body of troops, they were quickly obliged to ſubmit. The exiles, ſtill continuing to promote diſaffection, the year after ſeveral perſons were diſcovered who had undertaken to betray *Genoa*, *Cervi*, *Noli*, and *Taxaroli*, to the lords of *Milan*. The traitors were put to a cruel death; and, as the exiles at *Monaco* had fitted out ſome veſſels to diſturb the *Genoeſe* trade, the duke the following ſpring armed ſix gallies for the defence of the coaſts, d three of which proceeded to *Monaco*, where they ſeized one of the piratical gallies. The *Genoeſe*, in the mean time, in conjunction with the gallies of the pope and the *Venetians*, took *Smyrna* from the infidels; but in the *Black Sea* they ſuffered a great loſs by the treachery of the *Tartars*, who, being baffled in the ſiege of *Caffa* in *Crim Tartary*, pretended a deſire of peace, which gave them an opportunity of ſurpriſing the *Genoeſe*, who had again ventured to trade in their dominions.

A. D. 1342.

A. D. 1344.

DURING theſe tranſactions the exiles had aſſembled a conſiderable army, and advanced into the valley of *Polſevena*, with the intention of beſieging the city. As it was reported that many of the nobles and people favoured their deſign, and ſeveral towns in the valley upon their approach expelling the podeſtas, the city was ſtruck with conſternation, and the e duke ſent to the nobility, deſiring their advice and aſſiſtance. A council was accordingly formed of ſix nobles and ſix commoners, for the government of the city; but the exiles, in the mean time, advancing into the ſuburbs, frequent conferences were held betwixt both parties, when it was agreed that the duke ſhould diſmiſs his guard of 700 men, and the exiles be admitted without arms into the city. *Buccanigra*, alarmed at this treaty, after accuſing the *Genoeſe* of violating their engagements to him, reſigned his office; and a few days after retired to *Piſa* with his family and relations, taking with him, according to *Villani*, upwards of one hundred thouſand florins of gold. On *Chriſtmas day* the hired guards departed, and the treaty was concluded; but it being perceived that the exiles, contrary to the ſtipulation, deſigned to enter the city armed, the gates were immediately ſhut, and in the evening f a new duke was elected, with the concurrence of the nobility. The duke, whoſe name was *John de Murta*, or, according to ſome, *de Valente*, immediately declared that he would accept of no other revenue, than what was ſufficient to defray the expence of his table, and deſired to be bound by articles like the duke of *Venice*. About a fortnight after the council for the war ordered the arms of the nobility to be delivered up, which freeing the people from their apprehenſions of a ſurprize, they ſallied out upon the exiles, and drove them from the ſuburbs. The pope, and the lord of *Milan*, ſoon after offering their mediation, in the month of *July* a peace was concluded, by which all the exiles, excepting eleven of the chiefs, were allowed to return to *Genoa*, and be reſtored to their poſſeſſions.

Buccanigra *reſigns the government, and retires to* Piſa. A. D. 1345.

SEVERAL of the exiles diſdained to accept of theſe terms, and ſtill keeping poſſeſſion of g *Monaco* and *Roccabruna*, the following year armed thirty gallies, and aſſembled a body of ten thouſand foot. The *Genoeſe*, being informed of theſe preparations, fitted out twenty-

[q] Iidem ut ſupra. [r] VILLANI, l. 11. c. 116. STELLÆ Annal. An. 1340.

nine

A. D. 1346. nine gallies by private ſubſcription; but the exiles, inſtead of hazarding an engagement, ordered their fleet to retire to *Marſeilles*, and afterwards allowed their forces to ſail to the aſſiſtance of the king of *France* againſt the *Engliſh* in *Flanders*, from whence they never returned, the greateſt part of them being ſlain in the battle of *Creſſy*. The fleet of the republic, returning from *Monaco*, proceeded on a voyage to the *Black Sea*, to protect the *Genoeſe* merchants in thoſe parts. On their way thither they obliged the count of *Fondi* to raiſe the ſiege of *Terracina*, which city voluntarily ſubmitted to the republic. From thence they ſailed to the iſland *Negropont*, where they were ſolicited, by the dauphin of *Vienne*, to join him in an expedition againſt the iſle of *Chios*, which the *Greek* emperor, according to *Stella*, had lately taken from the *Genoeſe*, though at that time it was held independent either of *Genoa* or *Conſtantinople*. The *Genoeſe* admiral rejected the dauphin's propoſal, and ſailed immediately to *Chios*, which he quickly reduced: he afterwards made himſelf maſter of both the *Foziæ* on the *Aſiatic* coaſt, though there was a large army of *Turks* in the neighbourhood; and on the ninth of *November* returned with great reputation to *Genoa*, where a decree paſſed, appropriating all the revenues of the conquered places, for twenty years, to thoſe who had fitted out the gallies, ordaining likewiſe, that if the debt was not paid before that term, that they ſhould enjoy the revenues for ever; but that the ſovereignty ſhould be veſted in the republic. The *Genoeſe* were not diſturbed either with foreign or domeſtic wars, during the remaining part of the government of the duke, who died about four years after in the beginning of *January*, greatly regretted on account of his diſintereſtedneſs and public ſpirit.

*The* Genoeſe *reduce the iſland of* Chios.

A. D. 1350.

A FEW days after the death of *John de Murta*, the merchants aſſembled in the church of St. *George*, and choſe *John de Valente* as duke, who was aſſiſted by a council compoſed of an equal number of nobles and commoners. One *Luke Facio* had aſſembled two thouſand men in another part of the city, with the deſign of uſurping the government by force; but being informed of the election of *Valente*, he diſmiſſed his followers, and came and ſubmitted to the duke. A few months after his election, a new war broke out betwixt the republic and the *Venetians*, the cauſes of which are not mentioned by the *Genoeſe* annaliſts; but the *Venetians* relate, that they were obliged to fit out a fleet to vindicate their liberty of commerce in the *Black Sea*, where the *Genoeſe* had ſeized a great many of their ſhips. This fleet, which conſiſted of thirty-five gallies, upon their arrival at *Negropont*, found fourteen *Genoſe* trading veſſels in the harbour of *Caſtro*, ten of which they immediately ſeized, and inſtead of entering the *Black Sea* returned to *Venice*. About two months after, four of the *Genoeſe* ſhips that had eſcaped, being joined by five others at *Chios*, returned to *Caſtro*, which they took by ſtorm and plundered, carrying off with them next day twenty-three *Venetian* ſhips.

*A new war with the* Venetians.

THE war, having thus commenced without any formal declaration, the *Venetians* immediately entered into an alliance with the king of *Arragon*, and the emperor of *Conſtantinople*, againſt the *Genoeſe*; and the year following, in the end of *October*, each of the allies ſent a fleet to ſea, which when united conſiſted of eighty-nine ſail, forty-five of which belonged to the *Venetians*, and thirty to the *Catalans*. The *Genoeſe* fleet, of ſixty-ſix gallies, in the mean time had ſailed to the *Archipelago*, and after an unſucceſsful attempt upon *Negropont*, proceeded to *Pera*, where, on the ninth of *March*, they came to a general engagement with the enemy, which continued during the whole night with great animoſity, notwithſtanding a furious wind and heavy rain. The *Venetian* writers ſay, that neither party could claim the victory; but the *Genoeſe* relate that it was deciſive in their favour, they having loſt only about ſeven hundred men, and the *Venetians* and *Catalans* four thouſand. In the beginning of the engagement, they loſt thirteen gallies; but recovered ten of them afterwards, and took thirty *Venetian* and eighteen *Catalan* veſſels, the *Greeks* remaining only diſtant ſpectators of the action [a].

*The* Genoeſe *defeat the united fleets of the* Venetians, Greeks, *and* Catalans.

A. D. 1352.

*They are defeated by the* Venetians.

A. D. 1353.

THE following year was likewiſe memorable for another general naval engagement off *Sardinia*; in which the *Genoeſe*, on the twenty-eighth of *Auguſt*, were entirely defeated by the ſuperior fleet of the allies, and loſt forty-one of their gallies. Upon the return of the nineteen remaining gallies to *Genoa*, the city was filled with terror and confuſion. The two oppoſite factions with great animoſity threw the blame of the miſcarriage on each other; ſo that the council, being apprehenſive of a civil war, thought proper to confer the government of the republic on *John Viſconti*, archbiſhop and lord of *Milan* (E). *John de Valente*

[a] STELLÆ Annal. An. 1352. Chron. Venet. ANDR. DAND. FOLIET. l. 7.

(E) The annaliſt *Stella* relates, that the archbiſhop made the *Genoeſe* a preſent of a curious machine, which, by ſtriking a bell, diſtinguiſhed every hour of the day and night. About the ſame time, *Francis Gataluxi*, a noble *Genoeſe*, having aſſiſted the *Greek* emperor, *Palæologus*, to expel the uſurper *Cantacuzenus*, received the emperor's ſiſter in marriage, and the iſland of *Lesbos*, or *Mytelene*, for himſelf and his poſterity.

accordingly

a accordingly reſigned his office; and the tumults being quieted by the arrival of the marquis *Palavicini*, the archbiſhop's vicar, the *Genoeſe* again applied themſelves to repair their fleet. The following ſpring, they gave the command of thirty-five gallies to *Paganus Doria*, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the victory off *Pera*. The admiral, after cruiſing along the coaſt of *Catalonia*, entered the *Venetian* gulph, and ſailed as far as *Iſtria*, plundering *Parenzo*, and taking many of the enemy's ſhips. In his return, on the fourth of *November*, he ſurpriſed the *Venetian* fleet in a harbour on the coaſt of the *Morea*, and, with little reſiſtance, made himſelf maſter of thirty-five gallies, and thirty-four ſmaller veſſels, carrying with him to *Genoa* 5400 priſoners, among whom was the *Venetian* admiral [t]. This loſs ſo affected the *Venetians*, that the following year they made propoſals of peace, which, by b the mediation of *Mapheo*, *Bernabo*, and *Galeas Viſconti*, the nephews of the late archbiſhop, was concluded on the firſt of *June*; when, according to the *Venetian* chronicle, the navigation of the *Black Sea* was declared free to each republic. A few weeks before, the *Genoeſe* had ſent fifteen gallies againſt the *African* corſairs, which fleet took and plundered *Tripoli*, and returned to *Genoa* with an immenſe booty, and a great number of captives.

A. D. 1355.

*Peace concluded.*

THE peace with the *Venetians* was ſoon followed with another revolution in *Genoa*, which was owing to the ambition of the *Viſconti*, who attempted to exceed the terms of the convention with the republic. One of the nobles, who had been moſt active in oppoſing their demands, being ſummoned to appear at *Milan*, inſtead of obeying the command, ſpirited up the nobles to take arms againſt the governor, who, however, was vigorouſly defended c by the people. During their ſkirmiſh, *Simon Buccanigra*, who had returned from *Piſa*, attacked the governor's palace with two hundred men, whom he had perſuaded to ſupport his private intereſt. According to *Folieta*, the people who oppoſed the nobles acted in concert with *Buccanigra*, who, being admitted into the palace, immediately ordered the alarm bell to be rung, which ſtrengthened his party, and obliged the nobles to retire. Next day, which was the fifteenth of *November*, *Simon* was again in a tumultuous manner choſen duke; when he baniſhed the moſt wealthy and powerful of the nobles, ordered thoſe that remained to deliver up their arms, and ordained, that, for the future, no nobleman ſhould enjoy any office in the commonwealth, or command any galley, or trading veſſel. He likewiſe concluded an alliance with the marquis of *Montferrat* againſt the *Viſconti*; and appointing his d brother general of the troops, carried the hoſtilities into the *Milaneſe*, even almoſt to the gates of *Milan*. *Buccanigra*, during the five following years, governed the republic in great tranquility, being aſſiſted by *Nicholas de Caneto*, a wealthy *Guelf* commoner, and *Leonard de Montaldo*, a *Gibelline*, of a very active diſpoſition, who had raiſed his fortune in his ſervice. However, the year following, in the month of *October*, a conſpiracy againſt him was diſcovered, in which many of the commons, as well as nobles, were concerned. The conſpirators were baniſhed into *Lombardy*; but a few weeks after, a ſecond conſpiracy being diſcovered, one of the conſpirators, who was to have been elected duke, was publicly beheaded before the palace. Notwithſtanding this vigilance and ſeverity, the duke, a few months after, was cut off by poiſon, which was adminiſtered to him at the country ſeat e of one of the nobles, where he dined with the king of *Cyprus*, who had come to *Europe* to aſk the aſſiſtance of the chriſtian princes againſt the *Turks*.

Buccanigra *again choſen duke.* A. D. 1356.

*He is poiſoned.* A. D. 1363.

UPON the death of *Buccanigra*, which happened on the fourteenth of *March*, his three brothers were immediately impriſoned, and the people proceeded to the election of a ſucceſſor. They at firſt choſe twenty citizens, who elected other ſixty: theſe ſixty nominated forty, by whom twenty-one others were elected, who choſe ten electors. Theſe laſt ten, on the ſame day, choſe *Gabriel Adorno*, a commoner of the *Gibelline* faction, as duke, who had acquired a great reputation for prudence and diſintereſtedneſs; this laſt part of his character he ſoon forfeited. Next day ſix counſellors were elected to aſſiſt in the adminiſtration; and the late duke, who by his arbitrary behaviour had loſt his popularity, was buried in a f private manner, not one honouring his funeral with his attendance. The nobility being ſtill excluded from all offices, many of them enrolled themſelves as commoners; but the four chief noble families, with many others who were in exile, formed new deſigns for recovering their ancient grandeur in concert with the nobles in the city, and having entered into an alliance with the *Viſconti* of *Milan*, two years after they invaded the territories of the republic. The marquis of *Final* at the ſame time revolted, but was quickly obliged to ſubmit; and the rebels were repulſed from *Saſſello* by the troops of the republic, commanded by the duke's ſon-in-law. *Ambroſe Viſconti*, however, in the beginning of *December*, advanced as far as *Chiavari*, filling all with conſternation; and the *Guelfs* in the city prompted one *Leonard de Montaldo* to raiſe an inſurrection. *Leonard*'s attempt upon the palace proving fruitleſs, he was obliged to fly to *Piſa*, which in ſome meaſure diſconcerted the ſchemes g of the rebels under *Viſconti*, who, nevertheleſs, in the following ſpring, advanced into the

Gabriel Adorno *choſen duke.*

A. D. 1366.

[t] Chron. Venet. STELLÆ Annal.

valley of *Biſagno*, and even to the walls of the city. *Leonard*, at the ſame time, joining them with reinforcements from *Piſa*, they ſurrounded the city on all ſides, which obliged the duke to enter into a treaty with the *Viſconti*, to whom he promiſed to pay yearly four thouſand crowns of gold, to furniſh them with four hundred croſs-bowmen, and to allow the noble exiles to return to *Genoa*, *Leonard de Montaldo*, with the other exiles, being baniſhed for two years. a

*He is expelled from the palace.* A. D. 1370.

THOUGH by this treaty tranquility was again reſtored, yet *Adorno*, by his avarice and extortion, ſoon alienated the affections of the people, and gave occaſion for new diſturbances. About four years after they aſſembled in the church of St. *Mary*, with the two vicars of the city, and from thence in a tumultuous manner ruſhed to the palace, the gates of which they immediately ſet fire to, which obliged the duke to retire with precipitation by a private paſſage. The people, being maſters of the palace, choſe *Dominic Fulgoſio* for duke, who was aſſiſted by a council of commoners. The new duke, who was elected on the thirteenth of *Auguſt*, in order to ſecure the poſſeſſions of his dignity, the following year impriſoned *Gabriel Adorno* in the caſtle of *Vultabio*, and ordered two citizens, who were accuſed of conſpiring againſt the government, to be beheaded before the palace. About the ſame time, he likewiſe ſent ten gallies againſt the pirates of the iſland of *Malta*, and the city of *Mazaria* in *Sicily*, who were quickly extirpated by the *Genoeſe*, and all their ſtores and wealth carried to *Genoa*.

Dominic Fulgoſio *choſen duke.* b

*A rupture betwixt the* Genoeſe *and the* Cypriots. A. D. 1372.

THE year after a rupture happened betwixt the republic and the *Cypriots*, which, according to *Folieta* and *Stella*, was owing to a diſpute about precedency betwixt the *Venetian* bajulus and the *Genoeſe* conſul, at the coronation of the young king of *Cyprus*. Each nation ſupported their claim in a tumultuous manner; but the diſpute being decided, by the king's uncles, in favour of the *Venetians*, the *Genoeſe* reſolved to aſſert their right by open force, and for that purpoſe came to the palace next day with arms under their cloaths. The *Venetians*, having ſecret notice of their intention, accuſed them of a deſign againſt the king's life; and the arms being found upon them, they were immediately put to death without any trial, which was likewiſe the fate of all the other *Genoeſe* in the iſland, except one who eſcaped grievouſly wounded. The republic, inflamed with reſentment againſt the *Cypriots* and *Venetians*, decreed a large fleet to revenge the indignity, and in the mean time ſent ſeven gallies to *Cyprus*, under the command of *Domianus Cataneus*, who ſailed from *Genoa* in *March*, and upon his arrival at the iſland quickly alarmed the *Cypriots*, by his frequent deſcents upon their coaſts. He cunningly created factions and diviſions among the nobles, by plundering and burning the eſtates of ſome, and ſparing thoſe of others. On the ſixteenth of *June* he took *Nicoſia*, and a few days after made himſelf maſter of *Paphos*. c d

THE duke, in the mean time, made great preparations at *Genoa* for the conqueſt of the iſland: he raiſed, by a general tax, about one hundred and four thouſand florins, and equipped thirty gallies, and a great number of tranſport-ſhips, on board of which were embarked a large body of horſe and foot, with many very large battering engines. This fleet, in which were many noble volunteers, arrived at *Cyprus* in the beginning of *October*, under the command of *Peter Fulgoſio*, the duke's brother, who a few days after made himſelf maſter of *Famagoſta*, the capital of the iſland, when he ordered ſome of the grandees, concerned in the maſſacre of the *Genoeſe*, to be put to death. He ſoon after reduced the whole iſland, and took one of the king's uncles, with two ſons of another uncle, and ſixty nobles and knights, priſoners. He afterwards reſtored all his conqueſts, except *Famagoſta*, to the king, who promiſed to pay annually, for a certain term of years, 40,000 florins to the *Genoeſe*. As a ſecurity for the performance of the treaty, the king's uncle and his two couſins above-mentioned, with ſeveral nobles, were ſent the following year on board ſixteen gallies to *Genoa*. The admiral continued a year longer at *Cyprus*, when appointing a garriſon in *Famagoſta*, and leaving five gallies for the defence of the iſland, he ſet ſail for *Genoa*, where he was received with the greateſt honours. A preſent was made him of 10,000 florins; he and his eldeſt ſons were exempted from all taxes during their lives; and an anniverſary ſolemnity was appointed to be held on the tenth of *October*, the day on which *Famagoſta* ſurrendered. e f

A. D 1376. THE *Genoeſe* ſeem now to have claimed the excluſive privilege of trading to *Cyprus*[u]; and the following year appear to have intended alſo to appropriate to themſelves the trade with the *Greeks*. It was probably with this view that they eſpouſed the intereſt of *Andronicus*, who had had been impriſoned for a conſpiracy againſt his father *Paleologus*, or *Calojoannes*, emperor of *Conſtantinople*. The old emperor favouring the *Venetians*, the *Genoeſe* entered into a correſpondence with *Andronicus*, and by force placed him upon the throne, perſuading him likewiſe to give his beautiful ſiſter as a concubine to the *Turkiſh* bey, to procure his friendſhip. *Calojoannes*, with his empreſs and children, were thruſt into priſon, and all the g

[u] ANDREA DAND. Chron. Venet. ap MURAT. t. 12. col. 443.

*Vene-*

a *Venetian* merchants at *Conſtantinople* were alſo plundered and impriſoned. The *Genoeſe*, as a reward for their ſervices, obtained the iſland of *Tenedos* from the unnatural uſurper; but the *Greek* governor, being faithful to the dethroned emperor, at his deſire, ſurrendered the iſland to the *Venetians*, by whoſe aſſiſtance, the following year he was again reſtored to his throne w.

HOSTILITIES, in the mean time, had commenced betwixt both republics. The *Genoeſe* had concluded an alliance with the king of *Hungary*, the duke of *Auſtria*, the lord of *Padua*, and the patriarch of *Aquileia*, which the *Venetians* being informed of, immediately entered into a treaty with *Bernabo Viſconti* of *Milan*, and the young king of *Cyprus*, who married *Bernabo*'s daughter *Valentina*. The bride the year after was conducted by twelve gallies to b *Cyprus*, which fleet likewiſe gave aſſiſtance to the king, who for ſeveral months had been beſieging *Famagoſta*, in conjunction with the *Venetians*. The *Genoeſe*, being wholly intent upon proſecuting the war, granted a pardon to all the exiles, and ſent ten gallies to the relief of *Famagoſta*, which, however, in their paſſage, ventering to attack fourteen *Venetian* gallies, were entirely defeated, with the loſs of five of their number. The marquis of *Final*, in the mean time, by the perſuaſion of the *Viſconti*, revolted from the republic, and ſeized *Albenga*, *Noli*, and the caſtle of *Final*.

*A war betwixt them and the* Venetians. A. D. 1377.

A. D. 1378.

THESE loſſes filled the city of *Genoa* with murmuring and confuſion, which inſpired ſeveral of the wealthy and ambitious citizens with the deſign of cauſing a revolution. They therefore encreaſed the panic, by publiſhing falſe intelligence; and having written to the c duke that the *Viſconti* were paſſing the *Apennines* with a powerful army, and that the *Venetians* had arrived with a numerous fleet at *Porto Venere*, they procured an order for the people to arm, and next morning, being the ſeventeenth of *June*, attacked the palace and ſeized the duke. A few hours after, *Nicolas Guarco* was choſen his ſucceſſor, who having ſelected one half of his council from the nobles, ſubſcribed, according to cuſtom, the articles of capitulation, by which *Fulgoſio* and his brother *Peter*, though accuſed of no miſconduct, were condemned to perpetual baniſhment; ſo deceitful and tranſient is popular favour! The new duke concluded a peace with the *Catalans*, and recovered *Albenga* and the other places ſeized by the marquis of *Final*; while *Lucianus Doria*, who was appointed admiral in chief, ſailed with ſeventeen gallies into the *Venetian* gulph, and being joined by three others at *Zara*, d or *Jadra*, took ſeveral ſhips of the enemy. The *Venetian* authors mention only the tranſactions of their own fleet, which, about the ſame time, made ſeveral deſcents upon the coaſts of *Dalmatia*, then under the dominion of the *Hungarians*.

THE following year, on the fifth of *May*, the two fleets came to a general engagement off *Pola* in *Iſtria*, when the *Genoeſe* obtained a complete victory, and took fifteen of the enemy's gallies, with 2400 priſoners, whom they conducted to *Zara*. The particulars of the action are narrated differently by the hiſtorians of each republic; but they all agree that the victory was deciſive in favour of the *Genoeſe*, who, however, loſt their admital *Doria*, who was greatly regretted. *Victor Piſanus*, the *Venetian* admiral, eſcaping to *Venice* with ſix, or, according to ſome, with four gallies, was immediately impriſoned, with all thoſe who had e returned with him. The *Genoeſe*, after their rejoicings for the victory, ſent *Peter Doria* as admiral, with a reinforcement of fifteen gallies, to *Zara*, who was ſoon after joined by nine others, which in their paſſage had forced a ſmall *Venetian* ſquadron to retire from their coaſts. The new admiral, in the beginning of *Auguſt*, ſailed from *Zara* with forty-ſeven gallies, and many other ſmaller veſſels, and coaſting along *Dalmatia*, plundered ſeveral towns belonging to the enemy. On the ſixteenth of the month, being joined by the *Paduan* troops and veſſels, he ſtormed the city of *Chogia*, ſituated on a ſmall iſland commanding one of the entrances of the *Venetian* harbour, though ſtrongly fortified, and garriſoned with upwards of three thouſand men.

*The* Genoeſe *gain a ſignal victory over the* Venetians. A. D. 1379.

THE loſs of *Chioggio*, according to the *Genoeſe* writers, ſtruck the *Venetians* with conſter- f nation. They buried their moſt valuable effects, and amuſed the *Genoeſe* admiral with an offer of peace, while they ſunk a large veſſel in the chief channel that conducted to the city, and armed a great many boats with a ſmall cannon in each, which was the firſt appearance of that deſtructive engine in *Italy*. The *Aquileians* and *Paduans*, in the mean time, cut off all ſupplies from the city by land, and the *Hungarians*, under *Charles* of *Durazzo*, attacked *Trieſte*, which the *Venetian* writers acknowlege, though they make no mention of the offer of peace made to the admiral; who, by his extravagant terms, is ſaid to have rendered the *Venetians* deſperate, and by his too great confidence to have loſt the opportunity of taking the city. He continued the ſiege, however, ſome months, while the *Genoeſe* ſurpriſed and cut off four thouſand freebooters ſent into their territory by the *Viſconti*; and by their vigorous g efforts in the *Archipelago*, obliged the *Greeks* to conclude a ſeparate peace. The following

*They beſiege the city of* Venice.

w BLOND d. 2. l. 10. NEBIENS. Hiſt. Gen. FOLIET. STELLÆ Annal. ut ſupra. SABEL. d. 2. l. 5. JUSTIN. Hiſt. Venet. l. 5.

A. D. 1380. year, about the middle of *January*, they sent a reinforcement of thirteen gallies to *Doria*, under the command of *Matthew Maruffus*. Before his arrival, however, *Doria* was killed by a cannon ball, and the *Venetians*, being assisted by the *English*, drove the *Genoese* from one of the islands which they had seized, destroyed upwards of twenty of their gallies, and cut off the retreat of the others within the channel by stopping it up. By this means the *Genoese*, who were in *Chioggia*, were in their turn besieged, and on the twenty-second of *June* obliged to surrender prisoners of war. The enterprize against *Venice* proving thus unsuccessful, the *Genoese*, with the gallies that remained, sailed from thence, and took *Capo d' Istra*, *Pola*, and some other places on that coast. They were soon, however, obliged to retire, the *Venetians* becoming masters of the gulph, under the command of *Pisanus*, whom in their late desperate situation they had taken out of prison, and restored to his dignity. a

*But are obliged to retire with loss.*

DURING these transactions, the *Genoese* had repulsed a body of horse, which had advanced as far as the valley of *Pulsevera*, and had likewise defeated several exiles who had attempted to approach the city with some forces, in hopes of causing a revolution. While the duke's brother was expelling the rebels from the eastern *Riviera*, the remains of the fleet from *Venice*, in the beginning of *January*, entered the harbour of *Genoa*, bringing home with them only a few relicks, as the fruits of all their dangers and fatigues. All parties being now weary of the war, they submitted to the mediation of the count of *Savoy*, by whose endeavours, on the eighth of *August*, a treaty was concluded betwixt the two republics and their respective allies, excepting *Bernabo Visconti*, lord of *Milan*. By this treaty it was agreed, that the castle of *Tenedos* should be demolished, and that no settlement should ever be established in the island by either republic. The *Venetian* governor, however, absolutely refusing to evacuate the island, the *Genoese* the following year sequestered all the merchandize in their territories belonging to the *Florentines*, who had guarantied the performance of the treaty, under a penalty of one hundred and fifty thousand ducats. The *Venetians*, having at length compelled the governor to submit, the fortresses of the island were demolished the year after in the presence of a *Genoese* syndic, and the goods of the *Florentines* were restored. b

*A peace betwixt the two republics.*

A. D. 1381. c

A. D. 1383. THE peace soon proved almost as pernicious to the *Genoese* as the late war; for a few months after the factions in the city again revived, and tumults succeeding, the duke on the sixth of *April* was forced to abandon the palace, which was immediately possessed by two different parties, who chose no less than three dukes. Next day, however, two of them resigned in favour of *Leonard de Montaldo*, a lawyer, who had promoted the disturbances; and to prevail with the people to acquiesce in his favour, promised to resign the dignity in six months. The historian *Stella*, who was an eye-witness of this revolution, informs us, that the new duke acted with great prudence and moderation. He granted a pardon to his predecessor, with full liberty to return to *Genoa*: he lessened the taxes; and as the young king of *Cyprus* had died some time before, he entered into a treaty with his uncle, who remained a hostage in *Genoa*, and was declared his successor. The new king, having granted *Famagosta* to the *Genoese* in perpetuity, and stipulated to pay a large annual tribute to the republic, embarked with his queen and retinue on board ten gallies, and on the second of *June* sailed for *Cyprus*. *Montaldo*, at the end of the six months, seemed to have forgot his promise of resigning the government; but his administration afterwards was so prudent and equitable, that he was even respected by all parties, and honoured also by foreign princes. d

A. D. 1384. WHILE he seemed thus firmly established in the government, he was seized with an epidemical fever; and, after three days illness, died on the fourteenth of *June*. As many people had fled from *Genoa*, on account of this contagious distemper, which carried off about nine hundred people weekly, *Antonioto Adorno* next day was chosen duke without any dis- e

A. D. 1385. turbance. He at first followed the footsteps of his predecessor, retained his retinue and guards, and confirmed the same counsellors and rectors; but in the beginning of the following year, he imprisoned the late duke *Nicolas Guarco*, who had been betrayed into his hands by the marquisses of *Final*. Being of an aspiring disposition, he formed a design of f
making himself mediator in the grand schism of the church; and, in hopes of establishing the pope's court at *Genoa*, he offered his assistance to *Urban* the sixth, who was then closely besieged by the king of *Naples* at *Nocera*. *Urban* accordingly being conducted to *Genoa* about the middle of *September* by ten gallies, *Adorno* immediately wrote to the emperor, and to other christian princes, desiring to be appointed their vicar or proxy in terminating the schism; but according to *Stella*, his request was rejected by all those potentates. *Urban* mortgaged some revenues of the bishopric of *Albenga* for the payment of sixty thousand crowns expended in fitting out the fleet that brought him from *Naples*, and granted indulgences to those who visited the church of St. *Laurence* in *Genoa*, as extensive as those pertaining to the church of St. *Mark* in *Venice*. The duke, however, not humouring his morose disposition as he expected, the year after he left *Genoa* about the middle of *December*, and g
went to *Lucca*.

SOON

a Soon after the departure of *Urban*, a conſpiracy was diſcovered againſt the duke. *Francis Raphael* and *Leonard Juſtiniani*, the ſons of *Garibald*, who were the chief conſpirators, immediately fled; but ſeveral others being apprehended, were put to the torture, fined in about eight thouſand florins, and then tranſported to the diſtant provinces. Mean while, as it was reported that the king of *Tunis* was making preparations for attacking *Genoa*, the duke next year fitted out twelve gallies for an expedition againſt the *Moors*; and three others being equipped for *Manfred Chiaramonte*, admiral of *Sicily*, the fleet about *Midſummer* ſailed under the command of the duke's brother to *Africa*, being joined alſo by five *Piſan* gallies in *Manfred*'s pay. Having reduced the iſland of *Gerbæ*, or *Zerbi*, on the *African* coaſt, the *Genoeſe* reſigned their ſhare of the conqueſt to *Manfred*, for which they received b thirty-ſix thouſand florins. *Antonioto*, encouraged by this ſucceſs, exerted himſelf with greater activity; and the following year, having prevailed with *Charles* the ſixth of *France* to engage in an expedition againſt the *Moors*, he fitted out forty gallies and twenty large tranſports, and about the middle of *December* gave the command of the fleet to *John Centurio*, his relation. Many of the *Engliſh* nobility likewiſe engaged with great ardor in this expedition againſt the infidels; and a truce then ſubſiſting betwixt that kingdom and *France*, they joined the *French* nobleſſe and other forces under the command of the duke of *Bourbon*, the king's uncle, and marched with them to *Genoa*, where they embarked the following ſummer, and on the twenty-ſecond of *July* landed in *Africa*, the *Engliſh* archers obliging the *Mooriſh* army to abandon the ſhore. They directly inveſted *Tunis*; but the city being c ſtrongly garriſoned, and their army greatly diſtreſſed by the ſudden incurſions of the *Mooriſh* light horſe, they gladly hearkened to the offers of accommodation made by the infidels, and concluded a treaty with them; by which the *Moors* engaged not to make any deſcents on the coaſts of *Italy* or *France*, on the iſlands of the *Mediterranean*, not to moleſt the chriſtian traders, to pay forthwith ten thouſand crowns of gold, and to reſtore all the chriſtian captives x.

A. D. 1387

A. D. 1388.

A. D. 1390.

Before the fleet ſailed from *Genoa*, *Antonioto* had diſcovered a new conſpiracy againſt himſelf. Not thinking it ſafe to irritate his rivals too much, he obliged the conſpirators and their friends only to give ſecurity for their future fidelity, and baniſhed them the city; but a few months after, finding that he had in a great meaſure loſt his popularity, and d that his rivals were acquiring more influence, in the beginning of *Auguſt* he embarked privately at his villa in the ſuburbs, and abandoned the government. Upon the news of his flight, the people immediately run to arms; but recovering from their ſurprize, on the ſame day they elected, in a peaceable manner, *James Fulgoſio*, whoſe father had lately been duke. *Antonioto*, ſoon repenting of his precipitate flight, in the beginning of the following year came by ſea to *Seſto*, according to *Folieta*, deſiring to be admitted into the city as a private citizen; which requeſt, he ſays, was denied. *Stella*, however, relates, that he was driven back from *Seſto* by bad weather; and that he then formed a deſign with the marquiſſes of *Final*, of recovering the government of the republic by force. The news of his preparations greatly alarmed the friends of the duke; but he himſelf appeared in- e ſenſible of the danger, and gave no orders for any defence. *Antonioto* accordingly, on the fifth of *April*, entered the city without oppoſition, and the next day, being again declared duke, took poſſeſſion of the palace, and entertained his predeceſſor at dinner with himſelf.

A. D. 1391.

A few months after, however, he was again in hazard of being expelled, having provoked the inhabitants of *Savona* to revolt, by giving aſſiſtance to thoſe of *Signo*, with whom they were then at war. To ſtop the murmurs of the *Genoeſe*, he proceeded to violent meaſures, and cauſed two of the chiefs of the ſeditious to be put to death. Some others, the following year, being put to death and impriſoned, the diſturbances increaſed; and *Antonioto* having by open force in vain endeavoured to ſuppreſs the revolters, on the ſixteenth of *June* was, at length, obliged to abandon the palace to *Antony de Montaldo*, who was f created duke with great acclamations, though then only twenty-three years of age.

A. D. 1392.

The confuſion and tumults were encreaſed by this revolution, and the year after began to ſpread into the neighbouring vallies, where the *Guelfs* and *Gibellines* with great animoſity deſtroyed each other's poſſeſſions. *Antonioto*, being again in hopes of recovering his dignity, appeared with an armed force before the city in the beginning of *June*, but was repulſed with conſiderable loſs. The whole territories of the republic were now filled with anarchy and diſorder, and the citizens were all in arms, and divided into ſeveral factions; one of which on the fifteenth of *July* expelled *Montaldo* from the palace, and choſe *Peter Fulgoſio* as duke, who in the evening thought proper to reſign to his more powerful competitor *Clement de Premontorio*. Next day, however, the people declared they would accept g of neither, and began to propoſe the committing of the adminiſtration to the lord of *Milan*,

A. D. 1393.

*Great tumults in* Genoa *and its territory.*

x Stellæ Annal. An. 1389, 1390. Paul. Æmil. l. 9. in fin. Nebiens. l. 4. Foliet. l. 9. Frossart. t. 4. c. 13. Juvenal, in Carol. VI.

or ſome other foreign prince. At length, ten electors choſe *Francis Juſtiniani* duke for one year. The hoſtilities, nevertheleſs, ſtill continuing in the city, ſuburbs, and neighbouring fortreſſes on the mountains, *Juſtiniani*, on the laſt of *Auguſt*, reſigned the government, when *Antonioto* in the afternoon broke into the city with five thouſand men, and was immediately joined by two thouſand friends in arms. After a long and bloody diſpute he was repulſed, that ſame evening, by the followers of *Antony de Montaldo*, who was next day A. D. 1394. choſen duke for life. The malcontents of the valley of *Biſagno*, with the other two vallies, on the firſt of *January*, however, openly took arms againſt him: but about two months after they were forced to ſubmit. Many of the *Guelfs* ſtill continued in open rebellion; but, inſtead of attacking the city, aſſaulted the *Gibellines*, who were followers of *Antonioto*, and exiles as well as themſelves. His friends in the vallies and ſuburbs renewing their hoſtilies, *Montaldo*, ſeeing himſelf ſurrounded with difficulties, on the 24th of *May* at night, left the city, and abandoned the government. Next day, the ten electors choſe *Nicolas Zoalio* for duke, who being oppoſed by *Adorno*, *Guarco Fulgoſio*, *Montaldo*, and their friends, about three months after reſigned his dignity. Upon his reſignation the other competitors again filled the city with tumults and mobbing, very few being killed, though each of the chiefs were attended by ſeveral hundred armed men. On the third of *September*, *Antonioto Adorno* was again choſen duke by artful means; which diſguſted all the nobility, and exaſperated *Montaldo* againſt him, to whom in the morning he had promiſed, as a means of reſtoring tranquility, not to accept of that dignity.

*The* French *invade the territories of the republic.*

By theſe continual diſſentions the power of the republic began at length ſenſibly to decline, which excited the watchful ambition of the *French*, who attempted to make a conqueſt of its territory; they were, indeed, invited by ſome of the family of *Doria*, who, in conjunction with the marquiſſes of *Final*, conducted the *French* forces into the weſtern *Riviera*. The invaders immediately ſeized *Diano*; but finding more difficulty in the enterprize than they expected, they ſoon after abandoned the place, and in the end of the year evacuated the *Genoeſe* territories [y]. This invaſion, however, did not ſuſpend the civil diſſentions; for hoſtilities continued during the whole following year betwixt the duke and the adherents of *Montaldo* and *Guarco*. Some of the *Grimaldi*, at the ſame time, ſeized the caſtle of *Monaco*, which, with *Porto Fino* and *Porto Venere*, became the head quarter of A. D. 1390. the *Guelfs*, who, without joining the faction of *Montaldo*, declared themſelves equally enemies to the duke. *Antonioto*, according to *Stella*, had privately favoured the *French* invaſion; and the following year, finding the power of his rivals increaſing in conſequence of the ſuccours they received from *Galeas Viſconti* of *Milan*, while cardinal *Fieſco*, who had been general of the papal forces, arrived on the coaſt with twelve gallies to the aſſiſtance of the *Guelfs*, to put an end, if poſſible, to all their diviſions, he reſolved to give the dominion of the city and republic to the *French* king. After conſulting with the nobles and commoners of both factions in the city, and with cardinal *Fieſco*, who declared himſelf the protector of the *Guelfs*, with their conſent, he ſent an ambaſſy to *France*, with an offer of the ſovereignty of the republic. Accordingly on the 25th of *October*, articles were

*The ſovereignty of the republic conferred on the king of* France.

agreed to betwixt the duke and council and the *French* deputies; by which the king of *France* and his ſucceſſors were declared lords of *Genoa*, and all its territories, ſaving the rights of the empire. It was beſides ſtipulated, that the king's vicar, who ſhould not be an *Italian*, ſhould govern according to the laws of the republic, with the advice of the council; and in all deliberations ſhould have two votes, and be allowed a yearly revenue of about 7000 florins; that the council ſhould conſiſt of an equal number of nobles and commoners of both factions, not leſs than ſix perſons of each faction, and might give a deciſive ſentence even in the abſence of the governor, in which caſe a *Gibelline* ſhould be preſident; that the king ſhould have no authority to impoſe taxes on the *Genoeſe*; and when he ſhould require any ſhips or troops from them, he ſhould pay them out of his royal revenues; that the *Genoeſe* ſhould reckon the friends and enemies of the king likewiſe their friends and enemies, excepting only the *Greek* emperor and the king of *Cyprus*; that the king ſhould defend the republic againſt all its enemies, and recover all the territories and rights it had loſt within four years and four months; for which purpoſe ten of the chief caſtles of the republics ſhould be garriſoned with *French* ſoldiers, to be paid by the *Genoeſe* [z].

A. D. 1397. About four weeks after, *Antonioto* made a ſolemn reſignation of the government to the *French* deputies; but was, however, allowed to act as vicar till the following *March*, when the *French*, governor arrived with two hundred horſe, and a conſiderable body of foot. Before the concluſion of this treaty with the *French*, the inhabitants of *Savona* had put themſelves under the protection of the duke of *Orleans*, who now reſigned his right to the king; but for ſome weeks the *Savoneſe* refuſed to acknowlege the new governor: they

[y] Stellæ Annal. An. 1394. Foliet. l. 9. [z] Stellæ Annal.



how-

a however, ſubmitted in the end of *April*, and two months after, *Guarco* and *Montaldo*, with their followers, likewiſe acknowledging the governor, tranquility was quickly reſtored thro' all the *Genoeſe* territories; and, in order to prevent future diſturbances, a captain of juſtice was appointed, whoſe authority in puuiſhing delinquents was not reſtricted by the laws. As the plague was brought this ſummer to *Genoa* in a *Turkiſh* ſhip, and raged greatly in the city, the governor in the end of the year appointed a lieutenant, and returned to *Paris*.

THE following ſummer the inhabitants of the three vallies took arms, under pretence that the king's vicar acted with partiality in favour of the *Guelfs*; and having ſurpriſed the city, were immediately joined by the *Gibellines*, who barricadoed all the ſtreets in their poſ- *An inſurrection againſt the* French *governor.* A. D. 1398.
b ſeſſion, and for ſeveral weeks daily aſſaulted the other party, obliging the *French* governor at length to retire to *Savona*. Each party ſent for auxiliaries from the country; but *Gaſper Coſſa* arriving with three *Neapolitan* gallies in his way to *France* with the pope's legate, prevailed on both to agree to an accommodation. About a fortnight after, hoſtilities were renewed with greater fury, each party ſetting fire to the houſes of their adverſaries. Peace was again embraced by both for a few days, when they ardently renewed their hoſtilities, which were followed by a third accommodation. This was again interrupted; but at length, on the fifth of *September*, a total ceſſation of arms was agreed to, which was confirmed by the king's governor. Though very few were killed during theſe tumults, yet the damage done to the city was computed at a million of florins.

c A FEW weeks after, *Colard de Callaville*, one of the *French* king's counſellors, arrived as governor; but the following year, in the beginning of *May*, he was likewiſe obliged to A. D. 1399. abandon the palace, to ſhun the fury of ſome of the populace, who had taken arms becauſe the nobles were admitted into the council of ſtate. The chiefs of the *Gibellines* protected the governor; and to appeaſe the tumult, the council of ancients was new modelled, and compoſed wholly of commoners. However, at the following election, four months after, the nobles were again admitted into that council; but, to prevent the people from murmuring, on the firſt of *December* a new council was appointed, conſiſting of four tradeſmen, called priors of the arts, with twelve artificers as aſſiſtants, upon whoſe deliberation the governor and council of the ancients had a negative. This new council was empow-
d ered to propoſe all matters for the public good to the governor, and was inveſted with the ſupreme direction of the city militia, who took the oath of fidelity to the priors, excluſive of all others. A few weeks after, however, ſome of the people attempted to expel the *French* governor; and about the middle of *January* raiſed ſuch a tumult in the city, that he was obliged to abandon the palace. After the city had remained ten days without a gover- A. D. 1400. nor, the people choſe *Baptiſt Buccanigra*, who took the title of captain of the king's guard. His authority, however, was diſregarded by the factions, who continued ſkirmiſhing with each other; and about two months after, he alſo abandoned the palace, when the city was again without any government. In a few days, *Baptiſt de Franchis* ſucceeded to the government; but being unable to quell the tumults, quickly reſigned. Many aſſemblies of the
e moderate citizens, mean time, were held for reſtoring tranquility, and in the end of *October*, *de Franchis* was again choſen governor; but acting with too great zeal in repreſſing the diſorders, the people the following ſpring again took arms againſt him, and were with dif- A. D. 1401. ficulty quieted. A few months after, a council of eight citizens being appointed, he was depoſed by them, and the government committed to *Antony Juſtiniani* and *George Adorno*, till the arrival of a new governor from *France*. The two governors, inſtead of granting a full pardon to all delinquents, which had been uſual at every revolution, baniſhed all murderers who could not be apprehended, for fifty years.

ON the laſt day of *October*, *John le Meingle*, ſurnamed *Boucicard*, a marſhal of *France*, of great reputation, entered *Genoa* as governor, attended by one thouſand horſe and foot.
f Two days after he ordered *Baptiſt Buccanigra* and *Baptiſt de Franchis* to be ſeized, and ſentenced them both to be beheaded in the evening before the palace, for having uſurped the government without the king's permiſſion. *Buccanigra* was accordingly beheaded; but the guards who attended the execution, fearing to be aſſaulted by the populace, were thrown into diſorder, ſo that *de Franchis*, though his hands were tied, made his eſcape. *Boucicard*, *Tranquility re-eſtabliſhed.* A. D. 1402. by this example of ſeverity, having ſtruck a terror into all offenders, publiſhed a general pardon, from which ſeven perſons only were excepted: he declared, however, that the rebels who ſhould be guilty of the ſlighteſt crime, ſhould be puniſhed for their former rebellion; and, on this pretence, the following year executed ſeveral malcontents in the city and the valley of *Biſagno*. At the ſame time he ordered all the arms in the city and
g three vallies, excepting the ſwords and the common bows, to be brought to the palace: he likewiſe aboliſhed the priors of the arts, eſtabliſhed ſeveral taxes, prohibited the people from holding any aſſemblies, and ſent three gallies to the relief of *Famagoſta*, which was then beſieged by the king of *Cyprus*, aſſiſted by a *Catalan* fleet. Having reſtored order and tran-

tranquility, he became at length ſo acceptable to the *Genoeſe*, that they ſent an ambaſſy to the king, and by their entreaties obtained that he ſhould continue governor during life [a]. a

*The* Greeks *emperor aſks the aſſiſtance of the* Genoeſe.

A. D. 1403.

THE *Genoeſe* ſettled at *Pera*, mean while, at the deſire of *Tamerlane*, erected his ſtandard. After his conqueſt over *Bajazet*, however, he reduced *Smyrna*, and *Old* and *New Fozia*, for which the *Genoeſe* annaliſt aſſigns no reaſon; but, according to *Niem*, the governor of *Smyrna* had refuſed to raiſe the ſtandard of the *Tartars* [b]. The *Greek* emperor *Emanuel*, who was then in *France*, ſoliciting aſſiſtance againſt the *Turks*, hearing of the victory of *Tamerlane*, the following *January* arrived at *Genoa*, in his way to *Conſtantinople*; and having obtained a preſent of three thouſand florins from the *Genoeſe*, prevailed on them to fit out three gallies to act againſt the *Turks* in the *Archipelago*.

AFTER his departure, *Boucicard* reſolved to go himſelf with a powerful fleet againſt the king of *Cyprus*. Having ſent a new governor to *Corſica*, which now quietly ſubmitted to the *Genoeſe*, he ſailed from *Genoa*, on the fourth of *April*, with nine gallies, a large galleon and tranſport, and ſeven ſhips; and upon his arrival at *Cyprus*, obliged the king to agree to a peace, and to pay all the expences of the expedition. He ſailed from thence to *Cilicia*, obliging the lord of *Candelorum* to agree to a perpetual alliance with the *French* and *Genoeſe*. He afterwards plundered *Berytus*; but an epidemical ſickneſs ſeizing his fleet, he ſet ſail for *Genoa*, being joined by a galley from *Chios*, and another belonging to the knights of *Rhodes*. Upon his arrival at the *Morea*, he fell in with a *Venetian* fleet of thirteen gallies, which, after accompanying him for ſome time, at length attacked him, and after a ſharp diſpute took three of his gallies, loſing, however, one of their own. The *Venetian* writers accuſe the *Genoeſe* of committing the firſt hoſtilities; but *Boucicard* the following year wrote to the doge and *Venetian* admiral throwing the blame of the violation of the peace upon them, and offering to juſtify himſelf by ſingle combat [c]. During his abſence ſome malcontents in the vallies had openly revolted againſt his lieutenant; and *Caſanus Doria* and *Baptiſt de Franchis* had the impudence to publiſh a manifeſto, declaring war againſt the republic. Upon his return the commotions were quieted, and a few months after the peace was renewed with the *Venetians*. b c

A. D. 1404.

ABOUT the ſame time *Boucicard* was put in poſſeſſion of the caſtle of *Leghorn*, by *Gabriel Viſconti*, lord of *Piſa*; who, imitating the *Genoeſe*, declared the *French* ſovereigns of his territories, and erected their ſtandard. The governor ſoon after ſent ſubſidies to *Francis Cararia*, lord of *Padua*, *Verona*, and *Vincenza*, who, to defend himſelf againſt the *Viſconti* of *Milan*, and the *Venetians*, likewiſe took the oath of homage to the *French* king. The *Genoeſe* in the mean time, began ſecretly to murmur againſt the ſeverity and rapacity of the *French*, who puniſhed with the utmoſt rigour thoſe who expreſſed the leaſt diſſatisfaction at the preſent government; and beſides impoſed the moſt grievous and oppreſſive taxes. The diſaffection becoming general, and many people in the vallies the year after taking arms, and killing ſome of the tax-gatherers, and even the podeſtas of the towns, *Boucicard*, by aboliſhing ſome of the moſt heavy taxes, again reſtored tranquility. d

A. D. 1405.

ABOUT two years after, his conduct being again cenſured for aſſiſting the *Florentines* againſt the *Piſans*, who had revolted from their lord, to quiet the murmurs of the *Genoeſe*, he made a preſent of *Leghorn* to the republic, who gave him twenty-ſix thouſand florins, as an equivalent for the expences that city had coſt him. The *Florentines*, making themſelves maſters of *Piſa*, the podeſta of *Sarzana*, rather than ſubmit to the conquerors, ſold that city to the *Genoeſe*, who by that means extended their frontier to the eaſtern ſide of the *Magra*. e

A. D. 1408.

The year after, finding that the two contending popes wanted to prolong the ſchiſm, by rejecting all means of an accommodation, they imitated the example of the *French*, and renounced the authority of each of them. News ſoon after arriving, that the merchants ſettled at *Chios* had declared againſt the government of *Boucicard*, and, under pretence of a loan, had ſeized all the merchandize in the iſland, valued at fifteen thouſand florins, their relations at *Genoa* the following year were impriſoned in the citadel which *Boucicard* had cauſed to be built; and *Conrad Doria* was ſent with three gallies and three large tranſports to reduce the rebels. He arrived at *Chios* on the eighteenth of *June*, and in three days, having taken the ſuburbs of the city, he obliged the citizens again to acknowledge the *French* king, pardoning their revolt, and only baniſhing ſome of thoſe who had promoted the inſurrection. f

A. D. 1409.

*BOUCICARD* had now ruined the republic of *Piſa*, and enriched himſelf by the ſpoils of that ſtate; for he had not only obtained *Leghorn* from *Gabriel Viſconti*, but had perſuaded him to betray *Piſa* to the *Florentine* army, and had afterwards executed him at *Genoa*, under pretence of plotting againſt his government, and ſeized his wealth as a lawful forfeiture.

[a] Idem ibid. NEBIENS l. 5. FOLIET. l. 9. [b] THEOD. A NIEM. de Schiſm. [c] STELLÆ Annal. An. 1403. FOLIET. l. 9. Chron. Venet ap. MURATOR. t. 12. col. 517. NEBIENS. l. 4. SABEL. d. 2. l. 8. JUSTIN. l. 6.

The

a The *Genoeſe*, who at firſt had been ſtruck dumb by his ſeverity, no longer concealed their diſcontent, and complained that all his ſchemes tended only to the eſtabliſhing of his private power, or the grandeur of the *French*, at the expence of the republic. He, however, diſregarded their murmurs; and, thinking he had ſecured their ſubmiſſion, formed a deſign of ſeizing the *Milaneſe*, the poſſeſſion of which dutchy was then conteſted by the two brothers *John Maria* and *Philip Maria Viſconti*. He accordingly borrowed large ſums of money at *Genoa*; and aſſembling five thouſand horſe, and about as many foot at *Gavi*, marched to the aſſiſtance of *John*, who was in poſſeſſion of *Milan*. *Philip*, who reſided at *Pavia*, was aſſiſted by the marquis of *Montferrat*, and *Facinis Canis*, lord of *Alexandria*, who being at enmity with *Boucicard*, were perſuaded by the exile *de Franchis* to march di-
b rectly to *Genoa*. Upon the approach of their forces, the *Genoeſe* inſtantly took arms againſt the *French*, maſſacring all thoſe who were not ſo fortunate as to ſave themſelves in the caſtles. The marquis of *Montferrat* was then invited into the city, and the ninth of *September* declared captain of the republic. *Boucicard*, who in the mean time had obtained the government of *Milan*, haſtened back with his army; but, upon hearing the ſtrength of his opponents, he thought it was in vain to paſs the *Apennines*.

*The* Genoeſe *revolt, and declare the marquis of* Montferrat *governor.*

*GENOA* ſtill continued in arms under four *Gibelline* leaders; and the council of ancients, and all other officers of the republic being choſen from that faction, they diſarmed the *Guelfs*, who, though they equally hated *Boucicard*, yet wanted to have a new governor from *France*. The *Genoeſe*, having expelled the *French* from the citadel, and the fol-
c lowing year obliged the *Guelfs* in *Porto Fino*, to ſubmit to the new government, on the twenty-firſt of *April* publiſhed a decree in a numerous council of three hundred *Gibellines*, appointing the marquis governor of the republic for five years. They now declared for *Ladiſlaus*, king of *Naples*, againſt the duke of *Anjou*; and *Ladiſlaus*'s fleet acting in concert with the *Genoeſe* gallies, under the command of *Othoboni Juſtiniano*, in the beginning of *June* they took *Ventimiglia* by ſtorm, which had hitherto held out for the *French*. The admiral aftewards made an unſucceſsful attempt upon *Porto Venere*, whilſt the troops by land attacked ſeveral places held out by the *Fieſci* in the eaſtern *Riviera*. Though the attempts of the land-forces were likewiſe fruitleſs, yet in the end of the year the *Fieſci* at length ſubmitted to the marquis, who granted them a pardon, and reſtored to them their ſhare in the
d bank of St. *George*, the proprietors of which had been eſtabliſhed into a regulated ſociety three years before (F).

A. D. 1410.

A FEW months after, *Orlando Fulgoſio* raiſed a freſh tumult in the city; but was obliged to retire to *Savona*, where he was murdered. About the ſame time, the *French* deſpairing of recovering *Genoa* ſold *Gavi*, *Montaldo* and *Pallodio*, towns belonging to the republic, to *Facinus Canis*; and *Porto Venere*, *l'Erice*, *Sergianello*, and *Falcinello*, to the *Florentines*, who, the following year, bribed ſeveral of the diſcontented *Guelfs* to cauſe other towns belonging to the republic to revolt, and ſubmit to their dominion. Many of thoſe who had en-
tered into an unlawful correſpondence with the *Florentines*, being diſcovered, were put to death as traitors; and a fleet, which was ordered to repreſs the inſults of the *Catalans*, ſailed
e to *Porto Piſano*; but, after ſome ſlight hoſtilities, was obliged to retire. The *Genoeſe*, however, taking four *Florentine* ſhips laden with corn, and three *Engliſh* veſſels bound for *Florence* with cloth, to the amount of forty-eight thouſand florins, they ſoon obliged their enemy to think of peace, which was concluded the following year at *Lucca* on the twenty-ſeventh of *April*; when the *Florentines* agreed to reſtore all the places belonging to the *Genoeſe* republic. A few weeks before the concluſion of this treaty, the *Genoeſe*, with their uſual fickleneſs, had renounced the authority of the marquis of *Montferrat*, and conferred the government of the republic on *George Adorno*, with the title of duke. The marquis having failed in an attempt upon *Savona*, came to an accommodation with the republic, which, as an equivalent for all his claims, agreed to pay him 24,500 florins, or crowns of gold.

A. D. 1411.

*The* Genoeſe *again create a duke.*

(F) The republic, for a long time, had contracted a great debt, the intereſt of which was paid to the creditors from the public revenues by certain citizens appointed by the duke to overſee every different tax. The debt and taxes encreaſing, began to occaſion great confuſion, to avoid which, all the public creditors were at length formed into one body, by the title of the ſociety of *St. George*, governed by eight directors choſen annually, not by the duke, but by the creditors. The directors and their aſſiſtants were alſo declared independent of the duke and council, with a right of determining abſolutely all affairs relating to the ſociety, the members of which were bound to ſubmit to their deciſions; and the governors of the requblic, upon aſſuming the adminiſtration, took an oath never to violate their privileges. This ſociety encreaſing their ſtock by future loans to the government, became, about a hundred years after, ſo rich and powerful, as to purchaſe the whole iſland of *Corſica*, and many other territories of the ſtate; ſo that, according to *Folieta*, who then flouriſhed, two different republics ſeemed included within the ſame walls. It may, however, be queſtioned, whether the grandeur of this company may not be reckoned one of the cauſes of the decline of the *Genoeſe* ſtate (1).

(1) *Foliet. Hiſt. Gen. l.* 9. *An.* 1407.

THE city being now again freed from a foreign dominion, and being undisturbed by the factions, twelve chief citizens were chosen with full authority to compose a new form of government, in order to prevent any future intestine commotions. They accordingly published a great many salutary laws, ordaining, among other matters, that the duke, for the future, should be a citizen of *Genoa*, of fifty years of age, a *Gibelline* commoner, and a merchant. These prudent regulations were not, however, sufficient to repress the factious spirit of the *Genoese*. The following year, the family of *Guarco* attempted to surprise the palace; but were repulsed, and some of the rioters were banished. Notwithstanding their bad success, in the month of *December*, the family of *Montaldo* made a second insurrection against the duke; who, to put an end to the hostilities, which continued several days, consented to abdicate the government. His sons, however, interrupted the accommodation, and both parties, on *Christmas-day*, only concluded a short truce. The week after, they again took arms, and continued skirmishing till the sixth of *March*, when a peace was at length concluded; by which the duke agreed to resign upon honourable terms, being allowed a pension during life. On the twenty-eighth of *March*, he was succeeded by *Barnabas Goano*, doctor of laws, who was acceptable to both parties; so that the shares in the bank of St. *George* immediately rose forty-four *per cent*. *Barnabas* had not enjoyed his new dignity three months, when he was attacked by *George Adorno* and *Thomas Fulgosio*, with their followers, and obliged to abandon the palace. *Thomas Fulgosio* was then chosen duke, who soon after, to conciliate the affections of the people, eased them of several taxes, and mortgaged his own estate to the amount of sixty thousand florins, to pay off part of the public debt. Though he introduced great magnificence and splendor into his court, yet he gave an assiduous attention to the affairs of state. He conferred several chief commands upon his six brothers, by whose assistance he repressed an insurrection of the *Corsicans*, and recovered several places, formerly belonging to the republic, from the marquisses of *Malaspini*. He likewise agreed to a truce for ten years with the *French*; who, being invaded by an *English* army, and reduced to great distress, hired six hundred *Genoese* bowmen, eight gallies, and as many large ships. One of these gallies was shipwrecked, and of the other seven, three were taken by the *English*, being deserted by the *French* during the engagement.

A. D. 1414. a

A. D. 1415. b

A. D. 1416. c

ALTHOUGH the great services performed by the duke were very conspicuous, and universally acknowledged, yet the year following the families of *Montaldo*, *Guarco*, and *Adorno*, formed a design of expelling him from the government; and prevailed with the duke of *Milan*, the marquisses of *Montferrat* and *Final*, to favour their enterprize. On *Christmas-day* they appeared before the city with one thousand five hundred horse, and two thousand foot, expecting an insurrection in their favour; but being disappointed by the vigorous measures taken by the duke, thy quickly retired towards the mountains, and seized *Gavi*. Having then declared *Jeramo Adorno* duke, they soon after returned to the city, and seized several posts in its neighbourhood. During the whole summer, hostilities continued betwixt the two parties with various success, but generally in favour of the duke, who by his vigilance and intrepidity, preserved peace and tranquility in the city; and on the last of *September* forced the rebels to retire to the mountains. *Jeramo Adorno*, their duke, being thus frustrated before *Genoa*, reduced the territories of the republic beyond the *Appennines*, which, however, he was obliged to divide with his allies, giving the greatest share to the duke of *Milan*. Some commotions, in the mean time, happening in the eastern *Riviera*, the duke found it necessary to part with *Leghorn*, which he sold to the *Florentines* for a hundred and twenty thousand florins. The rebels, finding the duke's authority so firmly established, did not appear in arms during the two following years; in the last of which *Genoa* was again visited by an epidemical distemper, which carried off great numbers of the inhabitants.

A. D. 1418. d

A. D. 1420. e

Alphonso *of* Arragon *invades* Corsica *without success.*

*ALPHONSO* of *Arragon*, in the mean time, having invaded *Corsica* with a fleet of thirteen lage ships, and twenty-three gallies, on board of which were ten thousand men, took *Calvi*, and invested the town of *Boniface*, which was strongly situated on an abrupt rock, near a most commodious harbour, which run a mile into the land. The duke exerted himself with great vigour to save the place; and tho' *Genoa* was then almost desolate, by the death and flight of its inhabitants, he caused seven large ships to be fitted out, and furnished with stores and provisions for the besieged, raising thirty thousand crowns for that purpose, by pledging his plate and jewels to the bankers of *Lucca*. This small fleet sailed from *Genoa*, under the command of his younger brother, on the twentieth of *December*: though they found the mouth of the harbour blocked up, by five gallies chained to each other, batteries erected on the land, and the gallies within drawn up in a line, yet they boldly advanced, and, after a most furious engagement of seven hours, broke the chain, and proceeded to the town, where they continued five days, landing their stores: they again broke thro' the enemy's fleet, by throwing it into confusion by a small fireship. *Alphonso*, now despairing of taking the place, raised the siege, which encouraged the inhabitants of *Calvi*, in the beginning f g

a ginning of the following year, to revolt and admit a *Genoese* garrison, tho' all the reſt of the iſland was at this time independent of the republic, and governed by different lords [d].

THE rebels, mean while, by their continual ſolicitations, again prevailed upon the duke of *Milan* to eſpouſe their cauſe: he accordingly publiſhed a declaration of war againſt *Fulgoſio*; and in the beginning of ſummer ſent a powerful army, commanded by *Guido Torelli*, againſt *Genoa*. Another army marched into the weſtern *Riviera*, under the command of the count of *Carmagniola*; but his troops meeting with greater oppoſition than he expected, he fitted out two gallies at *Final*, which were joined by ſeven others hired from the *Catalans*, in order to block up *Genoa* by ſea. *Fulgoſio*, though he was greatly diſtreſſed for want of money, immediately fitted out ſeven gallies, which, under the command of his brother *Baptiſt*, attacked the enemy, but were defeated with the loſs of four gallies, in one b of which was the admiral. The enemy, now becoming maſters at ſea, *Fulgoſio* was obliged to enter into a treaty with the duke of *Milan*, promiſing to reſign the government to him under certain conditions, as it was formerly granted to the king of *France*. The duke's army was accordingly admitted into the city, in the month of *November*, when the territory of *Sarſana*, and thirty thouſand florins, were granted to *Fulgoſio*, and fifteen thouſand to his brother *Baptiſt*. *Carmagniola*, who commanded in the name of the duke of *Milan*, allowed the old council ſtill to retain their authority, but perſuaded them to ſubmit to the duke without conditions. Twenty-four *Genoeſe* deputies accordingly went to *Milan* the following ſpring, and took the oath of fidelity to the duke, in the name of the republic. Soon after, four of the duke's counſellors arrived at *Genoa*, as deputy-governors; c and on the laſt day of *March*, in the afternoon, took upon them the government by the expreſs order of the duke, who, according to the uſual cuſtom, had conſulted the ſtars on that occaſion. The hiſtorian *Stella* informs us, that he aſſiſted as chancellor of the republic at the conſultations of theſe governors, who, at the deſire of the *Genoeſe*, on the fifth of *December* were ſucceeded by the count of *Carmagniola*.

A. D. 1421.

*The duke of* Milan *obtains the government of* Genoa.

A. D. 1422.

THE new governor inſiſted on having a revenue of thirty thouſand florins, which had formerly been granted to *Boucicard*; and the following year he perſuaded the *Genoeſe*, tho' with great difficulty, to fit out a large fleet to the aſſiſtance of *Jane* the ſecond, queen of *Naples*, and her adopted ſon *Lewis* of *Anjou*, againſt *Alphonſo* of *Arragon*, alledging, that it would be for the advantage of the republic to prevent the *Catalans* from poſſeſſing d *Naples*. The *Genoeſe*, in conſequence of their furious and moſt fooliſh diſſentions, were now ſo greatly exhauſted, that every armament diſtreſſed them: they ſeemed, however, at length voluntarily to comply with the deſires of *Carmagniola*, finding themſelves not in a condition to hazard a denial, and decreed two hundred thouſand florins for the expedition. *Carmagniola*, exerting himſelf with indefatigable aſſiduity, on the firſt of *December* a fleet of twenty-four gallies, thirteen ſhips, and one brigantine, was fit for ſea, eight of the gallies being equipped in *Provence* by *Lewis* of *Anjou*. *Guido Torelli* arriving from *Milan*, and taking the chief command, *Carmagniola* was greatly diſguſted, and many of the *Genoeſe* refuſed to embark. The fleet, nevertheleſs, in the end of the month ſailed to *Naples*; and, after performing ſignal ſervices to the queen, returned in the end of *May*, when the e *Genoeſe*, much againſt their inclination, were obliged to ſend their flag as a trophy to *Milan*. A few months after *Carmagniola* abandoned the government, and withdrawing his effects, deſerted the duke's ſervice, and retired to *Piedmont*, and from thence to *Venice*, exciting that republic againſt his old maſter. He was ſucceeded in *Genoa* by *James Iſolani* of *Bologna*, a cardinal deacon, whoſe revenue was ſettled at thirteen thouſand florins.

A. D. 1423.

A. D. 1424.

THE *Florentines*, mean while, in concert with the *Venetians*, preparing for war againſt the duke of *Milan*, *Fulgoſio* was perſuaded by them to make an attempt upon *Genoa*. In the beginning of *April* he accordingly ſailed from *Leghorn*, with twenty-four *Catalan* gallies, and appeared off the mole; but, being repulſed by the *Genoeſe*, he returned to the eaſtern *Riviera*, and took *Porto Fino*, *Sigeſtro*, and *Monella*, his fleet commanding all the coaſt. f The *Genoeſe*, by the duke's order, fitted out eighteen gallies and ten large ſhips, to oppoſe the invaders. Some land-forces were alſo aſſembled, and in the month of *June*, *Opicino d'Alzate* arrived as commander in chief both by ſea and land. Great things were expected from his experience, and ſtrict attention to a rigorous diſcipline. The whole ſeaſon, nevertheleſs, paſſed off without any action of conſequence: the duke did not even deſire a ſpeedy concluſion of the war, but wiſhed to ſee the *Genoeſe* exhauſted by their civil broils, in hopes of fixing more ſecurely the yoke of ſervitude upon them. With this deſign, the year after, he allowed *Francis Spinola* and *Iſnard Guarco* to ſeize ſeveral territories of the republic, as a ſecurity for the payment of twelve thouſand five hundred florins, which they affirmed they had expended in the public ſervice; and having concluded a peace with the g king of *Arragon*, and hired ſome of his gallies, he gave him in pledge the caſtles of *Porto Vencre*, and *l'Eryce*; which proceedings greatly alarmed the *Genoeſe*.

A. D. 1425.

A. D. 1426.

[d] FOLIET. l. 10. STELLÆ Annal

THE

THE rebels, in the mean time, were allowed to ſtrengthen their party in the eaſtern *Riviera*. In the beginning of *September*, about four hundred of them entered the city at night, under the command of one of *Fulgoſio*'s brothers, and ſeized ſome ſteeples; but not being joined by any citizens, they retired next morning not without conſiderable loſs. a

A. D. 1427. Tho' the citizens ſhewed no inclination to revolt, *Thomas* himſelf the following year, in the end of *July*, marched to the city with a ſmall force, and, after continuing a few days in the ſuburbs, attempted the walls by ſcalade, but without ſucceſs. He retired upon a report, that great ſuccours were marching from *Lombardy* to the relief of the city; but about the middle of *December* he again entered the ſuburbs, and for three days attempted to ſcale the walls; but was always repulſed with loſs, and in a ſally from the city the greateſt part of his followers were made priſoners. During theſe tranſactions, the duke of *Milan* again irritated the *Genoeſe*, by giving the city of *Ventimiglia* to *Charles Lomellino*, for ten years, in conſideration of three thouſand crowns which he had borrowed from him. b

A. D. 1428. THE following year *Bartholemeo de la Capra*, of *Cremona*, archbiſhop of *Milan*, arrived at *Genoa*, as governor of the republic; and ſoon after his arrival a peace was concluded betwixt the duke of *Milan* and the *Venetians* and *Florentines*. The rebels, however, did not think proper to ſubmit; but the year after advanced as far as the valley of *Pulſevera*, and fifty-eight of them attempted to ſurpriſe the citadel of *Genoa:* they were diſcovered and repulſed after they had entered the out-works, a prieſt to whom they had truſted having betrayed them. *Nicolas Picinino*, about the ſame time, arriving from *Lombardy*, in the end of *November* they thought proper to retire. *Nicolas*, who was a ſoldier of fortune, and an experienced commander, advanced again the rebels, notwithſtanding the rigour of the ſeaſon, and in the beginning of *February* drove them from ſome poſts on the mountains: he then entered the valley of *Pulſevera*, and with great difficulty was prevented from extirpating the whole inhabitants. He pardoned them, however, at the entreaty of the council of ancients, but ſent fifty-ſeven of their chief priſoners to *Lombardy*, obliged many others to give ſecurity for their future obedience, and took away all the bells from the churches, which had ſerved only to excite them to rebellion. Having treated the other two valleys in the ſame manner, during the ſummer he recovered many places from the rebels; and, in the end of the year, being joined by one thouſand *Genoeſe* bowmen, he marched to the relief of *Lucca*, and routed the *Florentine* army, which for ſeveral months had been beſieging that city. c d

A. D. 1431. UPON this victory the *Luccheſe* and *Sienneſe* entered into an alliance with the *Genoeſe* againſt the *Florentines*, the *Luccheſe*, according to *Folieta*, agreeing to chuſe annually a *Genoeſe* governor. *James Appiano*, lord of *Piombino*, ſoon after joined in this alliance, and put himſelf under the protection of the *Genoeſe*. The *Florentines*, in the mean time, had recourſe for aſſiſtance to the *Venetians*, who again declared war againſt the duke of *Milan* and the *Genoeſe*, ſent a fleet of ſixteen gallies and two large ſhips to infeſt the *Genoeſe* coaſts. About the end of *Auguſt*, this fleet, on board of which were ſeveral *Genoeſe* exiles, having been joined by three *Florentine* gallies and two brigantines, advanced within a few miles of *Genoa*, when it was attacked by the *Genoeſe* admiral, who, after a long engagement, was entirely defeated, and taken priſoner, with the loſs of nine gallies. A few weeks after the marquis of *Montferrat*, who was then in alliance with the *Venetians*, ſent *Barnabas Adorno*, an exile, with ſome forces into the weſtern *Riviera*, where he took poſſeſſion of ſome towns; but, on the ninth of *October*, he was defeated and taken priſoner, with almoſt all his forces, by *Nicolas Picinino*, who allowed his troops to plunder the country of the rebels, and to treat them with the greateſt barbarity; and then marched into *Montferrat*, which he likewiſe plundered. The *Venetians*, in the mean time, ſent a large armament againſt the *Genoeſe* ſettlement in the iſland of *Chios*; but, after beſieging the place two months, they were obliged to retire with the loſs of near two thouſand men.

*The* Venetians *declare war againſt the duke of* Milan, *and attack the* Genoeſe.

A. D. 1432. THE following year, both the *Genoeſe* and the *Venetians* fitted out conſiderable fleets; but no action of great importance was performed by either of them; and the year after, in the month of *May*, by the mediation of the marquiſſes of *Ferrara* and *Saluzza*, a peace was concluded betwixt the duke of *Milan* and the *Venetians* and *Florentines*, with their reſpective allies. Soon after the concluſion of this peace, the *Genoeſe*, being informed that the *Greeks* had ſurpriſed one of their ſettlements in *Leſſer Tartary*, they immediately began to fit out a fleet for the protection of their trade in the *Black Sea*, the command of which was given to *Charles Lomellino*, who ſailed from *Genoa* in the month of *March*, with ten gallies and as many large ſhips, on board of which were upwards of ſix thouſand troops. The *Genoeſe* admiral, upon his arrival in the *Black Sea*, quickly obliged the *Greeks* to ſurrender their late conqueſt; but afterwards, attacking an inland place belonging to the *Tartars*, he was ſurrounded by an immenſe multitude of that people, and with great difficulty eſcaped with a few of his men. e f g

*A peace concluded.*

A. D. 1433.

A. D. 1435. MEAN while, the queen of *Naples*, and her adopted ſon, *Lewis* of *Anjou*, both dying, *Alphonſo* of *Arragon*, who was then in *Sicily*, reſolved to make another attempt to obtain

a the kingdom of *Naples*, where he had a numerous party. Being put in poſſeſſion of the caſtles of *Capua* by his friends, he inveſted *Gaeta* by ſea and land; but the city being zealous for the family of *Anjou*, and garriſoned partly by *Genoeſe*, his inveterate enemies, baffled all his efforts for ſeveral months. The republic being ſolicited by the beſieged, fitted out a fleet of thirteen ſhips, which ſailed to their relief, under the command of *Blaſio Aſſereto*, one of the public notaries, who, on the fifth of *Auguſt*, came to an engagement off the iſland of *Ponza* with the fleet of *Alphonſo*, tho' doubly ſuperior to his own in number of ſhips and men. The battle continued from ſun-riſing to the evening, when the *Genoeſe* gained a moſt complete victory, all the enemy's ſhips being taken except one, *Alphonſo*, with two of his brothers, and about one thouſand *Spaniſh* and *Sicilian* barons, being made priſo-
b ners. The news of this victory filled the *Genoeſe* with the moſt extravagant joy, which, however was ſoon turned into diſappointment and dejection; for the duke would not allow them the ſatisfaction of ſeeing the chief priſoners; but ordered the fleet to return to *Savona*, from whence *Alphonſo* and ſome others were conducted to *Milan*, where, in contempt of the republic, they were treated with the greateſt honours, and ſet at liberty. *Philip* evən entered into an alliance with *Alphonſo*, and ordered the *Genoeſe* to fit out ſix ſhips to conduct him to *Naples*; which command they complied with, tho' hardly able to ſtifle their reſentment and indignation. The hiſtorian *Stella* concludes his annals at this period with bitter complaints againſt the perfidy of the duke, who, he ſays, was the moſt capital enemy of their orphan republic. *Philip*, to appeaſe the murmurs of the *Genoeſe*, with which he
c began to be alarmed, aſſured them, that he had prevailed with *Alphonſo* to reſign *Sardinia* to the republic; but, under pretence of tranſporting a garriſon to the iſland, ſending two thouſand men to *Genoa*, the nobles were ſtill more exaſperated, and immediately formed a deſign to throw off his burthenſome yoke.

Alphonſo *of* Arragon *defeated and taken priſoner the* Genoeſe.

ABOUT the end of *December* the whole city took arms, under the direction of *Francis Spinola*, who had commanded at the ſiege of *Gaeta*, and having killed the governor in the tumult, quickly obliged the garriſon to ſurrender. *Savona* directly followed the example of *Genoa*, and in a ſhort time almoſt all the caſtles held by the duke in the territories of the republic, were reduced. Eight perſons were then choſen, with full authority to regulate the form of the new government, provided they did not aboliſh the council of ancients, or
d any old laws. *Philip*, in the mean time, ordered *Picinino* to march with a powerful army againſt *Genoa*, which prompted the *Genoeſe*, without delay, to ſtorm the citadel, and ſend to the *Venetians* and *Florentines* for aſſiſtance againſt their common enemy. *Picinino*, finding it impracticable to attempt *Genoa*, marched into the weſtern *Riviera*, and beſieged *Albenga*; while the *Genoeſe*, inſtead of continuing unanimous againſt the enemy of their republic, moſt imprudently renewed their former animoſities. After long and warm conteſts, *Iſnard Guarco* was declared duke; but ſeven days after he was expelled by *Thomas Fulgoſio*, who had returned to the city, and, being ſupported by a great many friends, was reſtored to the government, in conſequence of his former election. *Fulgoſio* immediately ſent ſuccours to *Albenga*, the ſiege of which ſoon after was abandoned by *Picinino*. The *Genoeſe*, in the
e mean time, had recovered *Porto Venere* and *l'Eryce*; and having concluded an alliance with the *Florentines* and *Venetians*, had conſiderably reinforced their army with recruits from *Tuſcany*.

*The* Genoeſe *revolt from the duke of* Milan. A. D. 1436.

THE following year *Philip*, in hopes of recovering *Genoa*, had recourſe to fraud; and, by great promiſes to *Baptiſt Fulgoſio*, perſuaded him to ſeize the palace, and uſurp the government. The duke was then at church; but being inſtantly joined by a great number of citizens, without difficulty he recovered the palace, and apprehended his brother, whom he pardoned and reſtored to his friendſhip, giving him the command of ſeven gallies ordered to aſſiſt the duke of *Anjou*, who the year after, in the beginning of *April*, entered the harbour with five gallies from *Marſeilles*. The duke was received with the greateſt honours,
f as king of *Naples*; and in the end of the month left *Genoa*, and proceeded to take poſſeſſion of his new kingdom. After his departure, *Pelegrus Promontorius* ſailed with four veſſels againſt ſome *Catalan* pirates; but his forces mutinying for want of their pay, he was obliged to return before he could find out the enemy. The ſame admiral ſailed the year after with ſeven ſhips to the aſſiſtance of the duke of *Anjou*, who, by means of the *Genoeſe* the following year, made himſelf maſter of the caſtles commanding the city of *Naples*. The eagerneſs with which the *Genoeſe* attached themſelves to the party of *Renatus* of *Anjou*, at length diſturbed the tranquility of their ſtate.

A. D. 1437.

A. D. 1438.

A FEW months after the taking of the citadels of *Naples* from the *Catalans*, the republic entered into an alliance with pope *Eugenius* againſt *Alphonſo*; and the pope having raiſed
g four thouſand horſe, *Fulgoſio* ordered a fleet to be immediately prepared, appointing his brother as admiral. This nomination gave great offence to the nobility, eſpecially to *John Antony Fieſco*, who, failing in an attempt to create a tumult in the city, retired to his eſtate in

A. D. 1441.

the mountains, where, being assisted by *Philip Visconti*, he raised a considerable body of men, a
and invaded the territories of the republic. The coasts at the same time were harrassed by
the vessels of *Alphonso*, which were assisted by the marquis of *Final*. The duke exerted him-
self with great activity against his enemies; but the distress of the republic, preventing the
intended voyage of the fleet, the pope exclaimed against him with great bitterness. The
year after, *Alphonso* made himself master of *Naples*; and *Renatus*, despairing of his cause, re-
A. D. 1442. turned in a *Genoese* ship to *Marseilles*.

*FIESCO* still continuing in arms, and the discontents in the city being encreased, on ac-
count of the great funeral honours bestowed by the duke on his brother *Baptist*, great pre-
cautions were taken by *Fulgosio* to prevent any tumults. Being informed that *Fiesco* had
A. D. 1443. concerted a scheme with the malcontents to enter the city, on the tenth of *December*, by the b
steep rocks, which towards the sea served instead of a fortification, he ordered those passes
to be lined by a guard. But the weather being extremely cold, and a strong west wind
rendering the sea tempestuous, the soldiers concluded it would be impossible for the enemy
to advance, and left their station. The wind immediately becoming favourable to *Fiesco*,
he embarked his troops in small boats, and in about three hours entered the city. *Fulgosio*,
finding it impossible to make any effectual opposition, referred the decision of the contest to
sixteen citizens; but before any sentence could be given, he was expelled from the palace
by *Fiesco*, and the government of the city committed to eight of the chief citizens. About
the middle of *January*, however, *Raphael Adorno* was created duke, and four citizens were,
at the same time, vested with the power of establishing new laws.

NOTWITHSTANDING this revolution, tranquility was not restored to the republic; for c
*Fiesco*, remaining still discontented, retired from the city, and seizing the towns of *Recco* and
*Porto Fino*, plundered the neighbouring territories. At the same time, *Peter Fulgosio*, being
exasperated against the republic on account of the expulsion of his family from the govern-
ment, fled to the duke of *Milan*, who put him in possession of *Novi*, from whence he made
continual excursions against the subjects of the republic, and carried off a hundred and
twenty *French* mules laden with merchandize and military stores for *France*. While the re-
public was exposed to the ravages of these two malcontents, its commerce by sea was dis-
turbed by the *Catalan* vessels, which obliged the duke the following year to conclude a
*Peace betwixt the Genoese and Alphonso.* peace upon dishonourable terms with *Alphonso*, promising to present him annually with a d
A. D. 1444. bason of gold. Two years after, however, *Alphonso* insisting that the bason should be pre-
sented at a public audience in a full court, the *Genoese* renounced the late accommodation,
and again prepared for hostilities.

ABOUT the same time, the equity and moderation of the duke disgusting his own family,
who expected more licence under his government, they persuaded him that it would be for
the advantage of the republic that he should resign the administration. The same day that
A. D. 1447. he abdicated, they, in a tumultuous manner, elected *Barnabas Adorno*; but *Janus Fulgosio*,
a few weeks after, entered the harbour with a single galley, and being followed by eighty-
five young men, made himself master of the palace, although *Barnabas* had received a guard
of six hundred men from *Alphonso*. This is the account given us by *Folieta*; but *Monstrelet*, e
a cotemporary author, relates, that some of the family of *Fulgosio* and *Doria*, in the end of
the foregoing year, arrived with five ships at *Marseilles*, and made an offer of the sovereignty
of the republic to the king of *France*. While they were making an agreement with the
king's deputies, *Janus Fulgosio*, assisted by some *French*, took possession of *Genoa*; but after-
wards refused to deliver it to the *French* ambassadors, who retired disappointed, and seized
*Final*[e].

*JANUS* recalled *Peter Fulgosio* from banishment, and appointed him general of the city
militia. As the marquis of *Final* made continual incursions into the territories of the re-
public, the duke assembled a considerable body of forces, which, in the beginning of the
A. D. 1448. following year, marched against *Final*, two ships soon after being fitted out to annoy the f
enemy by sea, against whom the *Genoese* were so exasperated, that, according to *Folieta*, they
ordered the money which belonged to them in their public funds to be confiscated. Mean
while *Janus Fulgosio* dying, the city, as a testimony of their regard, ordered a public monu-
A. D. 1449. ment to be erected to him; and chose *Lodovico Fulgosio* as his successor, who the following
spring ordered several gallies to be fitted out against the *Corsican* and *Provençal* pirates. *Fi-
nal* soon after being reduced, the citadel of the place was demolished, and the suburbs pil-
laged. The inhabitants of the city, however, upon taking the oath of fidelity to the *Ge-
noese*, were pardoned, and the third part of the city, according to stipulation, was granted to
*Marc Caretto*, who had assisted in the siege against *Galeotto* the marquis. After the reduc-
tion of *Final*, the duke published a severe edict against those who should bring from *Rome*
any pontifical letters or rescripts contrary to the privileges of the republic; but, in the fol- g

[e] MONSTRELET, t. 3. c. 3. BELLEFORT, l. 5. c. 106. and others.

a lowing year, finding that the citizens began to murmur againſt his government, he voluntarily reſigned his dignity.

THE ſupreme adminiſtration was again offered to *Thomas Fulgoſio* at *Sarzana*; but he, excuſing himſelf on account of his great age, adviſed the citizens to chuſe *Peter Fulgoſio*, who was accordingly unanimouſly elected. *Peter* had raiſed his reputation by reducing *Final*; but he quickly gave great offence to the people by the rigour he uſed towards thoſe who were ſuſpected of diſaffection to his government. The following year, he ordered a monk to be hanged before the church of St. *Francis*, on account of ſome reflections uttered by him againſt his adminiſtration, and cauſed a board to be hung to his feet with this inſcription, "This man talked of what he ought not." The *French*, towards the end of the year, b ſeizing *Final* and *Petra*, he ſent conſiderable garriſons to the neighbouring places; and the following year, being informed that *Mahomet* the ſecond was making immenſe preparations in the neighbourhood of *Conſtantinople*, he ſent a reinforcement of nine hundred men to the garriſon of *Pera*. The *Turks*, however, the year after making themſelves maſters of *Conſtantinople*, *Pera* was likewiſe obliged to ſurrender to them, which greatly confounded the *Genoeſe*; eſpecially as *Alphonſo* about the ſame time, made himſelf maſter of part of *Corſica*. Deſpairing of being able to protect their ſettlements in that iſland, and in the *Black Sea*, they diſpoſed of them to the ſociety of St. *George*, which flouriſhed at this time in a ſurpriſing manner, notwithſtanding the diſtreſs and diſaſters of the republic.

A. D. 1450.

A. D. 1453.

ABOUT two years after, *Alphonſo*, inſtigated by the malcontents and exiles, attacked *Ge-* c *noa* by ſea and land. The duke, being chiefly apprehenſive of the diſaffected within the city, reſolved to make them diſcover themſelves, and to quell them before he proceeded againſt the invaders: for this purpoſe he put a ſtrong garriſon in the palace, and pretended to go out of the city to view the enemy, retiring, however, by a private way into the caſtle. The oppoſite faction, believing him really gone, took arms and aſſaulted the palace; but being attacked from behind by *Peter*, they were routed and diſperſed with great loſs, and many of thoſe who ſurvived were publicly executed. The enemy, finding their friends in the city thus cut off, deſpaired of ſucceſs, and retired in the beginning of winter, leaving only a few gallies upon the coaſts. Theſe ſhips the following year, by furniſhing ſuccours to the malcontents, created ſome diſturbances in *Albenga* and the weſtern *Riviera*, which at length d induced the duke to think of reſigning. He found himſelf every day leſs able to ſtruggle againſt the power of *Alphonſo*, who was obſtinately bent upon depoſing him from his dignity, and reſtoring the family of *Adorno*, and the other exiles. That his enemies, however, might have no reaſon to triumph, two years after he ſent ambaſſadors to *France*, with an offer of the ſovereignty of the republic to *Charles* the ſeventh, who agreed to the conditions formerly ſtipulated with *Charles* the ſixth, and ſent *John* of *Anjou*, titular duke of *Calabria*, to *Genoa*, who was put in poſſeſſion of the city and fortreſſes. This revolution greatly exaſperated *Alphonſo*, who immediately fitted out a large fleet, which he ſent againſt *Genoa*, while the rebels, by his aſſiſtance, inveſted the city by land; but the king dying in the end of *June*, the fleet diſperſed, and the land forces were obliged to raiſe the ſiege.

*Alphonſo of Naples ſends an army and fleet againſt Genoa.*

A. D. 1455.

e ALL the reſources of the exiles being now cut off, *Peter Fulgoſio* began to regret the loſs of his dignity, which he now perceived he had reſigned with too great precipitation. He retired to *Novi*, which, with another town, had been mortgaged to him for money owing to him by the republic. Having demanded the payment of his money ſeveral times in a preſſing manner, he at length began to threaten the republic, on which account his brothers and relations were baniſhed the city. The neighbourhood of the *French* being diſagreeable to *Francis Sforza*, duke of *Milan*, *Peter* by his means was reconciled to *Ferdinand* of *Naples*, who promiſed to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of his power, in expelling the *French* from *Italy*, being jealous leſt they intended to invade his kingdom, which was now diſjoined from *Aragon*. *Peter*, receiving conſiderable ſubſidies from him, the following ſpring he aſſembled f a large body of forces, and being joined by *John Philip Fieſco*, with his vaſſals, advanced within half a mile of the city. *Fieſco* being ſoon after killed by a ſhot from the walls, great part of his army diſperſed, which obliged him to retire to the eaſtern *Riviera*, where he ſeized ſome towns, which, however, were quickly recovered by the *Genoeſe*.

*The Genoeſe confer the dominion of their ſtate on the king of France.*

A. D. 1458.

A. D. 1459.

THE governor, being now freed from any apprehenſions of the rebels, made great preparations for the conqueſt of *Naples*, receiving ſixty thouſand crowns from the republic, and as much from the private citizens, with which he fitted out ten gallies and three large ſhips, which were to be joined by twelve gallies, equipping by his father *Renatus* at *Marſailles*. To avert theſe formidable preparations, *Ferdinand* preſſed *Fulgoſio* again to attempt the recovery of the city. *Peter* accordingly, having received a large ſum of money from him, aſſembled g a new army, and about the middle of *September* ſurpriſed the city, and entered with his forces within the outer wall. Next morning, after a long engagement with the *Anjou* party, he entered one of the gates of the inner wall with a few of his followers, who, being ſo imprudent

prudent as to leave the gate unguarded, was ſhut into the city; by which means *Peter*, being purſued through ſeveral ſtreets on horſeback, was at length taken priſoner, and died next day of his wounds. His followers, upon the news of his death, quickly diſperſed; and a few weeks after the governor ſailed with his fleet to *Naples*. a

*The* Genoeſe *revolt from the* French. A. D. 1460.

WHILE he was engaged the following year in his *Neapolitan* expedition, the *Genoeſe* artificers, alledging they were oppreſſed by the unequal method of raiſing the taxes, took arms for the redreſs of their grievances. The ſedition was probably fomented privately by the family of *Adorno*, who, knowing the averſion of *Æneas Sylvius*, or *Pius* the ſecond, to the *French*, ſent ambaſſadors to *Rome* to conſult about the means of driving them from *Italy* [f]. While the people ſeemed inclined to an accommodation, *Proſper Adorno*, and *Paul Fulgoſio* the archbiſhop, and brother of the late *Peter*, entered the city, and excited them to renew the hoſtilities: they accordingly drove the *French* into the caſtle, and by the perſuaſion of the archbiſhop *Paul*, who affected great moderation, choſe *Proſper Adorno* duke. Having received ſome money and troops from the duke of *Milan*, they beſieged the caſtle, the garriſon of which ſtruck a great terror into the citizens, by firing a great number of bombs among the houſes in different quarters of the city. The king of *France*, in the mean time, ſent a body of ſix thouſand veteran troops, and a conſiderable fleet, under *Renatus* of *Anjou*, to the relief of the beſieged; but after they had advanced to the city, they were repulſed by the archbiſhop, who ſlew fifteen of the moſt obſtinate of them with his own hand. *Proſper*, who before the arrival of the *French*, had acted in an abſurd and arbitrary manner, was now apprehenſive leſt the popular favour ſhould be transferred to the archbiſhop, and therefore, after the victory, excluded him from the city. A ſkirmiſh betwixt the two parties immediately enſued, when *Adorno* was expelled from the palace, and *Spineta Fulgoſio*, the archbiſhop's couſin, was elected duke. The *French*, in the mean time, abandoned the citadel, which was forthwith occupied by *Lodovico Fulgoſio*, who two days after ſucceeded as duke. The archbiſhop, however, the following year, offended that others ſhould reap the fruits of his fatigues, about the middle of *May* ſeized the government: this occaſioned a new tumult among the citizens, who, dreading a governor of his impetuous and reſtleſs diſpoſition, about a fortnight after obliged him to reſign. Four rectors were then choſen from the body of artificers, who governed only a few days, and *Lodovico Fulgoſio* was again reſtored to his dignity. About two years after, *Ludovico* was again expelled by the archbiſhop, who, according to *Folieta*, obtained from *Pius* the ſecond, leave to adminiſter a ſecular government. b c d

A. D. 1463.

THE king of *France*, in the mean time, being apprehenſive of an inſurrection of his nobility, who were greatly diſcontented, and held frequent conferences together, reſolved to ſecure the friendſhip of *Francis Sforza*, and reſigned to him the city of *Saona*, with all his rights to the city and territory of *Genoa*; for which purpoſe he wrote to all the princes of *Italy*, prohibiting them, under the pain of his reſentment, from aſſiſting the *Genoeſe* againſt *Sforza*. *Francis* accordingly the following year took poſſeſſion of *Saono*, and ſoon after *Albenga*, and the other towns in the eaſtern *Riviera* ſubmitted to him. The archbiſhop, in the mean time, giving a full ſwing to his impetuous temper, harraſſed the *Genoeſe* more than a conquering enemy. Having collected a guard of ruffians, he openly murdered and plundered the moſt worthy citizens, by which means he quickly thinned the city, the inhabitants running into voluntary baniſhment. Many of the chief citizens retired to *Saona*; and, by their ſolicitations, perſuaded *Sforza* to ſend an army againſt the archbiſhop, who, upon the approach of the duke's forces, abandoned the city and proceeded to ſea with three gallies, to wait for an opportunity of recovering the government. e

*The* Genoeſe *ſubmit to the duke of* Milan. A. D. 1464.

The *Genoeſe*, with great joy, took the oath of fidelity to the duke of *Milan*, who was reſpected by all the *Italian* ſtates, for his many civil and military virtues. His moderate government, at length, put an end to the commotions, tumults, ravages, baniſhments, murders, and other calamities, which, for a long courſe of years, had been gradually exhauſting the miſerable republic; ſo that before this revolution, the ſhares in the bank of St. *George* had fallen ſixty-ſeven *per Cent.* He was ſo acceptable to the *Genoeſe*, that the ſociety of St. *George* the year after voluntarily reſigned to him the iſland of *Corſica*. Upon his death, which happened the following year, in the beginning of *March*, the *Genoeſe*, who deeply regretted his loſs, renewed the convention with his ſon *Galeazo*, whoſe principles and conduct were very oppoſite to thoſe of his father. f

*GALEAZO*, in the beginning of his government, diſguſted the *Genoeſe* by treating their ambaſſadors with leſs regard than thoſe of the *Florentines*; and five years after, he gave great offence to the republic by diſdaining to accept of the honours the chief counſellors intended him upon his viſiting their city. They furniſhed public lodgings with great magnificence for him and his retinue, and provided valuable preſents, among which were four golden g

[f] Comment. Pii. l. 5.

bowls,

a bowls, each of twelve pounds weight. He entered the city, however, without any ceremony; and, after continuing three days in the caſtle, went away in ſuch confuſion and hurry, as though he had been flying from an enemy. A few months after his departure, *Sixtus* the fourth, a native of *Savona*, being choſen pope, the *Genoeſe* ſent eight of their chief citizens to congratulate him upon his promotion; who were received by him in a courteous and reſpectful manner, and obtained from him a bull, granting them ſeveral diſtinguiſhed privileges. The republic now declined with great precipitation, and quietly ſubmitted to the oppreſſive government of *Galeazo*, dreading the return of their domeſtic confuſions, if they ſhould attempt another revolution.

About four years after, their important ſettlement of *Caffa*, in *Crim Tartary*, fell into
b the hands of the *Turks*; which misfortune was owing to the avarice and villainy of the governors of the colony. The city under the *Genoeſe* had become very conſiderable, and was at this period the center of a moſt extenſive traffic. The emperor of the *Tartars*, ſenſible of the great advantage he reaped from that ſettlement, ordered all the diſputes of his ſubjects in the adjacent diſtricts to be terminated at *Caffa*, and allowed the *Genoeſe* governors to have a negative in the election of the captain of the province. The governors of the colony abuſed this privilege, and expelled ſome captains who had been juſtly elected to admit others from whom they had received large bribes. The ejected captains immediately fled to the Grand Seignior, whom they perſuaded to ſend a fleet againſt *Caffa* of four hundred and eighty ſail, under the command of the baſhaw *Geduc Achmet*. The baſhaw, in a few days,
c made himſelf maſter of the place, when he ſent fifteen hundred youths as captives to *Conſtantinople*, ordered all the *Italians* to quit the city, and ſeized one half of the poſſeſſions of thoſe that remained.

*The colony of Caffa taken by the Turks, A. D. 1475.*

The loſs of *Caffa* was not ſo ſenſibly felt by the *Genoeſe*, their domeſtic grievances being then their chief concern: their minds were exaſperated by the continual oppreſſions of their governors; and, inſtead of finding redreſs from *Galeazo*, their deputies were treated by him with the utmoſt contempt. He even ordered a canal to be made from the caſtle to the ſea through the middle of the city; but being affrighted by the commotions of the *Genoeſe*, he dropt the undertaking, which would have ruined a great many fine palaces. Soon after the hopes of the *Genoeſe* were revived, by the news of the death of *Galeazo*, who was aſſaſ-
d ſinated in the church of St. *Stephen* at *Milan*, on the twenty-ſixth of *December*. To prevent any commotion during the minority of his ſon, who was then only a boy, the *Genoeſe* choſe a council of eight citizens, with an ample authority to puniſh any rioters. This council ſoon after added a body of two hundred foot to the ordinary guard of the governor. The families of *Guarco*, *Adorno*, and *Fieſco*, however, immediately began to raiſe commotions in the vallies, and not long after ſurpriſed the city with a handful of men, when the governor, though at the head of one thouſand horſe and foot, retired with great precipitation into the caſtle. Several perſons were then appointed under the title of the preſidents of the liberty of the *Genoeſe*, who made great preparations for the defence of the city. The regents of *Milan* mean while ſent a conſiderable army, under the command of *Robert Sanſeverino*, to
e recover the city; and having ſet *Proſper Adorno* at liberty, promiſed him the perpetual government of the republic if he would join their forces. The army being likewiſe reinforced by the family of *Spinola* and their adherents, after an obſtinate engagement defeated the rebels, and recovered the city. During theſe diſturbances, the *Catalans* harraſſed the coaſts of the eaſtern *Riviera*; and ſoon after *Thomaſin Fulgoſio* endeavoured to raiſe an inſurrection in *Corſica*. *Fulgoſio*, however, was quickly reduced, and *Lodovico Rivarolo*, with ſix gallies, obliged the *Catalan* cruiſers to retire from the coaſts.

A. D. 1476.

A. D. 1477.

Mean while, the government of *Milan* becoming jealous of *Proſper Adorno*, had formed a reſolution to oblige him to reſign the adminiſtration of the republic. *Proſper*, having intelligence of their deſign, the following year entered into an alliance with *Ferdinand* of *Na-*
f *ples*, and having received conſiderable ſubſidies from him, openly renounced the title of vicar of the duke, and was created rector of the republic, with abſolute authority. About the ſame time, thirty-eight counſellors were elected, one half of whom were merchants, and the other tradeſmen; and a decree paſſed, excluding the nobility from all public offices. Hoſtilities immediately commenced betwixt the forces of *Sforza* and thoſe of the *Genoeſe*, which laſt were commanded by *Robert Sanſeverino*, who, in the former commotion, had ſerved the duke. Soon after, an army of fourteen thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe arrived from *Lombardy*; but, after ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, it was at length entirely routed by the *Genoeſe*, who ſold their priſoners as galley-ſlaves to the *Catalans*. This victory was no ſooner gained than the factions in the city revived betwixt the families of *Adorno* and
g *Fulgoſio*. After ſeveral diſputes, *Proſper Adorno* was at laſt expelled from the city, and *Baptiſt Fulgoſio* was created duke, with a council of eight citizens, whoſe authority was not limited by the laws [g]. The year following, the *Turks* having made a deſcent in *Calabria*, and ſeized *Otranto*, all *Italy* was ſtruck with conſternation. The *Genoeſe* immediately ſent

*The Genoeſe throw off his yoke.* A. D. 1478.

[g] Foliet. l. 11.

two gallies to the aſſiſtance of the king of *Naples*; and the year after hired twenty four gallies to the pope, which aſſiſted at the ſiege of *Otranto*, and performed many ſignal ſervices in that expedition. A few months after the recovery of *Otranto*, the *Genoeſe*, by the perſuaſion of a *Franciſcan* friar, ſent four gallies to the *Archipelago*, in hopes of recovering the iſland of *Mitylene* from the *Turks*; but the enterprize proved unſucceſsful. a

A. D. 1482.

About two years after, *Baptiſt*, having rendered himſelf odious to the *Genoeſe* by his arrogance and pride, and beſides, being ſuſpected, or rather accuſed, of a deſign to ſubject the republic to the emperor, and to receive it from him as a vicariate for himſelf and his poſterity, his uncle *Paul*, who was now elevated to the dignity of cardinal, formed a party againſt him, and drawing him unwarily to his palace without any guards, forced him, by a threatening ſpeech, to abdicate the government, and deliver up the caſtles, being ſolemnly declared next day his ſucceſſor by the votes of three hundred citizens. *Baptiſt*, to alleviate his diſgrace, addicted himſelf wholly to ſtudy, and compoſed, in the manner of *Valerius Maximus*, nine books of memorable actions and ſayings; in which he inveighs with great bitterneſs againſt the perfidy of his uncle, accuſing him of the moſt enormous crimes, and moſt ſcandalous vices [h]. b

A. D. 1483.

*A war betwixt the* Genoeſe *and* Florentines.

The cardinal had not enjoyed his new dignity many months when a war broke out betwixt the *Genoeſe* and *Florentines*, about the territory belonging to *Sarzana*, on the eaſt ſide of the river *Magra*. *Auguſtine Fulgoſio* had ſold the city to the *Florentines*; but ſome quarrel afterwards happening betwixt him and that republic, he reſigned the ſame city to the ſociety of St. *George*, who immediately ſent a ſtrong garriſon thither. The war, in the beginning, was carried on with great vigour by the *Genoeſe*; but their generals, allowing themſelves to be bribed by the enemy, ſoon loſt the fruits of their firſt ſucceſſes. Hoſtilities continued betwixt the two republics all the following year; but in the beginning of the year after, a peace was concluded by the mediation of the pope, by which it was agreed that the *Florentines* ſhould renounce all pretenſions to *Sarzana*, and that the *Genoeſe* ſhould transfer to them all their rights to *Pietra Sarta*. This treaty was ſolemnly ratified by both parties; but the *Genoeſe*, having offended the pope, he entered into the intereſt of the *Florentines*, who were thereby encouraged to refuſe fulfilling their engagements. c

A. D. 1484.

A. D. 1486.

A. D. 1487.

The government of the cardinal, in the mean time, creating univerſal diſcontent, the following year ten citizens were choſen, with abſolute authority, to adminiſter the affairs of the republic, and thoſe of the ſociety of St. *George*: the cardinal, however, ſtill enjoyed the title of duke. Soon after the eſtabliſhment of this new form of government, the *Florentines* again entered the territories of *Sarzana* with an army, and encamped on the eaſt ſide of the *Magra*. The *Genoeſe* immediately fitted out a fleet of ten gallies, which ſailed with three thouſand land-forces to *l'Eryce*, in the neighbourhood of which city a battle was fought betwixt them and the *Florentines*, who gained a complete victory, and a few days after made themſelves maſters of *Sarzana*. The *Genoeſe*, having no reſource to carry on the war by land, were forced to leave the enemy in full poſſeſſion of their conqueſt. They, nevertheleſs, ſtill reſerved their claims, in hopes of making them effectual at another opportunity. *Thomaſin Fulgoſio* and *Paul Lecca*, in the mean time, raiſing diſturbances in *Corſica*, and ſeizing ſeveral territories in that iſland, ſome forces were ſent thither, and *Fulgoſio*, being defeated and apprehended, was confined in the caſtle of *l'Eryce*, which ſo exaſperated the cardinal and his ſon, that they cauſed one of the ten preſidents of the republic to be aſſaſſinated. d e

A. D. 1488.

The cardinal at length, beginning to dread the reſentment of the people, thought of means to ſecure his own ſafety. To prevent his enemies from having the ſupreme authority, he perſuaded the *Genoeſe* to put themſelves under the protection of *Lewis Sforza*, who governed the duchy of *Milan*, as regent for his young nephew, but in reality had uſurped his inheritance. *Sforza* received the *Genoeſe* ambaſſadors very graciouſly; and the cardinal's ſon, following them to *Milan*, he contracted an alliance with him, by giving him the baſtard ſiſter of his nephew to wife. The news of this marriage alarmed the jealouſy of the oppoſite factions, who, to prevent the cardinal from confirming his tyranny by the power of *Sforza*, immediately formed a conſpiracy againſt him, which ſoon became ſo formidable that he could with difficulty ſave himſelf in the caſtle, which was immediately beſieged. During the ſiege, the city ſuffered ſo much by the fury of both parties, that the moſt moderate citizens ſent an ambaſſy to the king of *France*, begging his interpoſition, and likewiſe ſolicited the pope to intereſt himſelf for the ſafety of his native city. Theſe ambaſſies producing no immediate effect, they ſent ambaſſadors to *Sforza*, excuſing their proceeding againſt the cardinal. Soon after, by the policy of *Sforza*, an accommodation was concluded, whereby the duke of *Milan* was declared ſovereign of the republic, and *Auguſtine Adorno* his vicar for ten years. The cardinal, finding himſelf abandoned by *Sforza*, ſurrendered the caſtle, f g

*The duke of* Milan *declared ſovereign of the republic.*

[h] Idem ibid. Nebiens. l. 5. Bizar. l. 15. Fulgos. l. 2. cap. 6. ad fin.

and

a and ſoon after retired to *Rome*, being allowed a yearly penſion of ſix thouſand crowns, till the pope ſhould confer upon him eccleſiaſtical revenues to that value [i].

DURING the four years that immediately followed this new eſtabliſhment, the *Genoeſe* enjoyed great tranquility, and their ancient ſpirit began to revive. The palaces which were burnt down during the ſiege of the caſtle, were rebuilt with greater magnificence; the value of the ſhares in the bank of St. *George* increaſed; the city abounded with proviſions; and both *Guelfs* and *Gibellines*, ſeeming to forget their ancient animoſities, applied themſelves with ardor to manufactures and traffic. To gratify *Sforza*, the republic conſented, though with great reluctance, to a truce with the *Florentines*, which was afterwards renewed under the title of a ceſſation of hoſtilities. The war with the *Catalans*, indeed, ſtill ſubſiſted; but
b its effects were ſcarcely felt by the *Genoeſe*, who very rarely ſeized or loſt any veſſels. The A. D. 1493.
following winter was remarkable for the immenſe degree of cold, which was ſo exceſſive, that the ſea was frozen round the mole; ſo that for two days no veſſels could ſail out of the harbour. This rigorous ſeaſon was ſucceeded in the ſpring by a dreadful peſtilence, which proved ſo fatal, that ſcarce every fifth perſon of thoſe that remained in the city eſcaped alive.

THIS year it was that *Charles* the eighth of *France* entered *Italy* with a powerful army, A. D. 1495.
at the inſtigation of *Lewis Sforza*, who was deſirous of maintaining his uſurped authority in *Milan*, by introducing all the horrors of war into *Italy*. The king of *Naples* had threatened *Charles the eighth enters Italy.*
c him, if he did not immediately ſurrender the duchy of *Milan* into the hands of his nephew *John Galeas*; and an alliance with the *French* monarch furniſhed the only probable means of being able to oppoſe the power of *Alphonſo*. *Lewis* equipped at *Genoa* four large ſhips and twelve gallies, to act in concert with the *French* fleet, already ſailed with a favourable wind. On the other hand, *Alphonſo*, to make a diverſion, entered into ſtrict alliance with the pope, and by this means engaged the cardinal *Fregoſa*, and *Biet Fieſco*, then at *Rome*, to excite freſh diſturbances in *Genoa*. With ſome other diſaffected perſons, they joined the *Neapolitan* fleet, and laid ſiege to *Porto Venere*; but were repulſed by the intrepidity of *Balbi*, who commanded, and forced to embark with precipitation, after loſing a great number of men [k].

WHILE the *Neapolitan* fleet was engaged in matters of little importance, the duke of *Or-*
d *leans* arrived in *Genoa*, in order to counteract the meaſures of the diſaffected, and induce the whole city to declare unanimouſly for *Charles* the eighth. Having intelligence that the *Neapolitans* had taken *Rapallo*, he ſet out with a ſtrong body of *Genoeſe*, aſſiſted by ſome *Swiſs* corps, to attack the enemy, and regain that place. To the ardor and courage of the *Genoeſe* we may attribute his ſucceſs: they firſt mounted the enemy's entrenchments, drove them before them, and left nothing to the *Swiſs* but the purſuit and plunder. *Lawrence Fregoſa* and ſeveral of the diſaffected were made priſoners, *Biet de Fieſco* eſcaping with the utmoſt peril in diſguiſe.

WHEN the *Swiſs* returned to *Genoa*, they committed ſuch diſorders as rendered their inſolence intolerable, and made the people take arms to drive them out of the city. The populace were ſo enraged, that had not the duke and ſenate interpoſed, ſcarce any of theſe
e mercenaries would have eſcaped their fury [l].

*CHARLES* the eighth was at *Aſti*, when the news of the victory gained over the *Neapolitans* arrived. It was expected he would have made *Genoa* a viſit; but he contented himſelf with ſending ambaſſadors to engage the republic to declare war againſt *Florence*. His conqueſts were ſo rapid, that *Lewis Sforza* became jealous: he was now in full poſſeſſion of the duchy of *Milan*, by the death of his nephew, whom it was ſuſpected he had poiſoned; and apprehended that *Charles* would not bound his ambition to his ſucceſſes in *Tuſcany* and *Naples*. To ſecure himſelf he changed ſides, and entered upon a freſh alliance with the pope, the king of *Spain*, and the republic of *Venice*. Soon after this alteration of meaſures, the *French* monarch returned to *Piſa*, and was perſuaded by cardinal *Fregoſa* of
f the facility of reducing *Genoa*. *Philip de Breſſe* and *Miolano* were ſent with a fleet and army A. D. 1496.
upon this enterprize; but they were both defeated by *Adorno*, and *Spinola*, ſurnamed the *Moor*. *Rapallo* was afterwards retaken, the *French* and *Swiſs* garriſon made priſoners, and the ſuccours landed from the fleet forced to retreat to the ſhips in great confuſion [m].

To theſe advantages the *Genoeſe* added ſeveral others: *Sarzana* was recovered at the price of a ſum of money paid to the governor, and the *Venetians* diſappointed of their deſigns upon it, notwithſtanding their alliance with *Lewis Sforza*. *Adorno* endeavoured to gain poſſeſſion of *Pietra Sarta* in the ſame manner; but the *Luccheſe* interpoſed, and begun a treaty about this place with the marquis *Entrague*. The duke wrote to *Sforza*, requeſting him to intercede with the *Luccheſe*; but this he declined, and by that means occaſioned the ſepara-

[i] FOLIET. l. 11. BARTHOL. SENAREG. de reb. Gen. ap. MURAT. t. 24. col. 515, &c. [k] FOLIET. l. 12.
[l] Idem, ibid. [m] SENAREG. ap. MURATOR. col. 515.

tion

tion of the republic from his intereſt. Soon after, however, he viſited the ſenate, and ac- a
quired the affection of the republic, by his affability, rich preſents, and careſſes, which no man knew how to beſtow with greater addreſs [n].

THE *Genoeſe* had juſt cruſhed a rebellion excited by *Laviano* in *Corſica*, when they receiv-
ed advice that *Charles* the eighth was preparing again to enter *Italy*, and meditating to re-
venge the perfidy of *Sforza*, and his loſſes in *Naples*, by an attack on *Genoa*. He was in
expectation of forming a conſiderable party within the city by means of *John Baptiſta Fre-
goſa*, and of profiting by the diviſions between the duke and the *Fieſco* family: in a word,
he imagined the *Genoeſe* would eaſily be induced to change their protector, on account of
their chagrin at the late conduct of *Lewis Sforza*, duke of *Milan*. *Trivulcio* was ſent with a
ſtrong detachment to *Genoa*, with orders to join *Fregoſa* and the cardinal *St. Pierre*. Other b
detachments were made in order to ſtraiten the duke; but he was not eaſily diſconcerted. He
reconciled the duke with the *Fieſco* family, and procured the latter to march with all the
troops that could be got ready, againſt *Trivulcio*. *Novi* had ſurrendered to the *French* ge-
neral, without ſtriking a ſingle blow; and by this means the *Genoeſe* territories were ex-
poſed to the enemy's incurſions, who did not fail to gratify their reſentment and avarice by
exacting heavy contributions. In the mean time the *Genoeſe* marched forward; but were
diſappointed in coming to a battle by the retreat of *Trivulcio*, who pretended that the ſcar-
city of forage and proviſion rendered the expedition impracticable.

Lewis *the twelfth conquers* Milan. *and the* Genoeſe *dominions.* A. D. 1499.

AT the death of *Charles* the eighth, *Lewis* the twelfth claimed the dutchy of *Milan*, in
right of his mother; and conquered it, and all the *Genoeſe* dominions, in one campaign. c
The government of the city he gave to *Raveſtein*; and as for *Pietra Sarta*, he kept it in
his own hands, until the ſeveral claims of the republic and *Lucca* could be determined [o].

*ITALY* was no ſooner delivered from *French* tyranny by the departure of *Lewis* the
twelfth, than its repoſe was again diſturbed by the contentions of *Florence* and *Piſa*. The
republic of *Genoa* ſided with the latter. *Piſa* was beſieged, and a thouſand *Genoeſe* were ſent
under *Renier de la Sarette*, a *Spaniſh* officer of experience, to attempt the relief of the garri-
ſon by land, at the ſame time that a ſmall ſquadron endeavoured to throw in proviſions by
ſea, from which the city is diſtant about two miles. *Bardelle*, who commanded this little
convoy, found means to eſcape all the vigilance of the enemy, to puſh up to the mouth of
the *Arno*, and throw in ſtores; notwithſtanding which, the beſieged were ſoon reduced to
great extremities. Determined, however, not to ſurrender to the *Florentines*, the inhabi- d
tants offered to put the city under the protection of *Genoa*; a propoſition which it ſeemed
the intereſt of the republic to accept, although it met with great oppoſition, particularly
from *John Lewis Fieſco*, who carried his point ſo far, that the ſenate refuſed returning any
anſwer to the perſons, before they had obtained the conſent of the *French* king, on whom the
republic depended. An ambaſſy was accordingly ſent to *Lewis* the twelfth, to ſound his
inclinations; and the monarch, averſe to any augmentation of the *Genoeſe* power, re-
jected the propoſition. In conſequence of the king's inclinations, the ſenate ſent but faint
ſupplies to *Piſa*, though their allegiance to *Lewis* was but of ſhort duration [p].

*The revolt of* Genoa. A. D. 1506.

WHAT *Lewis* had foreſeen of the *Genoeſe* inconſtancy came to paſs in the year 1506.
They threw off their allegiance to him, and obliged the perſon he had appointed governor e
to quit the city. Mutual reſentments had always been harboured in the breaſts of the no-
bility and people. Neither could bear with temper to ſee the offices of the ſtate divided,
each being deſirous of engroſſing the whole to themſelves. A band of mechanics, filled
with theſe notions, flew to arms, attacked and wounded many perſons belonging to the *Doria*
family. The magiſtrates aſſembled to quell the tumult; but could not ſucceed, except by a
promiſe, that the nobility would content themſelves with a third of the public employ-
ments. For a little time this ſatisfied them; but new ſeditions were ſoon excited by certain
factious perſons, who grounded freſh pretenſions and expectations on the facility with which
the late conceſſions were made. They again aſſembled, and plundered the houſes of ſeveral
nobility, obliging the whole body to retire, to avoid worſe conſequences. *Raveſtein*, the f
*French* governor, had made a viſit to his native country previous to this inſurrection, leav-
ing his command to *Rocabertin*, who was forced by neceſſity to comply with the former de-
mands of the diſcontented. On notice of the tumult, *Raveſtein* returned, and entered *Genoa*
with a body of five hundred horſe and ſeven hundred foot. He believed that he ſhould be
able to awe the mutineers; but finding his authority contemned, and the force he endea-
voured to exert ineffectual, he retired to the fort or citadel.

*Tribunes appointed.*

THE people became more daring by his retreat, committed the charge of public affairs
to eight perſons of the loweſt claſs, whom they called tribunes; and, not ſatisfied with the
poſſeſſion of the capital, they endeavoured to extend their ſovereignty over all the other
parts of the *Genoeſe* dominion. They gained poſſeſſion of *Spezzia*, which *Lewis Fieſco* held g

[n] GUICCIARD. l. 1. [o] GUCCIARD. l. 5. [p] FOLIET. l. 12.

a in the king's name; and, in a word, became so successful in establishing confusion and anarchy, that their situation was no longer tolerable to the nobility, who resolved to carry their complaints to the throne. This they accordingly did; and the people soon after pleaded their own defence by their deputies, alledging, they had taken arms only because the insolence and power of the nobility became altogether intolerable and oppressive; that they had seized on *Spezzia* with no other view than to secure their commerce; and that they would observe the same obedience to his majesty as before. *Lewis* inclined to the side of the nobility; but he dissembled his sentiments, because the popular party was strongest. He feared that should he oppose them, they would throw themselves into the arms of the emperor *Maximilian*. He directed his measures accordingly, promising pardon to the ring-
b leaders of the sedition, and to approve their distribution of the government, if they would restore *Spezzia* into the hands of his officers. These concessions were not attended with the expected effects. The tribunes, contrary to the advice of the senate, refused to restore *Spezzia*, and the other places they had seized; nay, they directed their troops to attack *Monaco*. *Ravestein* did all in his power to oppose the progress of the malecontents; but finding his endeavours vain, he returned to *France*, to solicit a proper reinforcement.

Incensed at the obstinacy of the popular faction, the king determined to march in person with an army to chastise them. They heard of the preparations making in *France* against them; but such was their obstinacy, that they still kept *Monaco* besieged by a squadron of gallies, and six thousand men, commanded by *Tartalin*, a general sent them by the *Pi-*
c *sans*. They remained for several months before this place; and at last raised the siege, on the approach of *Guy de Alegre*, who advanced at the head of all the nobility in the country to relieve the garrison.

Their disappointment before *Monaco* served only to augment their discontent, irritate their passions, and remove from their minds all respect for the sovereignty and power of *Lewis*, and natural influence of the nobility. They pulled down his majesty's arms from all public places, and elected *Novi*, a silk-dyer, their duke; an office which had never been conferred on any man beneath the rank of a citizen, of the middle class between the nobility and the vulgar. They next published a declaration, asserting the liberty of the city, and making it unlawful ever to subject it to a foreign prince; notwithstanding, a few days
d after they put up the imperial arms. A change of measures, in favour of the emperor, was brought about so suddenly, that all men believed the insurrection was fomented by his agents; a suspicion that was corroborated by his letter of interception to *Lewis*, requesting that he would abstain from all violence, and suffer the people to regulate the government of themselves and their own city, in the manner most agreeable to them [q].

*A silk-dyer made duke.*

The *Genoese* then committed the defence of the city to *Tartalin* and *Jacobo Corso*, two of the best officers at that time in *Italy*. The latter remained in the city, while the former marched with a detachment to attempt relieving *Vintimella*, besieged by *Trivulcio*. After the departure of *Tartalin*, *Corso* laid siege to the citadel, which he battered with heavy cannon, without effecting a breach, while his troops were constantly harrassed by brisk sallies
e made by the *French* garrison. At last he compassed by artifice what he could not effect by force: he ordered it to be insinuated to the besieged, that all hopes of succour were now cut off, by the defeat of the king's army, the plundering of his camp, and seizing upon all the passes: he artfully mixed menaces with promises, and cunningly procured a capitulation, granting the garrison honourable terms, to which he paid little regard when he had them in his power. All the *French* were cut in pieces; and such was the cruelty of this infatuated mob, that they filled a caldron with the blood of those brave victims, and gloried in dipping their hands in it: they spared neither age nor sex, disregarding those infirmities which ought to have excited compassion [r].

*Cruelty of the rebels.*

Having thus treacherously gained possession of the fort, situated in the mountains, and
f commonly called the citadel, they next attacked the fort on the plain, likewise defended by a *French* garrison. It is probable, that the fear of sharing the fate of their countrymen redoubled the courage of the garrison: they, indeed, made extraordinary efforts in their own defence, and often drove the besiegers out of the place, after they had got footing within the walls.

In this situation was unhappy *Genoa* when king *Lewis* arrived at *Aste*. However insolent the mutineers had been, while danger was at a distance, they became now perfectly humble, and sent six deputies to his majesty to apologize for a conduct that would admit of no palliation, on account of its cruelty. Had manly liberty alone inspired them, posterity at least would have done justice to their fame; but it was faction, cruelty, and licentiousness, that actuated their measures. His majesty easily perceiving that their supplications and
g pretended repentance served only to amuse him, until the *Florentine* succours arrived, and they had fortified all the passes to the city, ordered *Charles de Amboise* to march for-

[q] Foliet. l. 12. [r] Idem ibid. etiam Senareg. apud Murator. col. 515.

ward with the army, while he waited being joined by ſeveral *Italian* princes. After forcing all the paſſes the mareſchal arrived at *Rapallo*, a village in the valley of *Poſeveri*: here he maintained the ſtricteſt diſcipline, contenting himſelf with repulſing any attacks that ſhould be made by the *Genoeſe*, until the king's arrival in the camp. a

*The* French *king lays ſiege to the city.* A. D. 1507.

*LEWIS* no ſooner joined the army than he ordered the mareſchal to attack the *Genoeſe* forts on the mountains, and aſſiſt the garriſon beſieged in the fort on the plain. Immediately the army, conſiſting of eight hundred lances, eighteen thouſand light horſe, ſix thouſand *Swiſs*, and an equal number of other infantry of all nations, was drawn out in the king's preſence. All things were diſpoſed for the attack on the twelfth of *April*: *Gonzaga*, marquis of *Mantua*, and colonel *Mercato*, were ſent with ſtrong detachments to make a circuit round the hills, and attack the *Genoeſe* in the rear, while he charged them in perſon in front. b A part of the cavalry he left to defend the paſſage of the valley of *Poſeveri*, leſt the *Genoeſe* ſhould attack the *French* in their rear, while they were aſcending the mountains. In this manner the aſſault began with great vigour on all ſides: the marquis of *Mantua* ſoon rendered himſelf maſter of the enemy's camp, while they thought of nothing but ſtanding their ground in the valley. He then charged with ſo much reſolution, that the *Genoeſe* believing the enemy greatly ſuperior in number to themſelves, ſoon gave way, and were put in confuſion. At laſt a total rout enſued, ſome taking flight to the mountains, others to the citadel they had lately reduced. The ſon of the marquis *d'Alegre* purſued them with the regiment of *Gaſcons* to the walls, on which he planted the colours in the king's name. On this occaſion the *Genoeſe* loſt near three thouſand men killed and made priſoners.

*The* Genoeſe *defeated.*

*The ſenate ſupplicates peace.*

THESE loſſes without the walls excited ſo great a conſternation within, that the ſenate were for ſurrendering the city to his majeſty. *Juſtiniani*, attended with ſeveral other ſenators, waited on *Lewis* with propoſitions to this effect, after having obtained a truce for twenty-four hours. The king refuſed to ſee them, but they obtained an audience of the mareſchal. They fell upon their knees, and with tears in their eyes beſought him to have compaſſion on the miſerable ſtate to which they were reduced: they repreſented to him that they had no authority in the city, and that the diſobedience of the *Genoeſe* roſe ſolely from the fury and infatuation of the populace. Their government, they ſaid, was divided into three claſſes; the nobles and burghers compoſed the ſenate; they had frequent quarrels, but always ſupported each other againſt the third claſs, which includes artificers and d mechanics of all ſorts, the embroilers and peſts of government, and now the occaſion of all the misfortunes of *Genoa*. In a word, the deputation pleaded ſo pathetically, that the mareſchal, having reported their prayers to his majeſty, it was determined to pardon the mutineers upon their ſubmiſſion. c

THE brutality of the mob, however, deſtroyed the effects of this reſolution: they refuſed to lay down their arms, and added contemptuous terms and ſcornful inſolence to their refuſal. They determined once more to try their fortune in the field, and hoped it would prove more favourable than the laſt effort. They perſuaded themſelves that the king's army was leſs numerous than the ſenate pretended, and that theſe were not the troops who conquered *Naples*; but an army of new recruits, who were ſufficiently tired of fighting, from e the warm reception they met with in the late action. Ideas ſo flattering elevated their courage ſo high, that they were fired with deſire of repairing their diſgrace, and regretted every moment that was ſpent in deliberation.

THIS freſh tumult greatly embarraſſed the citizens. On the one ſide they feared the king's reſentment, becauſe they paſſed a promiſe it was not in their power to perform; and, on the other, they dreaded the perils to which they were expoſed in combating the opinions of a headſtrong multitude, with arms in their hands. They ſaw the ſeditious running through the ſtreets, threatening, and even inflicting blows on ſuch as did not follow their example. In the morning, the mob determined to make trial of their courage, went out of the town in a tumultuous manner at break of day, gaining the tops of the mountains by f ſecret paths, known only to the peaſants. They attacked the fort the *French* had taken in the laſt action; but met with more reſiſtance than they expected, which helped to cool their ardour. They ſtill, however, continued the attack; but advice of their motions being received in the camp, the greateſt part of the army marched againſt them, and they were driven, like a flock of ſheep, back to the city, after loſing a great number of men, moſt of whom were preſſed to death in the crowd, or overturned and tumbled over the rocks in their flight.

THE night following the mutineers ſallied out of the city, with all their families and effects, headed by their duke, *Paulo Novi*. Moſt of them retired to *Piſa*, and the reſt to ſome or other of the maritime towns. Thoſe who were not reſolute enough to go into volun- g tary baniſhment, laid down their arms, were reconciled to the ſenate, and determined to undergo the ſame fate. In the morning, all was quiet in the city, and the ſenate ſent freſh

a ambaſſadors to *Lewis*, to implore his mercy, and excuſe the late outrage. Their petition was granted, and part of the army ordered to take poſſeſſion of the city. After the mareſchal had ſeized the principal poſts, and placed guards in the proper ſtations, he ordered all the arms of the people to be carried to the arſenal, and themſelves to lodge in the higher ſtories of their houſes, making room in the lower for the *French* troops.

NEXT day, *Lewis* made his public entry with great magnificence; and aſſembling the ſenate, ordered all the public acts and old records to be burnt in his preſence, with a view that *Genoa* ſhould henceforward have no laws but ſuch as himſelf and ſucceſſors ſhould preſcribe; a reſolution truly barbarous and *Gothic*. He then ordered a declaration to be regiſtered, importing, that the city and ſtate of *Genoa* ſhould remain unalienably annexed to b the crown of *France*; that the *Genoeſe* ſhould continue faithful to him and his ſucceſſors, who would protect and defend them againſt all their enemies: that all crimes committed during the late troubles ſhould be pardoned: that all contention among the different claſſes of the people ſhould ceaſe, and a perfect union be eſtabliſhed among them: that the *Genoeſe* ſhould build, at their expence, a citadel in a certain part of the town, upon a plan given by his majeſty: that the houſe of St. *George* ſhould enjoy its antient privileges: that the *Genoeſe* ſhould be at all the expence of ſupporting ſuch garriſons as the king ſhall think ſufficient for the defence of the city and *Genoeſe* territories: that they maintain four gallies and four ſhips of war, to be diſpoſed of at his majeſty's pleaſure: that the city be governed by magiſtrates choſen annually; but that their power extend not to make alterations c in the police, form alliances, declare war, *&c.* all which ſhall be deemed royal prerogatives: that they judge in all civil cauſes, with an appeal, if thought convenient, to his majeſty: that the city, and all the *Genoeſe* dominions, obey the orders of the mareſchal *Amboiſe*, whom the king has conſtituted his lieutenant on this ſide the mountains; and before whom it ſhall be lawful for parties to appeal from the common courts of judicature.

*Lewis the twelfth is maſter of the city, and regulates the government.* A. D. 1508.

BESIDES the articles contained in this declaration, his majeſty obliged the city to pay all the expences of the war, which he deemed nothing more than the equitable puniſhment of their inconſtancy. He ordered all the old money to be recoined, and took every other meaſure that could deſtroy the leaſt veſtige and remembrance of the antient republic.

IT was the following year that the emperor made ſome abortive attempts to wreſt *Genoa* d out of the hands of the *French*, by means of a ſecret correſpondence with *Baptiſta Juſtiniani* and *Fregoſa*, two baniſhed noblemen. In 1509, *Julius* the ſecond endeavoured to ſurpriſe *Genoa*, aſſiſted by the *Venetians*, who had likewiſe their own ſecret deſigns. His holineſs equipped a fleet, which was joined by four large *Venetian* gallies. The armament was joined by great numbers of refugees and baniſhed nobility; among others, by the archbiſhop of *Genoa*, ſon of *Biet Fieſco*. It was propoſed to inveſt the city by ſea and land, intelligence of which coming to *Chaumont*, who commanded in *Genoa*, he ſent a ſquadron to give battle to the enemy. The two fleets coming in ſight of each other off *Porto Venere*, began a canonading, which continued for two hours; after which the pope's admiral ſteered for *Seſtri*, without making any farther efforts.

A. D. 1509.

e NOTWITHSTANDING a ſeries of intrigues carried on with the refugee *Genoeſe*, at different courts, to draw the city from her attachment to *France*, the *Genoeſe* continued faithful, and even raiſed a conſiderable army in ſupport of the *French* government. The attempts of *John Baptiſta Fregoſa* rendered it neceſſary to ſolicit a reinforcement from *Trivulcio*, which his circumſtances would not admit of ſparing. *Fregoſa* profited by this conjuncture in the month of *June* to recover the ducal dignity. He approached the city; and the *French* commandant, believing himſelf too weak to reſiſt, retired into the citadel. It was certain that he entertained ſuſpicions of the fidelity of the citizens, as he refuſed to return at their moſt preſſing intreaties. He even carried his jealouſy to ſuch a length as imprudently to fire upon the city from the citadel; a conduct that incenſed the *Genoeſe* greatly, and induced f them to receive *Fregoſa*, who was elected duke on the twenty-ninth of *June*.

A. D. 1511.

THE new duke immediately retorted the hoſtilities commenced by the *French* governor. At the inſtigation of the pope's legate the forts were inveſted, and batteries erected, which played with great vigour and ſucceſs. Several of the forts were ſurrendered; but the *French* found means to throw in ſuccours into the ſouthern fort, which withſtood all the efforts of the *Genoeſe*. In the mean time, the king, informed of the revolt of the city, ordered all the *Genoeſe* ſhips and merchandize in his ports to be ſeized.

THE duke, apprehending that the *Fieſco* family carried on ſome ſecret deſigns with the *Adornos*, to re-eſtabliſh the *French* government, determined to defeat their meaſures. *Jerome Fieſco*, being upon a viſit to the duke on the twenty-third of *May*, attended by his two bro- g thers, ſome words aroſe between him and *Mobo Jomatin*, in the anti-chamber. Young *Fregoſa* took part with *Jomatin*, and his two brothers with *Fieſco*. In an inſtant an hundred ſwords were drawn on both ſides, and much blood would have been ſpilt, had not the duke interpoſed his authority, and effected an accommodation. This reconciliation, however,

*The republic revolts.* A. D. 1512.

was

was not ſincere; for *Jerome Fieſco* was aſſaſſinated a few days after by *Zachary Fregoſa*; and the two remaining brothers were taking meaſures to revenge his death, when the *Adorno* family marched with three thouſand men into the valley of *Pozzeveri*. The duke employed a body of troops to give them battle. The whole *Fregoſa* family took arms, engaged the enemy, and were defeated with great loſs. Upon this the *Adorno* family relieved fort *Louthan*, which had been long beſieged. In a word, ſo ſucceſsful were the two families of *Fieſco* and *Adorno*, that they obliged the duke to quit the city, and again reſtored the *French* dominion. *Zachary Fregoſa* now ſuffered the juſt puniſhment of murder; after being pierced with numberleſs wounds, his legs were tied to the tail of a horſe, and his body dragged round the city. a

Now the *Genoeſe* eſtabliſhed a new council called *della Boglia*; and diſpatched *Melchior de Negroni*, *Anſaldo Grimaldi*, *Vincent Santi*, and *Auguſtin Ferrara*, to the general of the fleet, to oblige him to return to *Genoa*, and ſubmit to the *French* king. But while the *Adornos* were thus working the reſtoration of the *French* government in *Genoa*, his majeſty loſt the battle of *Novaro*; and *Octavian Fregoſa* embraced this opportunity of expelling the *Adorno* family. He got together a body of troops, which *Antonio Adorno* was ſo far from oppoſing, that rather than involve his country in a freſh civil war, he voluntarily laid down the dignity of duke, which he held from the *French* king; an inſtance of patriotiſm, which may poſſibly be attributed to neceſſity. Certain it is, that for the ſhort term of his government, he gained the affection of the people in a very extraordinary manner, and was loaded with their bleſſings as he now departed the city. b

*PREJON*, who commanded the *Genoeſe* fleet, quitted the coaſt by the king's order, after having ſupplied the ſouthern fort with all neceſſaries; and *Octavian Fregoſa* was elected duke without oppoſition. The *Genoeſe* had kept this fort cloſe beſieged, when *Fregoſa* aſſumed his dignity: he reſolved to puſh the ſiege with vigour; and one of the boldeſt actions recorded in hiſtory was performed by *Cavallo*, on this occaſion. With three hundred men he cut the cable by which a *Dalmatian* veſſel, laden with proviſion, was tied to the fort, and carried her off amidſt a thick fire of cannon and muſquetry of the garriſon. The boldneſs of the action aſtoniſhed, but did not appall, the beſieged, who continued the defence with their uſual reſolution. Several attempts had been made to undermine the fort; but they were all fruſtrated by unſurmountable difficulties: the ſea waſhing the baſtions, retarded the miners, and the cannon of the fort ſunk all the boats aſſiſting the workmen. However, one *Pietro Toſcano*, an ingenious engineer, contrived a plan from which the beſiegers had great expectation. He built a large veſſel, the ſides of which were fortified with wool-ſacks, to prevent the effects of the cannon-balls. On board of this veſſel he embarked the miners, and the whole difficulty lay in bringing her along-ſide the fort. This was very nearly accompliſhed, when the garriſon ſallied out ſo briſkly, that the whole project was defeated, many of the workmen killed or drowned, and *Toſcano* with great difficulty ſaved. c d

*The* Genoeſe *beſiege the* French *garriſon in the citadel.*

ALTHOUGH *Toſcano* was foiled in this enterprize, all allowed it to be ingenious and bold, and the *Genoeſe* relied much on his abilities. Their enemies had now received reinforcements of *Milaneſe* and *Swiſs*, with which the *Adorno* and *Fieſco* families took the field, to the number of ſix thouſand men, gaining, in a ſhort time, poſſeſſion of *Chiavari*, and *Portoſino*. The duke ſent *Nicolas Doria* againſt them, with five hundred foot; and he was immediately followed by *Frederic Fregoſa*, ſeveral other nobility, and reinforcements. Aſſiſted by *Andrea Doria*, who commanded the fleet, they battered *Chiavari* for two days, but could not ſucceed. In the mean time, the enemy increaſed to ten thouſand, and were marching to inveſt *Genoa*. *Adorno* encamped for the ſpace of ten days at *Biſagno*, and ſeemed preparing all things neceſſary to puſh the ſiege with vigour, when of a ſudden he quitted his camp with ſo much precipitation, that he left his artillery behind. Thus *Genoa* was, for this time, relieved from the impending ſtorm; but ſtill the duke could not accompliſh the reduction of the forts, particularly the ſouthern fort, againſt which he bent all his endeavours. At laſt, however, having intercepted a convoy intended for the garriſon, he obliged the governor to capitulate, after he had been reduced to the moſt deplorable neceſſity [r]. e f

A. D. 1514. THE joy produced by this event was ſo tumultuous, that it afforded the *Adorno* family with an opportunity of attempting the city by ſurprize. They marched with five hundred men in the night, hoping to become maſters of the palace with little trouble, in conſequence of ſecret intelligence they held in the town; but the roads were ſo bad, and their march ſo tedious, that day-light broke in, and diſcovered their deſign before they arrived at *Caſtellazzo*. After holding a council of war, it was determined to purſue their march. Accordingly they arrived at *Genoa* on the twenty-ſeventh of *December*, ſeizing on *Carbonara* gate, g

[r] Hiſt. de Gen. l. 11. t. 2.

with

a with little reſiſtance. Puſhing on to the palace, they cried out, 'Long live *Adorno* and '*Fieſco!*' They awaked the duke in attempting to force the gate, and found him a more vigorous enemy than they expected. Forming his men in the beſt order, he ſallied out at their head, ſword in hand, and made dreadful havock. The wounds he received ſerved only to whet his ardour, and he continued the fight, till the enemy, no longer in a condition to oppoſe ſo much valour, turned their backs, left a clear victory to the duke, who took *Adorno*, *Fieſco*, and *Camillo*, priſoners, and totally baffled the deſign.

In this ſituation were things, when *Francis* the firſt mounted the throne of *France*. He immediately reſolved to recover *Milan* and the *Genoeſe* territories, which had been wreſted from his predeceſſor. For this purpoſe he endeavoured to form an alliance with *Leo* the b tenth; but his holineſs had juſt concluded a treaty againſt *Francis* with *Charles* the fifth, two days before the arrival of the *French* ambaſſador. There was not in *Italy* a man of quality more beloved by his holineſs than *Octavian Fregoſa:* he employed all his authority with the *Spaniards* to have him made duke, when the city fell into their hands, and he obtained the dignity for him in prejudice to the right of the elder brother, who had ſolicited this high office at the ſame time. On his ſide, *Fregoſa* had always expreſſed a juſt ſenſe of the pope's friendſhip, and regulated his conduct by no other rule than the inclination and intereſt of his benefactor. He had done him many good offices in return, and was highly inſtrumental in his exaltation to the head of the church. He governed *Genoa* by the will of *Leo*; and diſcovered all the intrigues of the *French* to diſunite him from the holy ſee; but c now the pope's friendſhip grew burthenſome, and *Fregoſa* began to tire of an alliance which hourly endangered his life, and made him run the hazard of aſſaſſination. *France* protected the *Adorno* and *Fieſco* families, his greateſt enemies, who had now twice brought him on the brink of ruin. He ſaw that their attacks would never ceaſe, as long as they were protected by *France* and he at enmity with that monarch; he therefore formed the reſolution of entering into the meaſures of king *Francis*, and putting himſelf in the place of his rivals, the *Adornos* and *Fieſcos*. His ingratitude to *Leo*, he thought, would be ſufficiently excuſed by the urgency of the circumſtance, and the hazard which would attend his continuing his friendſhip longer.

Francis *the firſt endeavours to recover* Genoa. A. D. 1513.

On the other hand, the duke of *Milan* was *Fregoſa*'s ſworn enemy, on account of the d connections he had formed with the *Adornos*, and his pretenſions upon *Genoa*. The *Swiſs* had vowed never to forgive the injury done them, when he made his application to the *Spaniards* to be reſtored to his dignity, rather than to themſelves. Thus, he was certain of being deprived of his dignity by either of the contending intereſts that ſucceeded in their ſchemes; and while he was balancing, the conſtable of *Bourbon* ſeized the opportunity, and fixed him in the intereſt of *France*. All the conſtable apprehended in this treaty was, its coming to the pope's knowledge; but this he prevented, by making it the firſt article in the alliance that it ſhould be kept ſecret. The duke of *Milan*, however, got ſome intelligence that a *French* gentleman was concealed in the duke's palace: he ſent notice of it to the pontiff, and requeſted that he would lend him the four thouſand *Swiſs* cantoned in the e eccleſiaſtical dominions, with which he promiſed to ſecure *Genoa* to the holy ſee. *Leo* gave no credit to an information which he attributed to *Sforza*'s malice, and refuſed to let him have the troops. Thus, *Fregoſa* was allowed to purſue his ſcheme with *France* unmoleſted.

*FRANCIS*, having determined to invade *Italy*, ſent the cardinal *de Sion* into *Piedmont* with an army of twenty thouſand men; and, to open a paſſage for him, *Aymard de Prie*, one of the moſt experienced officers of his time, was detached with a ſquadron, on board which were embarked five thouſand veteran foot, and four hundred lances, to *Genoa*, to join the duke, who had engaged to raiſe a certain force. This junction was formed, as they pretended, for their own defence. It was neceſſary to enter upon part of the *Milaneſe* beyond the *Po*, and to ſurpriſe the towns of *Tortona*, *Alexandria*, in order to lodge the *Swiſs* f poſted in *Suza*, and prevent themſelves from being attacked in front and rear. The duke and *de Prie* were unſucceſsful in their ſcheme, having taken *Tortona*, *Alexandria*, and all thoſe territories of the *Milaneſe* beyond the *Po*; but the proſecution of their deſign in thus opening a paſſage for the *French* troops proved unneceſſary, the duke of *Savoy* having pointed out an eaſier road.

The following year his holineſs and the *Spaniards* concerted a plan for ſurpriſing *Genoa*; but it was diſcovered and fruſtrated by *Fregoſa*. At laſt *Colonna* formed a ſcheme againſt it, which had better ſucceſs, in ſpite of all the diligence and ability of the duke. *Genoa* was beſieged by the *Spaniſh* and eccleſiaſtical forces; it was bravely defended by the duke, reinforced by the *French*, but at laſt forced to capitulate. *Adorno* was made duke in the g room of *Fregoſa:* the ſame form of government that had continued for ſo many years before the *French* came into *Italy* was reſtored, and the republic's fleet put under the impe-

* Hiſt. de Gen. l. 11. t. 2.

rial admiral's command for three years. While the capitulation was ſettling, the *Spaniards*, obſerving that the *Genoeſe* relaxed in their duty, ſeized the opportunity, and forcing themſelves into the city, pillaged it in a cruel manner. The only reſiſtance they met with was in the ſtreet, where a body of three hundred *French* were poſted. To theſe *Fregoſa* and the count *de St. Paul* joined themſelves, and fought with ſuch deſperate fury, that for three hours the *Spaniards* could not break this handful of men: at laſt theſe heroes were ſurrounded, and forced to ſurrender priſoners of war, the count *de St. Paul* alone eſcaping into a garret (A). a

*The* Spaniards *enter* Genoa *and pillage it.*

THE pillaging of *Genoa*, the richeſt town at that time in *Europe*, except *Venice*, brought on diſputes among the confederate generals. *Colonna* accuſed *Peſcara* of having broke the faith of kings, by abandoning the city to the licentious humour of the *Spaniſh* ſoldiers, in order to curry favour with the infantry; and *Peſcara* contented himſelf with replying in a maxim often repeated by *Commines* in his memoirs, 'That he who is ſucceſsful in war 'carries off all the honour.' b

FROM this time *Genoa* took no ſhare in public affairs; at leaſt it would be impoſſible to ſeparate the affairs of the republic from the general tranſactions of the war between *Francis* the firſt, and the emperor *Charles* the fifth, which we have had ſo frequent occaſion to mention in the courſe of our hiſtory.

A. D. 1252. ALTHOUGH the republic made no great figure in this war, ſome *Genoeſe* individuals greatly ſignalized themſelves, and among theſe *Andrea Doria*, who commanded a ſquadron belonging to the *French* king. He defeated the *Spaniſh* admiral *Moncade* after a bloody battle, that raiſed his reputation to the higheſt pitch of ambition, and performed ſeveral other gallant actions, which placed him among the greateſt commanders of the age: what, however, gained him more honour than all his military exploits, was the revolution he effected in *Genoa* in the year 1528. c

*Doria quits the* French *ſervice, and forms ſchemes for reſtoring liberty to the city.*

A. D. 1528.

BEFORE this time *Doria* had quitted the *French* ſervice, and employed his mind in ſetting ſchemes on foot for reſcuing his country out of the hands of foreign princes. He well knew the fickle diſpoſition of his countrymen, and encouraged this humour with great addreſs, to promote their intereſt, and reſtore their long loſt liberty. As he had a great number of friends in the city, with whom he maintained a conſtant correſpondence, he loſt no occaſion to excite diſcontents againſt the preſent form of government, or rather the preſent adminiſtration. He perſuaded the people that the *French*, under the notion of protecting them againſt their enemies, left them only a ſhadow of liberty, governing with all the deſpotiſm of conquerors. To the nobility he repreſented the diſgrace of ſuffering the reins of government to be directed by foreigners, and putting their poperty, liberty, and lives, in the power of men leſs worthy of authority than themſelves. In a word, he formed a ſtrong faction, laid a plan, and judiciouſly fixed upon a ſeaſon for the execution, when the violence of the plague had carried off three-fourths of the garriſon (B). He advanced with five hundred men, his friends opened the gates to him, he ſeized the principal poſts in the city, and thus became maſter of *Genoa* without drawing his ſword, the *French* garriſon having retired to the forts. *Trivulcio* himſelf withdrew to the citadel, from whence he wrote to the confederates that he would undertake to drive out *Doria* if they would ſend him three thouſand men. This reinforcement not coming, however, at the time expected, *Trivulcio* blaſted the laurels he had been collecting in a tedious war, by ſigning ſcandalous articles of capitulation, in order to ſave his own treaſures. d e

*He gains poſſeſſion of* Genoa.

No ſooner were the *French* driven out of *Genoa* than *Doria*'s name was ecchoed in every ſtreet: ſome expreſſed their real ſentiments by their demonſtrations of joy, others followed the current of fortune, and many thought to conceal their averſion to this hero, and the liberty of the republic, by joining in the public acclamation. *Doria*, without examining into the real opinions of individuals, reſolved to profit by the general appearances, and the preſent humour of the people. Immediately he aſſembled the nobility, and reſtored the government into their hands, declaring that he pretended to no greater ſhare in it than became him as a nobleman. He re-eſtabliſhed the antient form of the republic, and received from his country all thoſe teſtimonies of gratitude, which a conduct ſo diſintereſted merited. f

(A) *Foliета* obſerves, contrary to the teſtimony of all other writers, that *Fregoſa* was, at this time, confined to his bed with the gout; but ordered himſelf to be carried to the window on hearing that the marquis *Peſcara* had taken the count *St. Paul* priſoner. This nobleman he demanded, in order to ſkreen him from the fury of the *Adornos*. The favour was refuſed, and he was ſo mortified with grief, that his diſtemper aſcending to his ſtomach, put an end to his life (1). Other writers aſcribe his death to the fatigue of this action, and the chagrin of ſeeing himſelf ſtripped of all his power by the *Adornos* (2).

(B) It appears, from all the circumſtances of this relation, and the concurring teſtimony of authors, that *Genoa* was, at this time, under the protection of *France*, though it does not appear when the city had ſhaken off the yoke of the confederates, after they took it by ſurprize, A. 1521.

(1) *Foliet. l.* 6. 12.

(2) *Senareg. ibid.*

AFTER

a AFTER finiſhing this glorious enterprize *Doria* retired to his palace, under pretence of avoiding the jealouſy of his fellow-citizens; but in effect to enjoy in tranquility the fruits of his paſt labours. His country admired his moderation and prudence, they honoured him with the title of father of his country, and the reſtorer of public liberty; and, to tranſmit to poſterity the memory of their obligations to him, they erected a ſtatue with the following inſcription,

Andreæ Doriæ *civi opt. feliciſs. que vindici atque autori publicæ libertatis: ſenatus populuſque* Genuenſis *poſ.*

IN the mean time the *Genoeſe* did not ſuffer their joy ſo wholly to engroſs their minds as to divert their attention from the neceſſary buſineſs of the ſtate. To enjoy the ſole fruits of
b their liberty, it was requiſite to gain poſſeſſion of all the dominions of the republic, and to expel the *French* garriſons out of ſeveral of their towns and forts. They began with *Savona*, which they cloſely blocked up. *Montjean* made ſeveral attempts to relieve the beſieged; but all his endeavours were foiled by the vigilance of the *Genoeſe*. However, his ill ſucceſs put him upon a ſcheme which ſerved, at leaſt, to raiſe his reputation. It was to ſurprize *Doria* in his palace, the one ſide of which was waſhed by the ſea, and the other joined to the walls of the city. Taking with him fifty horſe and two thouſand foot, picked out of the whole *French* army, he ſet out for *Genoa*, travelled twenty-two *Italian* miles in one night, and arrived about day-break at the place appointed for a rendezvous. Under favour of a morning fog, he ſeized upon all the avenues leading to the palace without being diſcovered, and
c was firſt ſeen by a footman, when the *French* were within a very ſhort diſtance of the palace. Immediately he awaked *Doria*, who ſcarce had time to ſave himſelf by the back-door, and throw himſelf into a ſmall boat, that carried him to the gallies lying in the road (C).

NOT long after the count *St. Paul* attempted to ſurpriſe *Genoa*, but was diſappointed by a heavy ſtorm of rain, which rendered the ways impaſſable. Next year *Charles* the fifth was crowned at *Bologna*, at which ceremony the ambaſſadors of *Genoa* and *Sienna*, diſputing about precedency in the church, came to blows with their fiſts, and were both turned out by the emperor's order.

THIS year *Hercules Fregoſa* and *Guy Rincon*, made an attempt to ſurpriſe *Genoa*: they were A. D. 1536.
entered the valley of *Poſeveri*, when *Andrea Doria*, with the emperor's conſent, detached
d *Spinola* and *Antonio Doria*, with ſeven hundred men, to the relief of his countrymen. When they arrived they found the city in the utmoſt conſternation, and the women flying with their children to the mountains. *Rincon* had already arrived at the gate of *St. Thomas*, and planted his ſcaling ladders againſt the walls, while *Fregoſa* made another attack on the ſide of *Biſagno*. *Baptiſto Corſo* had ſuſtained the firſt ſhock of the enemy, but was juſt on the point of yielding to ſuperior force, when *Spinola* and *Doria* came up, renewed the engagement, drove *Rincon* from the walls, and thus delivered *Genoa* from the moſt dangerous attack ſhe had ever ſuſtained. *Doria* was like the tutelar deity of the ſtate; he firſt gave it liberty, and then protected it by his vigilance and foreſight, though removed at a diſtance.

WHILE the republic was heaping honours upon him, he took a ſtep which greatly ſur-
e priſed his moſt profound admirers: it was his adopting *Jeannetin Doria*, a diſtant couſin, to ſucceed him, not only in his eſtate, but employments. *Jeannetin* was the ſon of *Thomas Doria*, a nobleman reduced to want: he was bred a ſilk-weaver, an employment no way ſuited to his birth: he was young and handſome, but ignorant, vulgar, raſh, and inſolent. It is probable that *Andrea Doria* did not perceive his defects, or if he did, that he attributed them to want of education, which conſequently would wear off as he became better acquainted with life. He introduced him to the Imperial ſervice, and recommended him to many *Spaniſh* officers of diſtinction, with intention, that their protection ſhould ſupport *Jeannetin* in the dignity to which he ſhould be raiſed at his death; and he gradually accuſtomed the *Genoeſe* nobility to treat him with that reſpect they would naturally pay their ſuperiors in birth and merit.

f ON the other hand, *Jeannetin* did not ſupport his elevation with all the prudence and circumſpection neceſſary. Far from refuſing thoſe extraordinary deferences paid him, he ſeemed to claim them as his right: he demanded the homage of his equals with the inſolence of a ſuperior, obliged many to be his enemies, who bore his couſin the ſtrongeſt affection; and, in ſhort, became hated and deſpiſed, in ſpite of the public reſpect for *Andrea Doria*[t].

*The riſe and progreſs of the revolution attempted by* John Lewis Fieſco.

AT this time, the moſt conſiderable nobleman in *Genoa* was *John Lewis Fieſco*, head of one of the moſt ancient and illuſtrious families in the city. *Lewis Fieſco* was ambitious, bold, popular, and wanting in none of thoſe qualities requiſite for undertaking the moſt daring enterprizes. The indolence in which the *Genoeſe* nobility lived, was no way ſuitable to his diſpoſition. He ſought for means of ſignalizing himſelf, and obliging fortune to do juſ-

[t] Hiſt. de Gen. t. 2. l. 11.

(C) Two years after, he commanded the emperor's fleet againſt the *Turks*, laid ſiege to *Coron*, in the *Morea*, and performed ſeveral gallant actions, which we have elſewhere recorded.

tic

ttice to his merit. However, the want of proper conjunctures had ſet bounds to his ambi- a
ion; and he ſaw himſelf reſtrained to thoſe narrow limits to which perſons of his rank were confined by the laws of his country. *Jeannetin*'s elevation deſtroyed all his hopes of ever procuring an employment ſuited to his dignity and ambition. *Doria*'s adoption gave to that upſtart the command of the republic's armies in war, and the preſidency of her civil œconomy in peace. Nothing remained for *Fieſco* but to accept of a ſubaltern employment under the perſon he deſpiſed.

In theſe mortifying circumſtances *Fieſco* began to revolve in his mind whether a revolution in the form of government might not be effected, by which he might raiſe himſelf to thoſe offices which he claimed in right of his rank and merit. He diſſembled, however, his intentions; but others, who had formed the ſame deſigns penetrated into his views, and a b
coalition of intereſts was immediately ſtruck up. In the proſecution of this ſcheme, *Fieſco* was aſtoniſhed to find ſuch numbers of diſcontented nobility among thoſe he always reputed the faſt friends of *Doria*; nay, to find himſelf the moſt ſtrenuouſly ſolicited by thoſe men to reſcue the government out of *Doria*'s hands. His firſt care was to prove the ſincerity of this new party: next he put himſelf in a condition to oppoſe the *Spaniſh* fleet and the *Milaneſe* troops, who would undoubtedly lay ſiege to the city, ſhould any alteration be introduced into the government. But it was impoſſible to oppoſe the formidable power of *Charles* the fifth, without applying for foreign aids; and *France* alone could afford the neceſſary aſſiſtance, or find its intereſt in ſupporting the views of *Fieſco* and his faction.

A commission was given to *Cæſar Fregoſa*, to ſound the *French* monarch's inclinations; c
but *Fregoſa*'s negociation proved abortive, from the obſtinate ſilence he preſerved with reſpect to the names of the heads and principal perſons concerned in this deſign. *Fieſco* did not reproach him with his ill ſucceſs; but he ſent another agent, the famous *Gonzaga*, more expert in buſineſs, to treat with *Francis*. *Gonzaga* took the moſt effectual means to ſucceed; he demonſtrated, in a few words, that the only means of driving the emperor out of the *Milaneſe*, was to cut off the communication between that dutchy and his other dominions, which could only be done by reſcuing the republic of *Genoa* out of *Doria*'s hands, and conſequently detaching it from the emperor's intereſt.

This remonſtrance had the deſired effect. It was determined in council to aſſiſt the pro- d
jected revolution; but *Gonzaga* did not quit the court before he obtained a ſolemn promiſe, that *Francis* would renounce, in favour of *Fieſco*, all his claims to *Genoa*, as ſoon as the revolution ſhould be accompliſhed. He likewiſe received the neceſſary powers for aſſembling the troops cantoned in *Piedmont*, and calling them to his aſſiſtance whenever it was found expedient; and he ſelected out of the whole fleet in the harbour of *Toulon* a certain number of ſhips, to compoſe a ſquadron for the ſame purpoſe.

After ſecuring the friendſhip of *France*, *Fieſco* meditated how he ſhould ſtill ſtrengthen his intereſt, by drawing the pontiff into his meaſures. He made an excurſion to *Rome*, under the pretence of pleaſure; but in reality with a deſign the more eaſily to communicate his plan to *Paul* III. The occaſion was ſeaſonable; for *Doria* had a diſpute with the holy ſee about the effects of biſhop *Doria*, his couſin, in *Naples*, who in his laſt will, made him e
ſole heir and exceutor. This will was conteſted by the officers of the holy ſee, who inſiſted, that all the eſtate of the deceaſed biſhop deſcended of courſe to the pope, as head of the church, and immediate patron of that dioceſe. The affair was carried to *Rome*, and decided by the rota againſt *Doria*, who found in the ſame perſons his judges and opponents. Hence proceeded a coldneſs between *Doria* and his holineſs, of which *Fieſco* hoped to make his advantage. He firſt opened his deſign to cardinal *Trivulcio*, the moſt brilliant character in the ſacred college; who not only received it with approbation, but entered ſtrongly into the ſcheme, which he promiſed to ſupport with all his intereſt. It was indeed no difficult matter to gain his holineſs; a variety of circumſtances concurred to make *Fieſco*'s journey as ſucceſsful as he could wiſh; the pope not only encouraged him in his purpoſe, but furniſhed f
him with freſh means of accompliſhing it.

Although *Trivulcio* approved of *Fieſco*'s project, as far as it related to *France*, yet he deemed it highly chimerical with reſpect to himſelf; and ſtated it in ſuch a manner to *Fieſco*, that he was frequently upon the point of renouncing it; but the inſolence of *Jeannetin*, determined him to run every hazard. On his return from *Rome*, he was treated ſo magiſterially by that young gentleman, that with the utmoſt difficulty he reſtrained his temper, and ſuppreſſed his reſentment, the giving way to which would infallibly deſtroy his whole ſcheme. In the mean time, he began with endeavouring to augment the number of his adherents by the utmoſt affability, liberality, and generoſity. His conduct, however, was perfectly circumſpect, and a medium between too much neglect and too eager ſolicitude. He never railed at the adminiſtration, or teſtified any impatience to ſee meaſures altered. His mind appeared tranquil, and his life eaſy, and diveſted of all public

care.

a care. Nothing escaped him that could rouse the suspicion of his enemies; the more his ambition stimulated him, the more eager did he seem studious of repose and privacy. In a word, his whole carriage was artful, cautious, and politic; yet his designs were penetrated by *Spanish* emissaries, maintained at the public expence in *Genoa*. *Fernando Gonzaga*, who succeeded the marquis *d'Este* in the government of *Milan*, gave notice of the conspiracy to *Doria*; but his great soul discredited the report, which he attributed to a mean and insidious attempt to destroy the character of *Fiesco*. He relied upon his own integrity, the public affection, and the services he had done his country, without reflecting upon the prejudices conceived against him on account of *Jeannetin*. There were, at the same time, some peculiar circumstances in the information, which made *Doria* suspect it; and every
b thing seemed to concur in rendering *Fiesco*'s designs successful, and effecting the revolution.

When matters were sufficiently ripe, the plan of execution was fixed, their places assigned to each, the day, the hour, and the signals agreed upon. The first attempts were made on *Doria*'s palace, as seizing upon his person would be more than half the business; but his good fortune once more interposed, and rescued *Doria* from the very jaws of destruction. On the first alarm, he mounted his horse, and retired to a neighbouring castle, finding that all endeavours to oppose a revolt, apparently so general, would be of no effect. All their other attempts, however, were successful; and the senate and friends of *Doria* in a fair way of being driven out of the city, if *Fiesco* had not, unfortunately for his party, lost his life by an accident. The sudden change consequent on his death was a proof of *Fiesco*'s im-
c portance. As if the whole faction had been planet-struck, every man ready to give the blow was arrested, the sword fell harmless, the senate and *Doria*'s party took courage, and the scale of fortune suddenly turned, by one of those circumstances that cannot rationally be accounted for. Certain it is, that when *Fiesco* perished, by the giving way of a board over which he was crossing a canal, no attendant was with him. His death was known by accident; and yet, as if his whole faction had certain forebodings of his fate, a panic seized them in the career of prosperity, when hardly any thing opposed them, and just as *Genoa* was on the point of becoming the reward of their bravery and well schemed designs.

Fiesco *drowned, and his project defeated.*

It must be owned that the senate on this occasion acted with the utmost prudence and intrepidity. At first they made several weak attempts to resist *Fiesco*; now, on intelli-
d gence of his death, they seized the opportunity, rallied their small party, and pushed the dispirited enemy with great resolution. The most sanguine of the conspirators were astonished; many of them, who had not the same confidence in *Jerome Fiesco*, the surviving brother, fell off from the party and joined the senate: but it was not the intention of this body to depopulate the city by bloodshed, but to heal the wounds of discord by the salutary balm of peace. They entered upon a negotiation with the conspirators, and promised a general pardon, provided they laid down their arms; a proposition no sooner made than accepted. Three of the principal conspirators, *Ottobon*, *Verina*, and *Co-laagno*, not chusing to trust to promises which had not been ratified by old *Doria*, set sail for *France*; and one happy consequence at least attended this insurrection, as it occasioned the
e death of *Jeannetin*, whose insolence, temerity, and harsh manners, had given the first disgust, and set *Fiesco* on rescuing his country from falling into the hands of a person unworthy to succeed *Andrea Doria* [u].

The tumult being thus appeased, the senate sent a deputation to *Andrea Doria*, to console him on the death of *Jeannetin*, and request him to return to the city, where he was received with all imaginable honours. His old age, which enfeebled his arm, added greatly to the respect of the people, who were easily persuaded to enter into his sentiments of revenge. *Doria* went next day to the senate, and, under the veil of patriotism, strenuously advised a revocation of the pardon granted by the senate, which, he said, was an encouragement to incendiaries and parricides. Having obtained the senate's consent, he declared all
f those who were concerned in the late insurrection traitors to their country, and began the punishment with the body of *Fiesco*, which he ordered to be ignominiously treated and thrown into the sea: his magnificent palace was next razed to the ground, and his memory rendered infamous: his brothers were proscribed, all the ringleaders out-lawed, and the meanest individual concerned in this unfortunate affair banished the city for fifty years; a severity unworthy of the great *Doria*, and attributed to a mind enervated by old age, and soured with infirmity and grief at the loss of his adopted son. *Jerome Fiesco* was ordered to surrender *Montobio* to the commissaries who were sent to him; but this was a point not so easily settled as the others: *Montobio* was strong by nature, and *Fiesco* had bestowed great pains in fortifying it, from the time that he had harboured the first resentment against
g *Doria*. *Jerome* refused to comply with the demand of the commissaries; and the senate, fearing it would be difficult to force him, set on foot a negotiation; but this too proved

Doria *is complimented by the senate.*

[u] Vid. lib. citat.

unſucceſsful, *Jerome* being ſo much incenſed at the perſecutions he ſaw going on againſt his family, as not to hearken to any propoſitions whatever. The emperor's miniſters dreaded leſt this obſtinacy would again light up a war in *Lombardy*, and *Montobio* be put into the hands of the *French*. The place was of the utmoſt importance to the emperor; he, therefore, urged *Doria* to beſiege it, promiſing to ſupport the whole expence. a

ACCORDINGLY *Auguſtino Spinola*, an officer of great ability, was ordered to inveſt it, which he did with ſo much vigour, that the garriſon was forced to ſurrender at diſcretion. *Doria* had the good fortune to take priſoners in this place the greater number of his enemies, many of whom had returned in diſguſt from *France*, to ſignalize themſelves in the defence of *Montobio*. Moſt of the ſenators were inclined to mercy; but *Doria*'s authority prevailed. The *Fieſco* family could not exiſt, even in the meaneſt ſituation, without exciting jealouſy in that of *Doria*: they were rivals, and conſequently implacable enemies; it was, therefore, determined to extirpate, or at leaſt puniſh the conſpirators with all the ſeverity the law admitted. *Jerome Fieſco*, *Verina*, *Colaagno*, and *Oſſurato*, were ſentenced to death: *Ottobon Fieſco*, and all his poſterity, were out-lawed. *Scipio Fieſco*, the youngeſt of the four brothers, about ten years of age, and then a ſtudent at *Padua*, was included in the puniſhment, though of too tender an age to be deemed guilty of the crime: he was ſtripped of all his effects, forced to take refuge in *France*, and his poſterity, to the fifth generation, prohibited from ſetting foot in *Genoa*. Such were the effects of a conſpiracy which, after having been planned with wiſdom, ſecrecy, and addreſs, and juſt on the point of execution, was ruined by an unforeſeen accident, and the loſs of *Fieſco* count of *Lavagna*, who was the ſoul and animating principle of the whole faction. b c

*The emperor viſits* Genoa. A. D. 1548.

THIS year his Imperial majeſty viſited *Genoa*, and was received with all the honours due to his high rank and heroic character. His retinue was ſo numerous, that it excited the jealouſy of the republic, and obliged the magiſtrates to place guards in every ſtreet, for the protection of public liberty. A few days after their fears were augmented by a propoſal which *Charles* made to the ſenate of building a citadel in the ſuburbs, in which he ſhould keep a *Spaniſh* garriſon for the defence of the city, and to ſuppreſs tumults and conſpiracies, which became ſo frequent and ſo dangerous. This was a propoſition not at all reliſhed by the ſenate; it was rejected with one voice, in ſpite of all the arguments urged by the emperor.

FROM this time there appeared a certain coldneſs between the *Spaniards* and *Genoeſe*; it ſoon roſe to an unconquerable averſion, which at length broke out in the following manner. The court of *Madrid* had given ſecret orders for arreſting a *Spaniſh* criminal, who fled from juſtice and took ſhelter in *Genoa*: his name was *Doza*, and he was arreſted in the ſtreet by Dr. *Mignaca*, and committed to priſon. Afterwards he was removed, with intention to be put on board a *Spaniſh* galley, and ſent to his own country to take his trial; but the populace roſe and endeavoured to reſcue the priſoner: this obliged the guard to fire upon them, which killing a *Genoeſe* mechanic, ſet the whole city in an uproar. *Doria* ſent *Spinola* to appeaſe the tumult, who on his arrival found the people beſieging about fifty *Spaniards* in a houſe: he diſperſed the mob, and conducting the *Spaniſh* guard and the priſoner to the neareſt gate, let them out, and returned to *Doria* with an account that the ſedition was quelled. This, however, was not the caſe; for the *Spaniards* were again ſtopt at the ſecond gate by the guard, who prepared their pieces, and threatened to fire on them if they did not releaſe the priſoner; but being informed of *Doria*'s orders, they permitted them to paſs without farther moleſtation. d

*The people attack the* Spaniards. e

ANOTHER affair of no great moment occaſioned great diſturbances in *Genoa* about this time. At the emperor's command *Mendoza* ſeized on *Piombino* and the iſle of *Ilna*, belonging to *Ferdinand Appian*, with intention to prevent its falling into the hands of the *French*. *Mendoza* ceded that place to *Coſmo de Medicis*, who promiſed to fortify and keep it for the uſe of his Imperial majeſty. He laboured indeed with ſuch diligence on the fortifications, that it raiſed ſuſpicions in the *Genoeſe* merchants of ſome deſign to reſtrain their commerce. The people mutinied, and accuſed the nobles of betraying their country, becauſe they did not oppoſe *Coſmo*, and declare war upon *Florence*. *Doria* employed all his influence and authority to appeaſe the ſedition; but finding the people obſtinate, he conſulted the ſenate on the means of ſatisfying the mutineers. It was determined to ſend an ambaſſador to the emperor, offering him two millions, if he would cede the place to the republic; but *Coſmo* fruſtrated the effects of this propoſition, by artfully repreſenting, that the *Genoeſe* were upon terms with *Leon Spozzi*, to put it into the hands of the *French*. One good effect attended this ambaſſy, for by it the people were convinced, that the nobles harboured no deſign againſt the public good, and maintained no correſpondence with *Coſmo*, grand-duke of *Tuſcany*. f

A. D. 1550.

Two years after a cordelier was ſeized, on ſuſpicion of carrying on a ſecret correſpondence in *Genoa*, with a view of betraying the city to the *French*. He was put to the queſtion, g

a and accuſ-d *Baptiſto Fornari* of being an accomplice in the conſpiracy. However, was taken of this accuſation, unſupported by credible proof, and the cordelier was diſmiſſed, and baniſhed. Next year, *Spozzi* made an attempt to ſeize the perſon of *Doria*, as he was conducting the king and queen of *Bohemia* into *Spain*. The deſign, however, was diſcovered, and fruſtrated by the prudence and circumſpection of *Doria*[w].

In the year 1553, the marquis *de Termes* invaded *Corſica*, with an army of two thouſand five hundred choſen troops. In a ſhort ſpace of time, he reduced *Sans Fiorenzo* and *Bonifacio*, two places of great importance on account of the intelligence and communication they held with *Ornano*. All the other towns ſubmitted in a few days to the conqueror, who had now no other difficulty than to ſecure his conqueſts with ſo ſmall an army. The *The* French *invade* Corſica.

b marquis immediately ſent to *Marſeilles* for reinforcements; he began repairing the fortifications of *Fiorenzo* and *Ayazzo*, and putting them in a ſtate of defence. On the firſt advice of this deſcent, the ſenate gave orders for new levies, and beſtowed the command of all their forces by ſea and land on the aged *Doria*, putting the ſtandard of St. *George* into his hands, which he gave to his grand nephew *Andrew Doria*, ſon of *Jeannetin*, declared admiral of the whole fleet. A. D. 1553.

As the *Genoeſe* did not think their own ſtrength ſufficient to drive the *French* out of *Corſica*, they ſought aſſiſtance from the emperor; and he wrote to the grand duke of *Tuſcany*, to whom the iſland lay moſt contiguous, to reinforce them: he likewiſe gave the viceroys of *Naples* and *Sardinia* directions to oppoſe the *French* by ſea and land; but theſe orders were

c ſo general, that the republic was in a manner left to fight her own quarrel. It is true, indeed, the *Neapolitan* galleys conveyed the *Genoeſe* troops, to the number of ſeven thouſand men, into *Corſica*, by which means the campaign began earlier than it would have done had they waited for the republic's fleet. Immediately *Doria* inveſted *Fiorenzo*; and the trenches being opened about a month, the garriſon began to be in great want of proviſion. The marquis *de Termes* reſolved to throw in a convoy, and *Doria* uſed every expedient to prevent their receiving any ſuccours. *Jean de Turin* commanded the *French* detachment, who, after maintaining an obſtinate battle, was killed and his party defeated: however, the diverſion *Turin* made, furniſhed two *French* frigates with an opportunity of puſhing into the harbour, to the great joy of the diſtreſſed garriſon, now enabled to prolong their defence.

d As the ſiege was likely to turn out tedious, young *Doria* divided his army into ſeveral corps, and reduced the whole iſland, except *Ayazzo*, *Rozzella*, and *Bonifacio*, under the dominion of the republic.

Many of the *Corſicans*, who had firſt joined the *French*, now changed ſides, and followed fortune. By theſe *Doria*'s army was conſiderably encreaſed, and the marquis *de Termes* proportionably weakened; and to encreaſe his misfortune, the few troops that remained became mutinous for their pay. At laſt *Jourdain des Urſins*, governor of *Fiorenzo*, was forced to ſurrender the place towards the latter end of *February*, A. 1554. Several of the emperor's *Neapolitan* ſubjects were made priſoners here, and tried, condemned, and executed as rebels.

e After the loſs of *Fiorenzo* the marquis was forced to croſs the mountains and retire to *Ayazzo*: his army was too weak and mutinous to keep the field: ſeveral companies abſolutely ſeparated themſelves from the main body of the army; and the marquis was forced to coin baſe money for their uſe, which he promiſed to take in exchange for good as ſoon as ſupplies ſhould arrive from *France*.

At laſt reinforcements came, and the war was renewed with vigour on both ſides. *Doria* laid ſiege to *Ayazzo*, and took *Colombino* with little reſiſtance. In the year 1557, the *Genoeſe* were reinforced by a body of two thouſand five hundred *Germans*, and eight hundred *Italians*, which rendered them ſo much ſuperior to the enemy, that *Jourdain des Urſins*, who had the command, could not keep the field: he, therefore, put ſtrong garriſons in thoſe

f towns which yet remained in his hands, and retired with the remainder to the mountains, where he encamped in a very advantageous ſituation.

The following year the republic was alarmed leſt the *Turks*, who were ravaging the coaſts of *Italy*, might chance to make a deſcent on *Corſica*. To prevent this, they negotiated a peace with the Porte, and effected it by means of their liberal preſents to the baſhaw. It contained in ſubſtance, that there ſhould be perpetual peace between the Grand Seignior and the republic; that the *Genoeſe* ſhould maintain a bailiff at *Conſtantinople*; in the ſame manner as the *Venetians*, for the protection of their trade; that they ſhould not ſend more than three ſhips to the *Dardanelles*; and laſtly, that if any accident ſhould happen to break the harmony ſubſiſting between the Porte and the republic, both ſides ſhould give timely notice of their intention before the commencement of hoſtilities. A. D. 1558.

[w] Vid. Hiſt. citat. l. 11.

In

In the year 1559, the emperor *Charles* the fifth dying, peace was concluded between his ſon *Philip* the ſecond, king of *Spain*, and *Henry* the ſecond of *France*. By the ſeventeenth article of this treaty, it was ſtipulated, that *Henry* ſhould reſtore to the *Genoeſe*, or houſe of St. *George*, all the places which he held in *Corſica*; but that the artillery and warlike ſtores ſhould belong to the army, and be drawn off with the troops. a

Doria *dies.* A. D. 1560.

The year following was remarkable by the death of *Andrea Doria*, prince of *Melfi*, the greateſt captain of his age, and moſt experienced and ſucceſsful naval officer. *Doria* was truly the father of *Genoa*: he reſcued it from the uſurpation of foreign princes, raiſed it to the higheſt pitch of glory, by his wiſdom and military attchievements, and would have died with a character unblemiſhed, had he not polluted his hands with the blood of his countrymen after the laſt inſurrection, and proſecuted the unhappy family of *Fieſco* with a ſeverity unbecoming a great mind. So happy was *Doria* in all his enterprizes, ſo wiſe in his ſchemes, ſo intrepid and alert in executing them, that the republic always thought their army invincible under him, and for that reaſon created him perpetual duke and commander in chief of all the republic's fleets and armies. b

In 1563, the *Genoeſe* ſeized on the marquiſate of *Final*, the property of the marquis *Caretto*, which they pretended ought to devolve to them by the crime of felony, of which the marquis had been convicted. *Caretto* appealed to the emperor *Ferdinand*; but the republic refuſed to ſtand by his award: however, at the requeſt of his Catholic majeſty, juſtice was done to the marquis.

About this time the war broke out afreſh in *Corſica*. A treaty had been concluded between the king of *Navarre* and *Philip* the ſecond, whereby the former relinquiſhed his pretenſions to *Navarre*, receiving in exchange from *Philip* the iſlands of *Sardinia* and *Corſica*, the latter of which he promiſed to conquer by the aſſiſtance of *Peter Corſo*, who had married *Vannima d'Ornano*, daughter of *Francis Ornano*, ſurnamed *St. Pietro Corſo*. *Corſo* went to *Conſtantinople* to ſolicit aſſiſtance from the Porte, or at leaſt to engage the Grand Seignior to countenance the enterprize; but the death of the king of *Navarre* fruſtrated the treaty, and deſtroyed *Corſo*'s ambaſſy. From *Conſtantinople* he returned to *France*, where, in a fit of jealouſy, he murdered his wife *Vannima*. After reſiding ſome time at court, he made a deſcent on *Corſica* with a handful of men, excited to the enterprize, in all probability, by *Mary de Medicis*, with whom he had frequent converſations. He ſeized upon *Ilna*, and formed a ſcheme to ſurpriſe *Fiorenzo*; but it was diſcovered, and diſconcerted. c d

In the mean time, the *Genoeſe* fleet arrived at *Baſtia*, where the admiral found the commiſſary of the iſland, with eleven companies of *Corſican* foot. Having landed his troops, he marched to *Bourg*, within ten miles of *Baſtia*, and there held a council of war, in which it was reſolved to paſs to *Caccia*. On their arrival in that province, the *Genoeſe* found that *Corſo* had advanced to *Omeſſa*, and that the *Corſican* auxiliaries, which had joined them on their landing, were filled with traitors, who daily deſerted to the enemy. A ſecond council was called, to deliberate on the means of preventing deſertion, and regulate the operations of the army. The members that compoſed the council were divided in opinion; the *Genoeſe* officers maintained, that the army ought to march along the valley running along the banks of the *Goyro*; and the foreign officers inſiſted upon a very different route, in order to avoid engaging in a place where their rear was expoſed to the attacks of the peaſants. Captain *Antonio Bolagina Corſo*, always faithful to the republic, repreſented to the general, that his rear would certainly be attacked by the peaſants in the valley, while *Corſo* was charging him in flank and front; but his opinion was diſregarded, and the road through the valley choſen, againſt the dictates of military experience and common ſenſe. e

*The* Genoeſe *defeated.*

Every thing fell out as had been predicted. The *Corſicans* from all hands poured like a torrent on the *Genoeſe*, with loud ſhouts. A ſtout reſiſtance was made; the *Genoeſe* under every diſadvantage, fought with unparalleled bravery; but fortune did not ſecond their endeavours; they were broke and defeated with great loſs, numbers taken priſoners, ſtripped to the ſhirt, and driven, like ſheep, naked to the next town [x] (A). f

[x] Barth. Senareg. ap. Murator. A. 24. col. 515. & ſequent.

(A) Among other perſons of diſtinction taken in this battle, was *Andrea de Coſta Corſo*, an officer in the *French* ſervice, who had come to marry a young lady of *Corſica*. The *Genoeſe* commander offered him a regiment in the army of the republic, which he refuſed, ſaying, he could not with honour receive the pay of two maſters. He ſerved, however, as a volunteer in the engagement, as a ſubject of *Genoa*, and was taken priſoner. When he was brought before *Pietro Corſo*, that fierce officer was ſo incenſed at his carrying arms againſt him, that he drew his ſword and would have put *Coſta* to death, had not his own officers interpoſed, and threatened to deſert him, if he offered any violence to ſo brave and reſpectable a character. Upon this, *Coſta* was ſent priſoner to a ſtrong tower, where he was ſtrictly guarded (1).

(1) *Vid. Hiſt. de Gen. l.* 11.

a THE directors of St. *George* having intelligence of the defeat of the army, and revolt of the whole iſland, reſolved to ſend *Stephen Doria*, whoſe courage and conduct they could rely on, to take charge of the army. *Corſo*, who was acquainted with the abilities of this general, perceived that he would have a different game to play; he, therefore, enjoined the ſtricteſt diſcipline, and recommended it to all his officers to keep diligent watch on all their poſts.

*DORIA* embarked for *Corſica*, with conſiderable reinforcements, and arriving on the iſland, marched directly to the reſidence of the biſhop, where he pitched his camp, and employed five hundred mules in carrying proviſion of flour and biſcuit from the fleet. *Corſo* approached him with an army of fourteen thouſand men. Next morning, he detached
b four thouſand foot and five hundred horſe, to attack the *Genoeſe* convoy. *Carlo Corafolo* commanded the convoy; and received the enemy with ſuch undaunted courage, that, after a warm diſpute, they were defeated, leaving ſeven hundred dead upon the field. Upon this *Corſo* retired, and deeply entrenched himſelf at *Campalorè*; whither he was purſued by *Doria* with the vanguard, while the rear of the army was ordered to take a circuit by *Olleria*, in order to attack the enemy in the rear. *Doria* began the attack with great fury, and met with a vigorous oppoſition. At laſt, however, on the coming up of the reſt of the army, *Corſo*, finding himſelf too weak, retreated with precipitation, leaving behind large quantities of wine, bread, and other proviſion. *Doria* then marched and ſurrounded a lake, in which ſtood an iſland, where *Corſo* kept his ſtores and proviſion. He likewiſe ſent a detachment to
c reſcue *Coſta*, who was confined at a ſmall diſtance; but a diſeaſe that prevailed among the troops, prevented the ſucceſs of either enterprize. A reigning dyſentery, from drinking new wines, ſwept off prodigious numbers of the *Genoeſe*, and the malady was encreaſed by the means uſed to put a ſtop to it. The lake water was ordered by the phyſicians to be diluted with the wine for common drink; which, joined to the exceſſive heat, the moiſt vapours exhaling from the lake, and the damp ſituation of the camp, aggravated the diſeaſe to a degree ſcarce inferior in violence to the moſt cruel plague. Fearing to be attacked in this miſerable ſituation, he determined to retreat to *Baſtia*, though the diſtance was near fifty miles. During this long march, the rear of the *Genoeſe* was continually harraſſed by the enemy; and all the ſick would have been killed or taken priſoners, but for a generous
d reſolution of ſome gentlemen who had ſerved as volunteers in the army, to guard them, and ſuſtain all the attacks of the *Corſicans*. On the arrival of the army at *Baſtia*, the diſeaſe encreaſed to ſuch a height, that hundreds periſhed in a day. It attacked the peaſants as well as *Genoeſe*, the cattle died for want of forage, ſcarcity of proviſion was added to the terrors of an epidemical diſeaſe; and of twenty-two battalions of *Italian* ſoldiers which *Doria* had with him, two only were fit for action (B).

*An epidemical diſeaſe rages in the* Genoeſe *camp.*

*DORIA* had ſent part of his fleet to *Genoa* to bring over a reinforcement, and the gallies now returned with eleven battalions of *Spaniſh* infantry, who were oppoſed in their landing at *Porto Vecchia*. Upon this *Doria* advanced with his army while the gallies made ſo terrible a fire with their cannon, that the garriſon ſurrendered at diſcretion, inſtead of pre-
e venting the landing. Proviſion growing ſcarce, *Doria* embarked the artillery and infantry for *Calvi*, the cavalry being ordered to go by land in eaſy marches. In this paſſage the fleet was attacked by a violent ſtorm, which deſtroyed ſome ſhips, damaged others, ſwallowed up the whole artillery, and did incredible miſchief that greatly retarded the operations of the campaign. As to the cavalry, they executed their orders, but with great fatigue and danger; after which the troops were put into winter-quarters, and cantoned round *Capo Corſo* [y].

IN this ſituation *Corſica* remained till the year 1565, when the directors of *St. George* determined to exert all their endeavours in cruſhing the rebels. To effect their purpoſe they ſent orders to the generals to deſtroy the crops of the inhabitants, ſet fire to their houſes,
f rob them of all ſuſtenance and protection from the inclemency of the climate, and the attacks of famine; and the more eaſily to execute this plan, a ſtrong reinforcement was ſent to *Doria*. About the middle of *March*, *Doria* ſet out at the head of the army, to execute the barbarous inſtructions he had received, which he did moſt effectually, mowing down the corn about a foot long, burning all the villages, and ſpreading terror and deſolation over the whole face of the country. Once the *Spaniſh* cavalry was attacked by the rebels; but they ſoon repulſed them with great ſlaughter, and regained the camp.

[y] Hiſt. de Gen. l. 11.

(B) Now it was that *Coſta* made his eſcape, and, conducted by a ſhepherd, took ſhelter in the caſtle of *Souvezara*, from whence he wrote to *Doria*. Such was the regard *Doria* expreſſed for this noble ſtranger, that he ſent ſeveral gallies to eſcort him ſafely to the camp, where he was received with loud acclamations (1).

(1) *Vid. ſupra.*

HAVING diſpatched his buſineſs, *Doria* reſolved to attack *Corſo*, who was entrenched to the teeth, and ſtrongly fortified near *Cortè*. To gain this place, it was neceſſary the *Genoeſe* army ſhould croſs the river *Goyro*, in which they were oppoſed by the enemy. *Corſo* made ſeveral motions with his infantry, in order to make them appear more numerous: the ſtratagem anſwered in this particular; for report augmented an army of 3000 men to 10,000, which, however, profited him nothing upon the whole. He was attacked, defeated, and almoſt made priſoner, his army cut in pieces, his camp plundered, and a moſt complete victory gained over him. *Corſo* was ſaved by the generoſity of one of his officers, who lent him his horſe, and ſuffered himſelf to be taken by the *Genoeſe*, who barbarouſly hanged him on the next tree, with this label, 'Behold the price of generoſity!' a

Doria *defeats the rebel general.*

*DORIA* then marched to *Cortè*, which he hoped to take by ſurprize; but in this he was diſappointed, and his army almoſt cut off by an ambuſcade, extremely judiciouſly laid by the enemy. From thence he marched to *Toulon*, a ſtrong fortreſs, encompaſſed with numerous batteries, well planted with heavy cannon. *Pietro Corſo* was encamped under the walls of this place; he made ſeveral vigorous attacks on the flanks of the *Genoeſe* army, but was conſtantly repulſed with the loſs of a number of priſoners. *Doria*, finding his enterprize againſt *Toulon* more difficult than he imagined, decamped next morning with ſeeming precipitation, leaving a body of light horſe in ambuſh. The *Corſicans*, ſeeing the camp abandoned, flew with eagerneſs to pillage it, were attacked by the light horſe, and ſuffered the juſt reward of their temerity and avarice. b

PROVISIONS growing ſcarce the *Genoeſe* army mutinied, and obliged the general to carry them to the ſea-coaſt, where they were plentifully ſupplied, contrary to the courſe he had ſketched out. In this march they paſſed through ſeveral ambuſcades, laid by the enemy in narrow defiles, where only one horſeman could go a-breaſt; but ſuch was *Doria*'s circumſpection that he prevented all bad conſequences. After harraſſing and laying waſte almoſt the whole iſland, he returned to *Cortè*, which he beſieged by order of the ſenate: his approaches were made with ſuch diligence, that a conſiderable breach was made in the wall on the fourth day, orders given to ſtorm it, and the garriſon forced to ſurrender at diſcretion. c

WHILE the *Genoeſe* general was employed in the ſiege of *Cortè*, *Pietro Corſo* encamped at a paſs through which *Doria* muſt paſs near *Omeſſa*. His army was compoſed of nine thouſand muſqueteers, three thouſand picquets, all intrenched under the cannon of the town. He had every advantage over *Doria*, and victory in all appearance was in his hands; but the intelligence of a cordelier, whom *Pietro* had taken priſoner, and was now eſcaped to the *Genoeſe* army, ſaved *Doria*. His own prudence, indeed, and the excellent uſe to which he applied the cordelier's intelligence, not only extricated the army, but very near reduced *Corſo* to the ſame difficulties he had planned for the enemy. In a word, the campaign ended in marches and counter-marches, in which both generals diſtinguiſhed their abilities, but ſtruck no blow that was deciſive. The army being ſent into winter-quarters, *Doria* ſet out for *Genoa*, to give an account of the ſucceſs of their arms to the directors of St. *George*; and *Corſo* took this opportunity, of going to *Marſeilles*, where he levied a great number of recruits with *French* money. d

A. D. 1566. IN the beginning of the ſpring, *Pietro Corſo* found himſelf at the head of a formidable army; and, thinking it was incumbent on him to ſeize the opportunity, he marched to *Balagna*, where he deſtroyed a magazine belonging to the *Genoeſe* army. Nothing more of conſequence, however, paſſed during the campaign, which was employed juſt as the preceding, in marches, counter-marches, and ſkirmiſhes. The following incident deſerves to be recorded: While the cordelier, who had furniſhed *Doria* the laſt year with the important intelligence we mentioned, was priſoner with *Corſo*, that rebel had often put him to the queſtion, and was preparing the moſt cruel death for him, juſt as he fortunately found means to eſcape. From that time he ſought the means of revenging himſelf on the rebel; and, as nothing is impracticable to a man who devotes his time and attention to any particular purſuit, the cordelier brought matters to this iſſue: he firſt gained over an old ſervant of *Corſo*'s, greatly truſted by his maſter, in whoſe family he had reſided for thirty years. He ſlept conſtantly at his maſter's chamber-door, and *Pietro* feared no alarm while this faithful dragon was upon the watch. The cordelier made himſelf maſter of the affections of this fellow, ſettled a plan with him for betraying *Corſo* and the whole army. An ambuſcade was deſigned, which would draw *Corſo* to an action, in the heat of which the inſidious *Vitello* (for that was the ſervant's name) engaged to ſhoot his maſter. *Fornari*, the *Genoeſe* general, was appriſed by the cordelier of this project, and he was baſe enough to ſecond it with the neceſſary forces. *Corſo* fell into the ambuſcade, while he was making aſtoniſhing efforts to extricate himſelf, and giving admirable proofs of his intrepidity, he was ſhot in the ſhoulder by the baſe *Vitello*. The wound brought him immediately to the ground, but not till he had firſt diſcovered the hand that gave the blow: upon this he upbraided e f g

*A baſe project for betraying* Pietro Corſo.

Pietro Corſo *is killed.*

a braided *Vitello*, and cried out to his ſon, about ſeventeen years of age, 'Fly, my ſon, we 'are betrayed;' but the ſon ſtaying to reſcue his father, was ſurrounded by a number of horſemen, the relations of his mother, who ſought to revenge her death by the blood of *Corſo*. He fought violently againſt his own uncle and couſins, and at laſt fell by their hands near the body of his father [z].

AFTER the death of *Pietro Corſo* the rebels loſt heart. Finding themſelves hard preſſed by the *Genoeſe*, they offered the ſovereignty of the iſland to the grand duke of *Tuſcany*; but this wiſe prince, who was a lover of peace, rejected the propoſal, and acquainted the ſenate of *Genoa* of what was intended. The ſenate gave notice of it to their general in *Corſica*, that he might take his meaſures accordingly. The weakneſs of the rebels was attended
b with one bad conſequence to the *Genoeſe*: the ſoldiers, imagining they had no enemies to combat, abandoned their poſts for want of pay, and diſperſed themſelves in little corps round the country. Another circumſtance augmented the confuſion of the army, which, as it was a little extraordinary, deſerves to be particularly related. *Pietro Andrea de la Coſta*, a *Genoeſe* captain being ſent with a detachment to reconnoitre a party of the rebels in the neighbourhood of *Omeſſa*, met with captain *Paul Baptiſta*, an old military acquaintance. *Baptiſta* told him, that ſince the defeat at *Cavia* he had quitted the *Genoeſe* ſervice for that of *Corſo*, where preferment was more rapid; upon which *Coſta* drew his piſtol, and ſhot him as a traitor to his country, from ſordid views, and not from principle or miſtaken opinion. The other rebels hearing the report of the piſtol were alarmed, by which means the inten-
c tion of examining their ſtrength and ſituation was fruſtrated. On his return, this action being related to general *Fornari*, he ſeverely reprehended *Coſta*, and would have ſuperſeded him, had not the other officers and the ſoldiers with one voice ſtood up in his defence. *Coſta*, however, found that the general embraced every opportunity of perſecuting him; he, therefore, quitted his corps, ſet out for *Genoa*, laid his complaints in perſon before the ſenate, and was redreſſed in a manner extremely honourable, being aſſigned a penſion till the campaign was ended, when it was propoſed to give him the command of the army in *Fonari*'s room.

ABOUT this time *Corſica* was torn by two factions, diſtinguiſhed by the appellations *Black* and *Red*. The former had found means to engage *Fornari* in their party, and perſuade him to drive the oppoſite faction out of the iſland. A plan was propoſed, to which the general
d acceded, though the *Red* faction, deemed more loyal, was better beloved by the republic. Upon more mature deliberation the general entertained ſome ſcruples about entering on a buſineſs of ſuch importance, without the authority of his conſtituents: he wrote, therefore, for the opinion of the directors of St. *George*, who referred the whole to his diſcretion. Being now at liberty to purſue his own inclinations, he diſpoſed every thing for the execution of his deſign. His firſt ſtep was to engage the inhabitants of the mountains to aſſiſt in retaking a fortreſs, which the *Reds* had taken ſome little time before from the *Blacks*: this was attempted and proved abortive, captain *Camillo*, who commanded the expedition, having almoſt fallen into the enemy's hands. Irritated at this diſappointment, the *Blacks* be-
e gan a perſecution againſt ſome priſoners confined in *Fiorenzo* ſince the laſt engagement with *Corſo*, who had embraced the *Red* faction. Several of them they ſtrangled with the general's permiſſion; and in parttcular one captain *Jacques*, of a noble family, whom they firſt put to death in priſon, and then expoſed for ſeveral days to public view.

*The* Corſicans *divided into two factions.* A. D. 1567.

REPRISALS were made by the *Reds*: *Lucio*, who commanded in the fort, on which *Camillo* had made an unſucceſsful attempt, was ſummoned a ſecond time by the general to ſurrender it; but this he refuſed to the *Blacks*, though he ſaid he would willingly put it into the hands of a *Genoeſe* garriſon. *Fornari*, having no ſuſpicion of his ſincerity, ſent an officer with fifty men, who were immediately admitted, then ſurrounded, ſtripped, and thrown in priſon, but releaſed about a month after, and ſent back. Nothing, indeed, could be more rancorous than the hatred theſe two factions bore to each other. *Fornari* ſent *Chriſtopher*
f *de Negro* with a ſtrong detachment and two pieces of cannon to lay ſiege to the fort; an employment that naturally devolved upon him, as he commanded the party impriſoned, and uſed with ſo much ſeverity. The enterprize, however, failed, and it was thought through deſign, *Negro* bearing a grudge to the general, which ſuppreſſed the dictates of revenge upon the enemy. Happily, however, all theſe diviſions terminated with *Fornari*'s employment: he was now recalled, and peace in a manner ſucceeded his departure.

WHILE matters went on thus in *Corſica*, *Genoa* was not altogether in tranquility. *John Baptiſto Lercaro*, the duke, having finiſhed the two years of his office, was intriguing to have himſelf made perpetual procurator; a favour that was poſitively refuſed, on account of his being ſtrongly attached to *Spain*. *Stephen Prejon*, his ſon, imagining that his father's
g diſappointment aroſe from the influence of *Lucca Spinola*, vowed revenge. Aſſiſted by a band of deſperate aſſaſſins, he attacked that nobleman in the ſtreet, killed *Pinelli*, one of the cenſors, ſuppoſed likewiſe to have oppoſed *Lercaro*, and dangerouſly wounded *Spinola*. One of the

[z] SENAREG. de Reb. Corſ. A. 29.

aſſaſſins

aſſaſſins betrayed *Prejon*, confeſſed the fact, and gave ſo diſtinct an evidence, that young *Prejon Lercaro* was arreſted, impriſoned, tried, condemned, and beheaded, notwithſtanding ſtrong intereſt was made by the *Spaniſh* admiral, *Garcias de Toledo*, to have his life ſaved [a]. a

When *Fornari* was recalled, the directors of St. *George* appointed *George Doria* to the command of the army in *Corſica*, and *Coſta* for his lieutenant. The moderation and prudence of theſe generals ſoon put an end to the rebellion, and healed all the diviſions among the *Corſicans* themſelves. All party-diſtinctions were carefully aboliſhed; forts built in proper places, both to keep the nobles in awe, and ſecure the coaſts againſt the incurſions of the *Turks*. After which *Doria* returned about the end of the year to *Genoa*, having done more in a few months for the ſervice of his country than his predeceſſor in as many years.

Previous to the civil war we are about to relate, it may be neceſſary that we give the reader a ſhort view of the changes wrought in the government at that time when *Andrea Doria* reſcued it out of the hands of foreigners, and beſtowed liberty with all its bleſſings on his country. It was, indeed, put under the protection of the emperor, who created *Doria* prince of *Melfi*; but under ſuch reſtrictions that this tutelage drew nothing off from the public freedom. b

*DORIA* having taken all poſſible precaution, with reſpect to the external ſecurity of the republic, put the reins of government into the hands of twelve reformers, choſen from the old and new nobility. The firſt regulation made by theſe reformers was, that all thoſe names ſhould be aboliſhed which kept up diſtinctions, and preſerved the memory of their civil diſcords; that *Guelfs* and *Gibelines*, *Whites*, *Blacks*, and *Reds*, ſhould be no more; that the nobility and people ſhould be indifferently admitted into public employments, provided they poſſeſſed the qualifications requiſite for holding ſuch an office. They ordained that a duke and eight counſellors ſhould be choſen; that no affair of importance ſhould be determined or paſſed into an act the ſame day it was propoſed; that the duke, the governor, and procurators, have power to make what changes they thought neceſſary in the ancient ordonnances, and frame new laws, provided they have no tendency to enlarge or extend their own authority. The more firmly to eſtabliſh a perfect harmony among the people, it was reſolved to admit, on the firſt day of every year, ten citizens into the number of the ancient nobility; and to remove all cauſe of contention, it was ordained that all the new nobility ſhould incorporate themſelves with the ancient, adding to their own proper names that of the ancient family in which they ranked themſelves. Some alterations likewiſe were made with reſpect to the qualifications of a ſenator. In a word, all the inſtitutions of the reformers were directed to the nobleſt ends, the eſtabliſhing peace, freedom, and concord. They choſe *Aubert Lazari* duke; and their election was confirmed by the unanimous voice of the people. In this they regarded his wiſdom more than family, for he was not of patrician rank. The governors and procurators were created at the ſame time, ſome from ancient, others from new-raiſed families, with no other diſtinction than what their merit occaſioned. c d

The *Genoeſe*, to ſhew their ſenſe of the obligations they owed *Andrea Doria*, reduced the five ſyndics, or cenſors, to one, conferring the office ſolely upon him: they likewiſe made the office perpetual, and exempted him and his poſterity from all taxes, and public impoſitions. In conſequence of theſe happy alterations, an entire liberty of voting, either verbally, or by ballot, was introduced. However, as no human inſtitution is void of imperfection, or no government ſo wiſe as not to be weakened by time, the ancient nobility began to murmur, that more citizens and artificers were placed in public employments than of their body; and that no equality was obſerved in the election of a duke, although this had particularly been enjoined in the law made by the reformers, with reſpect to elections. This abuſe, they ſaid aroſe from the perverſion of the conſtitution; that of a grand council compoſed of four hundred nobility, ſcarce a third were ancient families; hence it was, that the young nobility carried all before them; a circumſtance which bred diſſention and jealouſy among the different families. They alleged, that notwithſtanding the qualification-law, numbers had crept into the ſenate without the requiſite qualifications. They urged beſides, that admitting into the high council of the nation perſons of low birth, fortune, and education, was ſinking the dignity of a ſenator, making illiterate ignorant perſons govern the helm of ſtate, and preferring thoſe to offices of truſt and profit, whom nature, had never intended for higher ſtations than that of common mechanics. It is not ſurpriſing indeed the republic of *Genoa* ſhould undergo ſuch a variety of revolutions, when the mob became legiſlators. Experience has conſtantly ſhewn, that democratical governments have been more ſubject to violent alterations; and that the people who have attempted to raiſe themſelves above the nobility, became in time the ſlaves of the nation. *Athens*, *Lacedemon*, *Piſa*, *Sienna*, and *Milan*, all loſt their liberty in this manner [b]. e f

[a] Senareg. ibid [b] Senareg. paſſ. apud Murat. col. 515.

Toward

a TOWARD the close of the year 1571, *Jeannetin Lommelin* was elected duke, according to the usual formalities. *Lommelin*, shutting his ears to all the public complaints of the abuse of power, which had lately been loudly uttered both by the old and young nobility, began a violent persecution against *Matteo Senarega*, grand chancellor and first secretary of the republic, a man illustrious by his birth, his eloquence, and his erudition, upon whom the senate rested the most important affairs with a confidence never before reposed in any of the new nobility. Jealousy and private resentment alone actuated the duke's conduct, which he nevertheless covered with the sacred veil of justice. He resented that *Senarega* alone should sign the state dispatches, and proposed, that they should henceforward be counter-signed by himself and two senators. Had he taken this precaution from generous
b views, and for the public good, the duke would have merited praise; but it was more apparent that he more regarded mortifying *Senarega*, than advancing the interest of his country. The severity with which the order was executed sufficiently discovered the motives.

As the enmity between these two magistrates daily encreased, it was believed with some shew of reason that *Senarega* excited the young nobility against the old. The latter had lately gained the ascendant in the management of affairs, and he had the boldness to set the former upon recovering their influence. The memorials requiring that the magistrates should be created, some by lot, and some by votes, were supposed to be drawn up by him, for this reason, that they were elegant, eloquent, and nervous. The utility of the law was in itself obvious; and it was no difficult matter for *Senarega*, so perfectly versed in the
c nature of the constitution, so skilled in politics, and so deeply learned, to support it with arguments which seemed irrefragable, and engage the minds of the people to a revolt should it be disputed.

ON the following year, an accident occurred which encreased the mutual animosity of the parties. *Balthazar Rottalé*, adopted into the *Palavicini* family, was arrested in *Spain* for debt, and he pleaded his release, in consequence of a law in that kingdom, by which no constraint can be laid on the person of a nobleman. His creditors denied him the benefit of this law, because they disputed his title; upon which the senate of *Genoa* sent a certificate, testifying that *Francis Rottalé*, father of the prisoner had always lived with the splendor of a nobleman, had been reputed such at *Genoa*, and was a cadet of the *Palavi-*
d *cini* family: but some of the ancient nobility, to whom *Rottalé* owed money, procured a clause to be inserted in that certificate, whereby it appeared that he had not entered into the *Palavicini* family till the year 1528. The friends of *Rottalé* extremely lamented this obstacle to his release, and had address enough to make his particular affair the cause of the whole body of young nobility, who found their privileges affected in the distinction. The dispute was carried before the senate, argued with great warmth, but no resolution formed. *Origin of the revolution* A. D. 1572.

To these causes of dissention we may add another, which had considerable weight. In the year 1528, the reformers had ordained that the revenues of the house of St. *George* should be applied to portioning the daughters of ancient noble families, and to the other
e necessities of the old nobility. Some of these families, in order to exclude the new nobility, and engross the whole benefits to their own body, made out their genealogy, lopping off from the original stem all the new engrafted branches. The *Lommelin* family in particular ordered their genealogical tree, pruned in this manner, to be registered among the public archives, obtaining for this purpose a decree of the senate, in spite of all the opposition made by the new nobility. Upon this occasion it was said, 'That this tree would one 'day bear extremely bitter fruit, destructive of public tranquility and poisonous of liberty.'

THIS affair of *Lommelin*'s made more disturbance than all the rest: their passions were already raised high, and wanted only this addition to flame out with violence. Interest now was immediately affected, whereas before nothing more than certain privileges and
f rank were the objects of contention. Some of the more moderate persons, who had nothing in view but the good of the community, proposed that a committee should be chosen of men of probity and wisdom, who could not be suspected of prejudice or bias, to determine the affair, and make such new regulations as they saw necessary. But this expedient was opposed by the young nobility, who believed that if the committee was equally chosen out of both parties, they would lose their cause.

A FRESH alarm was likewise given by the arrival of certain *Spanish* gallies at *Savona*, which they alledged the ancient nobility had invited to lay an undue restraint on the public resolutions. Although these gallies made but a short stay, yet the new nobility made a pretext of this circumstance to declare, that unless their grievances were soon redressed, they
g would immediately seek more effectual means for defending their rights. *John Andrea Doria*, at that time in *Sicily*, knowing that the civil divisions would encrease with the ensuing election of magistrates, posted back to *Genoa*, in hopes of opposing by his influence

the heats and animoſities of the ſtate; but all his endeavours were ineffectual. Soon after, *Grimaldi Durazzo*, a man beloved by the whole city for his moderation, affability, and ſocial virtues, was elected duke, after a ſeries of intrigues, plots, and cabals, on both ſides. a

A. D. 1573. TOWARDS the beginning of the following year, his catholic majeſty ſent *Idiaquez* to *Genoa*, to endeavour, by his advice, eloquence, and addreſs, to heal the civil diviſions, which threatened the entire ruin of the republic. He ſpoke with ſuch irreſiſtible elocution in the ſenate, that his harangue ſeemed to make a ſenſible impreſſion; but the effects were ſoon effaced by an incident which occaſioned a renewal of the diſputes. During the election, the old magiſtrates aſſembled a body of their vaſſals for the protection of their perſons. This the new magiſtrates conſtrued into an attempt on them; but as the peaſant militia was made conſtitutional after the election, the affair paſſed without giving any farther diſturbance, and the city enjoyed a tolerable degree of tranquility for the remainder of the year. b

*The deſigns of the old and new nobility.* IN 1574, the civil diviſions again broke out from a variety of circumſtances: both parties endeavoured to gain an aſcendant in the adminiſtration, to raiſe themſelves on the ruin of their competitors, and deſtroy that equipoiſe of government, which alone could preſerve harmony and freedom. The young nobility attempted to ſtrengthen their own body by incorporating in the ancient families ſeveral citizens who deſerved well of the ſtate. They petitioned the ſenate to this purpoſe, and received a harſh refuſal. They were now connected with the people by the tie of intereſt, and would not loſe ſo fair an opportunity of ſtrengthening their faction: in fact, they entered into the ſtricteſt alliances, and the cauſe of the young nobility now became the cauſe of the whole body of ſubjects in the *Genoeſe* dominions. Cabals were formed for carrying their point, and civil diſcords roſe now to a higher pitch than ever. c

*The city divided into three factions.* SOME of the more thinking of the young nobility propoſed an accommodation: a negotiation for this purpoſe was ſet on foot; but the people reſenting it, they were forced to break it off for fear of loſing their intereſt. Inſenſibly, however, this propoſition divided the republic into three factions, each of which had a diſtinct name, according to the quarter of the city they inhabited. A ſecond time the incorporation of the people with the old nobility was propoſed to the ſenate; but rejected with contempt, which augmented their animoſity, and produced the cloſeſt harmony between the young nobility and the people. *Sebaſtian Cerone*, and *Bartholemy Montobi*, names ſcarce known in *Genoa*, were the leaders of d the popular faction. They were patronized by the young nobility, who found their characters well ſuited to their purpoſes. Both had a ſort of rough fluent eloquence, excellently adapted to influence a mob, and direct thoſe brutal minds abandoned to their conduct. In the end, they raiſed ſeditions, and were the immediate inſtruments of the civil war that enſued. They flattered the people into hopes of a more indulgent form of government, and thus rendered them more eager and ardent in the purſuit of whatever they prompted. They promiſed to diminiſh the taxes as ſoon as they could accompliſh their ſcheme of government; that the price of labour ſhould be raiſed, proviſions ſold more reaſonable, juſtice diſtributed more equally, and the much wiſhed for incorporation effected. They likewiſe wrought on the credulous diſpoſition of the populace, by joining motives of fear to hope, e inſinuating, that the ancient nobility had formed a deſign, in conjunction with *Spain*, to reduce the people to the moſt ſhameful and abject ſervitude.

FILLED with imaginary fears and expectations, the people held aſſemblies to deliberate on the means for attaining the one, and avoiding the other. Seditious harangues were pronounced in every quarter; and the ſtreets, which uſed to be the ſcenes of induſtry, were now converted into theatres of war, and occupied by armed ſoldiers. The people thought, ſpoke, and acted without controul; the moſt horrid crimes were committed with impunity. The magiſtrates were inſulted, the nobility murdered, and every ſpecies of diſorder reigned, without a tribunal that preſumed to take cognizance of ſuch treſpaſſes againſt ſociety and government. Every poſt in the city was filled with guards, ſhops were ſhut up, and the f gates, arſenal, and granaries, ſeized by the mutineers. Nay, they even had the inſolence to enter the ſenate-houſe with an armed force, and renew their demands, with menaces in caſe of refuſal. In a word, all was leading to univerſal confuſion and anarchy, if *Senarega*, ſeeing that matters were puſhed too far, had not taken compaſſion on his country, and determined to diſabuſe the people. He aſſembled the populace, and pathetically repreſented to them the miſeries their turbulence would bring upon the republic, and the conſequences of that ſeditious humour, which had ruined the moſt flouriſhing and opulent commonwealths. He demonſtrated to them the little benefit they could expect from the promiſed changes in the conſtitution; and the better to adapt his reaſoning to their capacities, he repeated that celebrated fable of the belly and the members. In fine, he convinced them, that g unanimity was abſolutely neceſſary to ths exiſtence of government; and that a republic could flouriſh only when the direction of affairs was left to thoſe who, by birth, by nature,

a by education, and habit, were qualified for this important truſt, and not to the giddy, headſtrong, and diſcordant multitude.

*SENAREGA*'s harangue had the deſired effect: the people were ſatisfied of the truth of his arguments; but he no ſooner quitted the aſſembly than paſſion took place of reaſon, the ſeditious uſurped their power, and every trace of this patriot's harangue was erazed out of their memory [c].

*The indolence of the ancient nobility.*

• It was amazing to ſee how little the ancient nobility exerted themſelves to ſtem the torrent of abuſe: they contented themſelves with guarding their houſes againſt being pillaged, and praying the ſenate to apply ſome remedy to the public calamity. Several aſſemblies, indeed, met to deliberate on this ſubject, ſome adviſing force, and others perſuaſion, to re-
b duce the people to obedience; but there appeared not that vigour of action or debate which might be expected from the greatneſs of the danger. After ſeveral conſultations nothing more was determined, than that the guards of the city gates ſhould be doubled, to prevent ſtrangers from entering, and that all perſons ſhould be prohibited from carrying arms in the night.

STILL the new nobility urged their demands, became very importunate, and talked of a new form of government in the moſt public manner. The ſumptuary law was the great point contended againſt, which they ſaid was introduced for the general advantage of the people, and failing in that end ought to be annulled for the ſame reaſon. The ancient nobility offered to ſubmit their differences to the deciſion of the pope and king of *Spain*, or any two foreign princes, unbiaſſed with their prejudices, and unintereſted in their parties;
c but this the others refuſed, inſiſting upon a general council, where they hoped to carry their point by dint of ſuperior numbers. The old nobility implored the protection of *John Andrea Doria*; and requeſted that as he inherited his uncle's eſtate, ſo he would diſtinguiſh the ſame patriot ſpirit, and exert the ſame diligence and influence in the ſervice of his country. Upon this *Doria* aſſembled the mechanics and citizens, whom he entreated not to enliſt in any party, but reſt ſatisfied in guarding the city, and ſuppreſſing all riots and ſeditions. He repreſented to them the obligations themſelves and anceſtors owed the ancient nobility: he reminded them that his uncle *Doria* had reſtored liberty to their country; had, upon different occaſions, defended *Corſica* againſt the attacks of the *French* and *Turks*; and had beautified and adorned the city with a number of public edifices and endowments.

d AT firſt *Doria*'s harangue made ſuch an impreſſion, that the mob promiſed to do whatever he deſired; but the memory of obligations makes only a ſlight impreſſion on the minds of the vulgar: they ſoon forgot what they owed to the *Doria* family; they altered their ſentiments, and, with a fickleneſs natural to the multitude, returned to their former ſeditious humour. The tumult, indeed, roſe ſo high, that the ancient nobility ſhut themſelves up in their houſes, which they guarded with great numbers of peaſants drawn from their eſtates in the country.

IN this ſituation of affairs the ſenate demurred: they feared incurring the diſpleaſure of the young nobility by determining againſt them; and to grant their demands would occaſion a revolution deſtructive of public liberty: but though numbers were on the ſide of the peo-
e ple, the capacity and experience of ſome of the ancient nobility gained them great advantages. At laſt *Idiaquez*, the *Spaniſh* miniſter, wrought on the minds of the leading perſons in both factions ſo effectually, that a truce for three months was agreed on. His apparent intention was to perſuade the people, during this receſs, to lay down their arms; but the perſons he employed to influence the people, ſecretly excited them to revolt. In the mean time, the ancient nobility, to ſhew their moderation and regard to their word, laid down their arms, permitted all foreigners to paſs and repaſs as uſual, and forbid their tenants the cuſtomary office of guarding their houſes, and protecting their perſons, which had been conſtantly done ſince the late diſturbances. The ambaſſador produced in the ſenate the treaty for a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, and engaged the principal perſons on both ſides to ſign it;
f and now the people, ſeeing the nobility diſarmed, would not loſe ſo fair an occaſion of redreſſing themſelves, or rather of cruſhing their opponents. In an inſtant every place was filled with ſoldiers, the ſtreets barricadoed, the *Germans* poſted on the mole to guard the artillery, driven away by the people, and the cannon pointed againſt the ducal palace. On the other hand, the *German* and *Italian* officers, in the republic's pay, ranged themſelves in order of battle to oppoſe the populace, and defend public liberty. Immediately the ſenate met to apply remedies to thoſe wounds which muſt occaſion the violent death of the community. The new nobility pretended to be greatly embarraſſed, though they were at the bottom of the inſurrection, and alledged that the demands of the populace muſt be granted to appeaſe them; the old nobility were for checking their fury by vigorous meaſures, and
g warm altercations reſulted. The one urged that the ducal palace would be demoliſhed, the ſenate murdered, and the city laid in aſhes, ſhould any oppoſition be made; and the others

*A truce concluded.*

*The people break the truce*

[c] SENARG. de Reb. Gen. apud MURAT, col. 515.

no

no leſs ſtrenuouſly affirmed, that anarchy and confuſion muſt reſult from giving way to the multitude. a

In the midſt of theſe diſputes *John Baptiſta Lercari*, a ſenator highly eſteemed for his incorruptible integrity, public ſpirit, and perſuaſive eloquence, roſe up and addreſſed himſelf with great warmth to the ringleaders of the ſedition, whom he obſerved ſtanding before him. He ſpoke in pathetic terms of the blind ignorance, the paſſion, and the unjuſtifiable deſigns of thoſe, who, to ſerve the purpoſes of ambition, would lay their country in ruins, trample upon ſociety, and lay freedom expiring on the ground, for the villainous honour of heading a faction, and being the firſt men in a community of ſlaves. He demonſtrated that their civil diviſions would certainly lead to that diſmal cataſtrophe; that nothing could be more raſh than to attempt reformations in government, while the ſcourge of ſervitude hung over their heads, and powerful foreign monarchs watched the occaſion for ſwallowing up their liberty, ſo lately and providentially recovered; and he concluded with exhorting the ſenate to ſet the menaces of the rabble at defiance, puniſh the ringleaders, and, by a vigorous exertion of their power and dignity, reſcue their country from thoſe evils with which it was menaced. b

The abettors of the popular faction and the new nobility could no longer ſupport this diſcourſe; they interrupted *Lercari*, and affirmed that it was no time to aſſert the dignity of the ſenate, when the people appeared with diſplayed ſtandards before the ducal palace, and were in poſſeſſion of all the gates, the artillery, arſenals, and granaries. Theſe were circumſtances, they ſaid, when it was glorious to yield; and it would be the height of folly to expoſe themſelves to certain death, from a vain notion of glory, which could only be entertained by wrongheaded knights-errant and adventurers, tired of a life in which they were deſpiſed. Fear operated more powerfully than glory on the minds of the ſenators; they agreed to the abolition of the law, in ſpite of the oppoſition made by *Lercari*, *Catenec*, and *Grimaldi*, who proteſted againſt their proceedings, and declared they would ſubmit to the moſt cruel indignities rather than aſſent to a reſolution ſo diſhonourable. c

*Demands made by the people.*

Soon after the people, perceiving they had not reaped the promiſed advantages from the revocation of this law, and that they were made the tools of the young nobility, the mere dupes of their ambition, demanded that five hundred of their number might be admitted into the ſenate; that the duties on wine retailed in ſmall quantities might be aboliſhed, the price of labour raiſed, and an amneſty granted to all thoſe who had taken up arms in the late commotions. At that time the ſenate was in a diſpoſition to refuſe nothing: fear had rendered them compliant; they choſe to aſſent without heſitation to what they knew could be extorted by force, and acquieſced in all that was demanded. *Lercari*, however, bravely ſtood out, declaring to the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador, before his grand vicar and ſecretary *Senarega*, "That he was aſhamed of living in a community, where inſolence and obſtinacy triumphed "over reaſon and juſtice [d]." d

The new nobility had procured the ſatisfaction they required, and confirmed their own power in this victory; yet did they not reſt ſatisfied. What they uſurped by the ſtrong hand, they apprehended might be loſt, as ſoon as an opportunity offered for the ancient nobility to exert themſelves in recovering their dignity. To prevent the evils they dreaded, a preſident and commiſſary were diſpatched to the valley of *Poſeveri*, to raiſe the inhabitants and rouſe them to a ſenſe of the danger which might reſult from permitting troops from *Lombardy* to enter *Genoa*; a miſchief to be warded off only by ſecuring the paſſes. On the other ſide, the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador held frequent conſultations with the ancient nobility, on the means of opening the paſſes. To accompliſh their ſeveral ends, each entered on the moſt vigorous meaſures. The ancient nobility, in conjunction with *Idiaquez*, had got together ſo formidable a force as made their enemies tremble, yet were not themſelves eaſed of their fears. It was dangerous for them to ſtir out of their houſes; and they were obliged to aſſemble in the moſt private manner in *Genoa*, for fear of being ſacrificed to popular reſentment. Divers expedients were propoſed, and ſome adviſed to ſeize upon *Savona*, which others objected to as a meaſure that would give umbrage to the court of *Madrid*. Many were of opinion, that as no ſecurity of their lives could be depended on in the city, they ought to forſake an ungrateful people, and baniſh rather than embroil themſelves in a civil war. This proved their determination, and ſeveral of the oldeſt families abſconded before next day. By this precipitate retreat, the young nobility gained all the advantage they could deſire: the trumpet was ſounded, and thoſe perſons cited to attend the aſſembly who it was well known had abſented themſelves. Upon their not appearing, they were formally depoſed from their offices and others of inferior birth ſubſtituted in their places [e]. e f

*The ancient nobility retire out of the city.*

The voluntary receſs of ſome of the ancient nobility, gave great uneaſineſs to thoſe moderate perſons who laboured to effect a reconciliation: they ſent to all thoſe who ſtill re- g

[d] Senareg. apud Murat. col. 515. [e] Senareg. ibid.

mained

a mained intreating them not to depart. The new nobility too, apprehenſive that if they once got into the country it would be difficult to deſtroy them. joined their intreaties, promiſing to diſarm the people, to double the guards, and terminate matters amicably. It was true, that experience had taught the ancient nobility that little confidence was to be placed in ſuch ſoothing promiſes; however, not knowing how to remedy themſelves, they determined to diſſemble. Next day they appeared in public, and ordered a ſolemn maſs to be celebrated, at which the whole body aſſiſted. Finding no oppoſition, the new nobility proceeded to re-eſtabliſh the law of 1528, whereby certain citizens were incorporated with the body of nobility, and to elect their magiſtrates according to the diſpoſition made that year. The more effectually to deſtroy their opponents, they enacted, that whoever ſhould pre-
b ſume to cenſure the preſent form of government, ſhould be puniſhed as a diſturber of the peace; which ordonnance they got ratified by the ſenate.

NEXT they levied troops, introduced a quantity of arms into the city, fortified the frontiers, and took the moſt effectual ſteps to prevent foreign princes making attacks on their liberties, not doubting but their enemies would throw themſelves into the arms of *France* or *Spain*. *The young nobility levy forces.*

ABOUT this time the arrival of the pope's nuncio gave the alarm. The young nobility apprenended that he formed deſigns againſt them; to ſecure themſelves from which, they obliged the people to ſwear, at a public maſs he celebrated, that they would not ſuffer the leaſt alteration in the preſent government. The nuncio was highly offended at their pro-
c ſtituting a place, deſtined for the worſhip of the Supreme Being, to prophane purpoſes; and *Genoa* was threatened with the laſh of the holy ſee juſt as the pope died.

THE new nobility, who now wholly compoſed the ſenate, apprehending that *Gregory* the thirteenth would reſent their impiety, ſent *Senarega* in quality of ambaſſador extraordinary to *Rome*, to juſtify what they had done, and implore his holineſs to continue his protection to the republic; to heal their diviſions, and order both parties to lay down their arms; to prevent the weaker from calling to their aſſiſtance the *Hugonets* of *France*, by which the purity of their religion would be deſtroyed. *Senarega* executed his commiſſion with great addreſs. He obtained all the pope could grant, that was a legate, whom he ſent to *Genoa* to exert the influence of the holy ſee (C). In conſequence of the legate's endeavours, ſeveral
d aſſemblies were held to deliberate on the means of reconciliation; but the ancient nobility not chuſing to run the hazard of attending at theſe, nothing could be ſettled; and the breach grew wider on occaſion of the enſuing election for magiſtrates of the towns dependent on *Genoa*, ſome propoſing to follow the old law, and others that of 1528. The event of this diſpute was, that the people determined to abandon the new nobility, and recal the old, to prevent a deſign they formed of ſeizing on *Savona*, and make ſtill greater alterations in the government by enlarging their own power. To prevent a meaſure of ſuch important conſequence to them, the new nobility publiſhed a report, that ſeveral perſons were gone in ſearch of the legate, to demand alterations in the government, inconſiſtent with li-
e berty. A report of this nature ſoon wrought on the minds of the populace. They abandoned their deſign, reconciled themſelves to the new nobility; and thus the old nobles, who ventured to return on their invitation, were a ſecond time forced to quit the city.

NOTHING now remained for the ancient nobility but to redreſs themſelves by force. They levied troops with great application; news of which coming to the legate at *Genoa*, he ſent his ſecretary to *Aqui*, in *Final*, where the head-quarters were fixed, to oblige the commiſſioners to diſband the troops, and enter upon a negotiation preliminary to a thorough reconciliation. The ſecretary acquitted himſelf ſo well, that he prevailed on *Lercari* and *Stephen Mario* to return to *Genoa*, to negociate matters with the legate in perſon and the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador. Their propoſitions to the legate and *Spaniſh* miniſter appeared ſo equit-
f able, that the new nobility, fearing they would engage them on their ſide, excited the people to inſult *Lercari*, and oblige him once more to retire from *Genoa*. Upon this it was plain the ancient nobility had nothing to expect but what they carried by dint of arms; they prepared therefore with diligence for war, and offered the command of their troops by ſea and land to *Doria*, which he refuſed, under pretence of his not being able to accept it without the conſent of his catholic majeſty, in whoſe ſervice he was. *The ancient nobility levy troops.*

ALTHOUGH the new nobility had paſſed a decree, whereby three hundred of the commons were to be incorporated with them, yet their great aim was to keep the whole political machine to themſelves. Both factions now appealed to different courts. *Philip* the ſecond in particular ſeemed to ſide with the ancient nobles; and the ſenate diſobliged Don *John* of *Auſtria*, whom they refuſed to receive in the harbour with his whole fleet, although they aſſured him of all manner of refreſhments and civilities, if he would come attended with four

(C) The old nobility ſent *Nicholas Doria* to oppoſe *Senarega* at *Rome*, and plead their cauſe before his holineſs; but the eloquence and addreſs of the latter carried all before him; and the pope, though willing to conciliate them, conceived ſtrong prejudices in favour of the new nobility.

four gallies only. On this occaſion it was that *Doria*, in preſence of count *Egmont*, gover a
nor of *Milan*, ſaid, that the ancient nobility were reſolved to uſe force to obtain their rights, ſhould the ſenate continue to refuſe them in an amicable manner. He then aſked leave of Don *John* to command their forces, and to ſerve his friends and countrymen; but Don *John* did not chuſe to diſcharge him from the *Spaniſh* ſervices before he conſulted the court.

ABOUT this time an ambaſſy extraordinary from the emperor arrived in *Genoa*. Both factions made their complaints; and were aſſured, that his Imperial majeſty would ſcrupulouſly examine into the diſpute, and give his protection to that party which had equity on its ſide. The ſenate became jealous of this commiſſion; however, that they might not appear refractory and averſe to all terms of reconciliation, they appointed two of their number to treat with the foreign miniſters; at the ſame time, taking meaſures for filling the b
treaſury, levying troops, and putting themſelves in a ſtate of defence, to prepare againſt the worſt. His Imperial majeſty, in appearance, held the balance equal; he gave an audience to *Spinola*, in behalf of the ancient nobility, in ſuch a manner as to give no umbrage to the ſenate, and at the ſame time wrote to the new nobility, adviſing them to receive ſuch terms of accommodation as his miniſters ſhould think reaſonable, without offending the ancient nobility.

THESE latter had ſeveral meetings, without coming to any certain reſolution. Various propoſitions were made, and all of them liable to objections. Some were for an accommodation upon any conditions; while others were for aſſerting their rights at all events. *Doria* was of the party that expreſſed the greateſt zeal for maintaining the dignity of the peerage; c
and he ſpoke with ſuch eloquence as animated the moſt timid, and warmed the moſt indifferent and phlegmatic breaſt. On the other hand, their opponents raiſed ſome companies of *German* foot, for the defence of the city. *Reineri* would have prevented their entering *Genoa*; but the Imperial commiſſioners required they ſhould have a free paſſage.

WHILE both ſides prepared for war, the fleet on the coaſt of *Naples*, under Don *John* of *Auſtria*, occaſioned great ſpeculation. As he had troops quartered between *Milan* and *Naples*, it was apprehended that his ſecret intention was to reſtore the ancient nobility. This rumour gained ſtrength when it was known the fleet ſteered towards *Genoa*. The people took the alarm, and in leſs than an hour thirty thouſand men were under arms. However, their fears were ſoon diſſipated by Don *John*'s return to *Naples*. d

ALL *Italy* dreaded the conſequence of the civil diviſions in *Genoa*, believing that the weaker party would apply for foreign aſſiſtance, and render *Italy* the ſcene of freſh wars. Some meaſures taken by *Henry* the third of *France* encreaſed their fears; and their ſuſpicions were almoſt confirmed by the march of the *Spaniſh* forces to the frontiers of the *Genoeſe* territories. Immediately the ſenate appointed two commiſſioners to preſide over the defence of the city, and ſent reinforcements to the garriſons of *Savona* and *Novi*. However, amidſt all their apprehenſions, they received ſome comfort from Don *John*'s releaſing two of their ſhips, which he had long detained. This, however, made them neglect nothing that could contribute to their defence, to prevent their publiſhing a decree, ſetting forth, that as the voluntary receſs of the ancient nobility had occaſioned extraordinary expences to the e
republic, it was equitable their eſtates ſhould be anſwerable for theſe charges. They were accordingly confiſcated, and ſold to the higheſt bidders.

*The ancient nobility iſſue orders for all of their body to quit* Genoa.

THE ancient nobility, at the ſame time, gave the ſtricteſt orders to all their body to retire out of *Genoa*, and declared the eſtates of all who refuſed lawfully confiſcated; which decree obliged a great number of young gentlemen, deſcended from ancient families, to quit the capital, to the great prejudice of their fortunes. Foreign miniſters laboured, but advanced nothing in the accommodation. The ſentiments and demands of both parties were ſo widely different, that no concluſion could be formed. On the one ſide, great ſtreſs was laid on the troops they had ready to march on the frontiers, on the antiquity of their family, their high deſcent, fortune, alliances, and education. On the other, the ſame f
weight was laid upon their being in poſſeſſion of the capital, on the people's ſiding with them, on the advantages derived from the laws of the reformers, and laſtly, upon their being in a condition to defend themſelves. Both ſent ambaſſadors to *Madrid*; and thoſe of the ancient nobility made ſuch diſpatch, that they obtained an audience two days before the arrival of the others. The one requeſted that *Doria* might be ſuffered to aſſiſt them with the gallies under his command; and the others, that Don *John* might be prohibited from entering the port of *Genoa*. Both ſet forth their ſeveral claims to the protection of his catholic majeſty, the juſtice of their ſeveral cauſes, and the true intereſt of *Spain*, with the utmoſt elocution. After hearing *Doria* and *Tagliacarne*, the ambaſſadors from the rival republicans, his catholic majeſty replied, that it was an eaſier matter to begin than to end a war; g
it was, therefore, his advice that they would terminate matters amicably: they were all citizens and neighbours, who ought to put up with each other's failings, and above all things avoid the deſtruction of that harmony upon which depended their very exiſtence: that with

reſpect

a reſpect to himſelf, it was to be apprehended if he declared on either ſide, all *Italy* would riſe in arms againſt him. In a word, he excuſed himſelf from engaging in the quarrel, and recommended ſtrongly their declining an application to any foreign power, which would in the end deprive them of their independence.

THE year following, *Philip* deſired a paſſage for ſome troops he intended ſending to *Sardinia* through the republic's territories, which requeſt was at length granted, after warm debates in the ſenate. All this while the ancient nobility were labouring to raiſe a fund for ſupporting the war, which, notwithſtanding the endeavours of his catholic majeſty, ſeemed inevitable. *Doria* ſet the example by ſubſcribing a conſiderable ſum, which all the reſt followed in proportion to their zeal and ability. They waited with impatience to commence
b hoſtilities; but not preſuming on ſuch a meaſure without *Philip*'s conſent, they reſolved ſecretly that *Ambroſe Lommelin* and *Scipio Campora*, baniſhed the republic for ſome miſdemeanour, ſhould, in their own private quarrel, attack the valley of *Poſeveri* with four hundred foot, and that *Francis Vivaldi* ſhould enter *Lunigiani* with another corps. This irruption they were not to appear in, though inſtrumental in raiſing the forces, for fear of giving umbrage to king *Philip*. By this means they hoped to gain poſſeſſion of *Novi* and *Spezzia*, which would ſerve for magazines when the war begun. Theſe troops entered the valley, which they filled with terror; but they were forced to retire, by order of the duke of *Gandia*, who appeared with a ſquadron off *Genoa*.

DISAPPOINTED and chagrined at the retreat of *Lommelin*, and *Campora*, the ancient no-
c bility ſent deputies to the duke *de Gandia*, and from his reply were under terrible apprehenſions of *Spain*'s declaring in behalf of their enemies. Their ambaſſadors at *Madrid* diſcovered, at the ſame time, by the conferences they had with the duke of *Alva*, that *Philip*, with all his ſpecious moderation, ſought only an opportunity of rendering himſelf maſter of *Genoa*, by the civil diviſions of the republic. This appeared plainly from a declaration of the duke's, that the only means to prevent eternal diviſions and tumults in *Genoa*, would be to build a citadel in the town, to be garriſoned with his catholic majeſty's troops.

IN the mean time the ancient nobility made propoſals to the duke *de Gandia*, which ſerved more than all they had done before to gain the protection of the court of *Madrid*. They offered to ſubmit their differences to Don *John*; to empower him to alter the laws at plea-
d ſure, or to frame new ones, provided it was found neceſſary; a propoſal ſo dangerous to the preſent form of government, it was ſeen would be rejected, and this was, perhaps, the chief reaſon why it was made. In fact, it was rejected by the ſenate, who refuſed to put ſuch power into the hands of any foreigner; a declaration which drew on them the diſpleaſure of the pope's legate, as well as the *Spaniſh* miniſter and Don *John*.

SOON after it was reported that *Doria* had planned with Don *John* the whole operations of the war; and that he was gone to *Naples* to get all things in readineſs for that prince to open the compaign. The report was premature; but it proved true ſome time after; for *Doria* ſet ſail for *Naples* with twenty-five gallies, accompanied by *George Doria* and *John Baptiſta Spinola*. Immediately the new nobility ſpread a rumour that *Doria* aſpired at the ſovereignty
e of *Genoa*; and that he had already marched a body of men to ſeize on the gates. The ſenate, being informed of his departure, did not doubt but he had encouragement from Don *John*; and that *Spain* had determined to eſpouſe the ancient nobility. It was, therefore, thought expedient to make vigorous efforts in their own defence: accordingly three thouſand men were ſent to *Sarzana*, moſt of them *Florentines* and *Luccheſe*, and all the magazines were put into the beſt order, which laſt precaution became the more neceſſary, as Don *John* had wrote to the grand duke of *Tuſcany*, requeſting that he would prohibit his ſubjects from ſupplying the *Genoeſe* with ball, powder, ſalt-petre, and proviſions.

NEGOCIATIONS for an accommodation were reſumed, but ſuddenly broke off, by the arrival of *Doria* on the coaſt of *Genoa*, with a ſtrong ſquadron; upon which the deputies
f of the ancient nobility withdrew, by which they gave umbrage to the foreign miniſters, who acted as mediators. As ſoon as *Doria* appeared off *Genoa*, he diſpatched a meſſenger to the marquis *de Ajamont*, governor of *Milan*, acquainting him with Don *John*'s intention, and requiring him to provide the neceſſary ſtores and ammunition, to order two regiments to march to *Spezzia*, and take ſuch other meaſures as he thought would promote the prince's views. Two *German* regiments were alſo taken into the pay of the ancient nobility, ſeveral *Italian* regiments were raiſed, and twenty independent companies of one hundred men each, all under the command of *Doria*. *Antonio Serra* raiſed five thouſand five hundred foot at *Milan*, in the name of his catholic majeſty, to whom they took an oath of allegiance.

Doria *arrives with a fleet on the coaſt of* Genoa.

*DORIA* began the war with erecting the ſtandard of the republic, alledging that the go-
g vernment was uſurped by rebels; and he ſent a ſmall ſquadron to attempt gaining poſſeſſion of *Porto Venere*, which ſucceeded happily. The grand duke of *Tuſcany*, ſeeing the *Genoeſe* territories filled with confuſion, and his coaſt covered by a numerous fleet, raiſed ten thouſand

thouſand men, and fortified all his towns, to prevent being ſurpriſed; nay more, he ſeemed to enter into a kind of friendly correſpondence with the ſenate and new nobility of *Genoa*. a

By the late vigorous meaſures taken by *Doria*, it was plain the ancient nobility determined upon war, which wrought more on the ſenate than all the overtures, intreaties, and menaces they had before uſed. The ambaſſadors of the mediating powers obſerving this diſpoſition, aſſembled at the houſe of the legate to contrive means for accommodating matters; but the hoſtilities committed by *Doria*, and the ſtubbornneſs of both parties, a ſecond time fruſtrated their endeavours. Application was made by both parties to his holineſs, and ſeveral *Italian* princes for aſſiſtance; but they all ſtrictly prohibited their ſubjects to enliſt with either, except the grand duke of *Tuſcany*, who took umbrage at *Doria*'s ſucceſs, and ſo powerful an armament in his neighbourhood. The forces of the ancient nobility were, indeed, very numerous, and daily augmenting; while the new nobility were powerful only in the city, and weak in the field. On this account the people began to fall off, many of them deſerted the city and joined *Doria*, who now undertook the ſiege of *Novi*; others preſſed the ſenate to an accommodation, inſiſting that the ſubject of diſpute might be ſubmitted to arbitration; that the ancient nobility would agree to nothing till *Savona* was firſt put into their hands. By gaining theſe two cities they hoped to treat upon an equal footing at leaſt, eſpecially as the army they had in the field was greatly ſuperior to that of the enemy. Several propoſitions were ſet on foot for a peace; but the war went on. *Doria* made his approaches before *Novi*, and at laſt opened ſeveral batteries, with which he played furiouſly on the town. The walls, which were feeble, ſoon gave way to his cannon; but as the garriſon was numerous and brave, it was hazardous attempting to ſtorm the breach. At laſt, *Spinola*, who commanded in the trenches, determined upon a general aſſault; but, to ſpare the blood of his fellow ſubjects, firſt ſummoned the governor to ſurrender. *Figarella*, the governor, received this ſummons with diſdain, and made no other reply than by a briſk diſcharge of the artillery on the ramparts. *Spinola*, in revenge, ordered five hundred fuſileers to march in the night, under cover of the fire from the batteries, by a ſecret path undiſcovered, by means of a deſerter, that lead to the city. A centinel diſcovered the detachment, and giving the alarm, the beſieged ſallied out, and a warm action commenced; but the detachment was retreating in good order, when it was attacked in the rear by the garriſon of *Gavi*, who would have cut *Spinola*'s men in pieces, had he not opportunely come up with a reinforcement. The battle was renewed with redoubled vigour; but was of ſhort duration, the garriſon of *Gavi* being forced to retreat with loſs and precipitation. Still the governor of that place reſolved to raiſe the ſiege of *Novi*; for which purpoſe he made frequent ſallies, and at length determined upon one laſt effort. b c d

Doria *beſieges* Novi.

With this deſign, *Stephen Invrea*, *Pietro Antonio Chieſa*, and *Marco Fornari*, put themſelves at the head of thirty-two companies, making about five thouſand men, and marched towards *Doria*'s, or rather *Spinola*'s camp. They advanced unobſerved within a very ſhort diſtance of the out-guards, whom they attacked, being ſupported by a furious ſally of the beſieged; but were received by *Leonardo Plaſtifer* with a courage that ſoon cooled their ardor. He was joined by count *Felix* of *Lodron*, who, at the firſt alarm, mounted his horſe, and put himſelf at the head of a ſquadron, with which he repulſed the beſieged with loſs, while the garriſon of *Gavi* was hotly conteſting victory with *Spinola*, by whom they were at length defeated. The project was well-laid, and promiſed fair, had it been executed with ſpirit [f]. The conſequence of its miſcarriage was the immediate ſurrender of *Novi*. e

Novi *ſurrenders.*

A. D. 1575. As ſoon as *Spinola* got poſſeſſion of *Novi*, placing a ſtrong garriſon in it, he went and ſummoned *Gavi*; but the governor reſolving to defend himſelf to the laſt extremity, the town was inveſted. At firſt the beſieged made *Spinola*'s approaches very difficult by a furious diſcharge from the ramparts, which, however, did not long continue. *Fornari*, who commanded in the town, evacuated it as ſoon as the beſiegers began to play their batteries, and retired to the citadel. The burghers, afraid of being pillaged, immediately opened their gates to *Spinola*, who, taking poſſeſſion, proceeded to beſiege the citadel; but his forces not being numerous enough to ſhut up all the paſſes by completely inveſting the place, the garriſon made frequent ſallies into the town, from whence they returned loaded with booty. This obliged *Spinola* to think of raiſing the ſiege, and endeavour to ſtrike ſome alarm in *Genoa*, which might help to forward the accommodation ſo long in agitation. His ſcheme ſucceeded; the people imagined the *Spaniſh* army was advancing to enſlave them. The citizens took ſanctuary, with their children and effects, in the churches. Many deſired leave of the grand council of war to retire; and ſeveral of the elderly perſons, who had ſeen former revolutions wrought by power, doubted not but a duke, with an unlimited and deſpotic authority, would be created by the ancient nobility. f g

Gavi *ſurrenders, but the citadel reſolves to make a vigorous defence.*

[f] Senareg. apud Murat. col. 515.

Not-

a NOTWITHSTANDING the conſternation in *Genoa* was very great, *Spinola* judged, contrary to the opinion of his officers, that it would not be poſſible to render himſelf maſter of it with his handful of forces. He dreaded loſing his reputation, ſhould he fail in the attempt: he feared likewiſe that deſpair would make the city receive the yoke of ſome foreign power; and he knew by intercepted letters that many of the citizens, wearied of the preſent government, longed for a change in the adminiſtration. While he was thus irreſolute, *Doria*, who then commanded the fleet, altho' he was generaliſſimo of the whole forces by ſea and land of the ancient nobility, came to *Final*, to ſettle the operations of war with his conſtituents. However, no military tranſaction of any conſequence happened until the accommodation was in ſuch forwardneſs, that both parties began to lay aſide their animoſities. The vicinity of *Spinola* b with the army, and *Doria* with the fleet, rendered the ſenate and new nobility more compliant; while the king of *Spain*'s ſtopping payment of the intereſt of thoſe large ſums he owed the ancient nobility, rendered them more diſpoſed to peace, from their inability to carry on the war. The mediating ambaſſadors indeed exerted themſelves in a very extraordinary manner to effect a reconciliation. They laboured in this the more earneſtly, becauſe *Italy*, and conſequently all *Europe*, was intereſted in the fate of *Genoa* Above all, the pope applied his influence in a manner ſo judicious, that chiefly by his means the long wiſhed-for reunion of intereſts, and perfect incorporation of the old and new nobility were effected. Hoſtages were exchanged for the mutual performance of their agreement; and the following regulations in the political government were made by the arbitrators: To take away all diſtinction, c the very names of old and new nobility were aboliſhed; and it was decreed, that henceforward they ſhould be one without difference or diſtinction: that as idleneſs is the mother of faction, of every vice deſtructive of ſociety, the cadets of noble families ſhould be permitted to exerciſe mechanical employments, or, at leaſt, merchandize without derogating from their rank: rewards were decreed to perſons of merit, and recompences to all who had ſpent their time upon any diſcovery uſeful to the community; it being deemed a ſufficient qualification for admiſſion into the body of nobility. Four hundred ſenators were choſen out of the nobility to compoſe the high council of the republic: only perſons of diſtinguiſhed virtue, and conſiderable fortune, were to be preferred to certain offices of truſt and power: proper meaſures were likewiſe taken to prevent chicane and fraud in elections for magiſtrates: all d perſons poſſeſſed of offices which their abilities and character did not merit were degraded: a law was paſſed for the election of great and little officers, and even of the duke himſelf, to prevent diſputes and jealouſies: magiſtrates were obliged to give an account of their conduct at their going out of office; but as the trueſt cement of friendſhip was made up with blood-connections, a kind of nuptial tribunal was formed, or a ſet of gentlemen, who were to tranſact matters of that nature between old and new families: a magiſtrate called conſervator of the laws was created, and it was made criminal to introduce new laws, or any changes in thoſe already eſtabliſhed: carrying arms and all ſeditious aſſemblies were prohibited, under ſevere penalties: trade, with reſpect to weight, meaſure, and the quality of commodities, was ſet on the beſt footing. In a word, every thing poſſible was done to e obliterate the late animoſity, and reſtore the harmony, and conſequently power, wealth, and felicity of *Genoa* ε. We have been the more particular in relating the circumſtances of this revolution, as it was one of the moſt important that happened in *Genoa*, and from it we enter more minutely into the genius of the people, the nature of the conſtitution, and the form of the civil and political government than otherwiſe we could.

*A reconciliation effected between the old and new nobility.* A. D. 1576.

AFTER the late accommodation, the republic of *Genoa* enjoyed peace and felicity for the ſpace of forty-eight years, during which time ſcarce any incident, domeſtic or foreign, worth recording occurs. In the year 1624, a diſpute aroſe between the republic and *Charles Emanuel*, duke of *Savoy*, in which *Lewis* the thirteenth bore a ſhare. Each of theſe princes had his particular reaſon for coming to a rupture with *Genoa*. The marquiſate of *Zuccarel* f was the ſubject of contention with the former; and as for *Lewis*, his chief intention was to make ſuch a diverſion in *Italy*, as ſhould engage the principal attention of his Catholic majeſty, and prevent his ſeizing the forts which commanded the paſs in the *Valtelin*.

*War with the duke of* Savoy.

BUT, beſides motives of intereſt, the duke of *Savoy* was impelled to this rupture from punctilio, and a ſcrupulous delicacy in points of honour. The cauſe was extraordinary enough: ſome ſchool-boys at *Genoa*, of low birth, had formed themſelves for diverſion into two armies, the one ſuppoſed *Spaniſh*, the other the military force of his highneſs the duke of *Savoy*. Theſe armies were conducted by the mock princes in perſon, and coming to a pitched battle the duke was defeated, driven out of the town, then taken priſoner, and led in triumph about the ſtreets. The ſenate diſapproved of this play, and puniſhed the g offenders; but the duke was not ſatisfied with that reparation. A treaty was concluded between *France* and *Savoy*, and the plan of operations for the enſuing campaign concerted.

France *declares againſt* Genoa.

ε Ibid. etiam MAUBLE. l. 12, 13.

In the month of *February* 1625, the conſtable *de Leſdiguieres*, governor of *Dauphiny*, paſſing the mountains, arrived at *Turin*, and found that his highneſs had got ready a body of troops to march at the ſhorteſt notice. It conſiſted of twelve thouſand men, a fine train of artillery, with whhich it was determined to lay ſiege to *Savona*. A council of war was afterwards called, and this reſolution warmly debated. It was ſupported by the conſtable, mareſcal *Crequi*, and the count *Dauriac*, and oppoſed by his royal highneſs and the marquis *de Uxelles*. a

As the treaty between *France* and *Savoy* could not be kept long ſecret, his catholic majeſty ſent to *Genoa*, with offers to the ſenate of liberal aſſiſtance, in caſe they found the republic attacked by the confederates; but the ſenate was aware of the inconveniences conſequent on ſuch ſuccours: they had ſeen their own and other republics loſe their liberty, by having recourſe to the protection of powerful monarchs. Truſting, therefore, to the ſtrength and unanimity of their own ſtate, they returned his Catholic majeſty their humble thanks; but declined his offer, under pretence that the deſtination of the confederate army was very uncertain, and that the forces of the republic were ſufficient to protect the *Genoeſe* territories. b

It was more agreeable to the ſenate to make application to his holineſs, who they requeſted would uſe his influence with the duke of *Savoy* to drop the war; or, if that would not do, to lend men and money to the republic. The pope, however, declared himſelf neutral, and would promiſe nothing to the *Genoeſe*. His refuſal did not diſcourage the ſenate: troops were levied with all expedition, and directions given for equipping a ſtrong ſquadron. It was not now a war in which citizen fought againſt citizen, but where every ſubject of the republic aſſiſted with all his power to repel the common danger. Five thouſand *Germans* were taken into pay; a ſociety of rich nobility raiſed, at their own private expence, thirty companies of *Italian* foot, conſiſting of two hundred men each; beſides ſix hundred foot drawn from *Corſica*. The prince of *Bozzolo* ſupplied the republic with eight hundred foot and two hundred horſe; *Lucca* ſent four hundred auxiliaries; and *Doria* was raiſing a ſtrong body of men upon his own eſtate. In a word, the forces of the republic were ſuch as it was thought would not only protect the *Genoeſe* territories, but oblige the enemy to keep on the defenſive. c

While matters were preparing in *Piedmont*, the duke *de Guiſe*, who lay with a fleet at *Marſeilles*, ſeized two hundred thouſand crowns, which his Catholic majeſty was ſending to *Genoa*, on board two merchantmen, relying upon the faith of treaties, and the peace between the crowns of *France* and *Spain*. This ſeizure occaſioned great alarms in *Genoa*, where money was much wanted. All the troops had before been ſent to the frontiers, not doubting but the enemy would make their firſt attacks there, and render themſelves maſters of the barrier towns for a retreat, before they ventured to penetrate into the heart of the country. Seeing the enemy follow a different courſe, they fortified *Savona* in the beſt manner poſſible, and recalled all the troops diſperſed along the banks of the river *Ponant*, which they employed in fortifying the paſſes between them and the enemy. They determined to abandon *Novi*, and *Ovada*, the better to defend *Gavi*, a place of great importance, as it commanded the principal avenue to *Genoa*, through the valley of *Poſeveri*, and, indeed, the only one by which it was practicable to draw artillery and waggons. Here they placed two thouſand men, ſecured the paſs with lines and batteries, and put two thouſand five hundred men to guard the ſtrong paſs of *Ronciglioné*. d e

*Doria choſen general of the Genoeſe forces.*

It was now of the utmoſt conſequence to make choice of a general capable of conducting their military operations. The great eſteem in which *John Jerome Doria* was held, made this office be conferred on him; his courage and integrity were undoubted, and he had performed a variety of actions in the *Spaniſh* ſervice, that put his capacity out of all doubt. *Carlo Doria*, of the ſame family, was appointed to command in the city; an officer equally admired for his abilities as a ſoldier, and his virtue as a man and a citizen. He was duke of *Turſis*, but had ſpent all his life in the army, ſo that great confidence was placed in his judgment and probity. When he was called into the ſenate to give his ſentiments upon the operations of the campaign, the duke diſapproved highly of the reſolution taken to evacuate *Novi* and *Ovada*, inſtead of which he ordered them to be well garriſoned and provided. It was, he ſaid, the buſineſs of the republic to keep their enemies as long as poſſible from penetrating into the bowels of the ſtate, and touching the capital, where reſides the vital principle. Admitting they would make no long reſiſtance, they would at leaſt amuſe the enemy and give more time to finiſh the fortifications of *Genoa*. Moved with theſe reaſons, the ſenate ſuffered him to act in the affair as he thought proper; upon which the duke ſent his nephew *Georgio Doria* to take the command of *Novi*, while he reſolved to defend *Ovada* in perſon: but he was forced to alter his plan when he found theſe places totally evacuated, and deſtitute of ſtores, proviſion, and cannon. He then bent his whole endeavours to defend the paſs at *Gavi*, which was the only way the enemy could poſſibly bring their artillery. f

a In the mean time the conſtable advanced with his army, too inconſiderable, indeed, to undertake any thing of conſequence. He obliged *Aqui* and *Capriata* to ſurrender, and he defeated a detachment of five companies of *Neapolitans*, on their march to join *Spinola*, who commanded a detachment of *Genoeſe*. This attack of the conſtable's was ſo warmly reſented in *Spain*, that all the *French* ſhips in the *Spaniſh* ports were ſeized; but no actual hoſtilities commenced between the two crowns. The governor of *Milan* carefully abſtained from every kind of violence, while the towns in the dutchy were ill provided, and the fortifications out of repair: as ſoon, however, as things were put in a proper poſture, and the *French* army paſt the defiles, the duke *de Feria* took off the maſk, knowing that the loſs of *Genoa* would ſoon be ſucceeded by the invaſion of the *Milaneſe*.

b While the duke *de Feria* was preparing to ſuccour the *Genoeſe*, the duke of *Savoy* forced the paſſage of *Ronciglioné*, which he attacked with his whole army. The *Genoeſe* troops behaved in ſo cowardly a manner, as to abandon their poſt at the terror of the enemy's numbers; upon which the duke made himſelf maſter of the trenches they had thrown up, and of the town, without any reſiſtance. After the reduction of *Ronciglioné* he advanced to *St. Judith*, and ſummoned the governor to ſurrender, which he refuſed until neceſſity ſhould oblige him. *Genoa* was all this while filled with terror and diſmay: women and children flocked in thouſands from the country, and conſumed the proviſions: the cannon lay upon each other in the arſenal without carriages, and if they were mounted, without gunners to direct them: the troops, raiſed at a great expence, dwindled away with ſickneſs and deſer-

c tion: both thoſe ſtrong detachments ſent to defend the defiles at *Gavi* and *Ronciglioné* were diſperſed through fear only, although three hundred thouſand ducats had been ſent to *Milan*, the forces promiſed upon this ſubſidy were not yet arrived: the *Neapolitan* auxiliaries were already cut in pieces by the *French*. In a word, the face of affairs was totally altered, and without any viſible cauſe, except the panic which had ſeized the whole republic, after the miſconduct at *Ronciglioné*. This confuſion was ſtill encreaſed by the crowds of women, children, and old men, who poured in hourly from every part of the country, particularly from *Voltri*, and thoſe towns and villages which lay in the enemy's route. *Genoa* could now be compared to nothing ſo juſtly as *Rome*, after the defeat at *Cannæ*. It was near fifty years that this wealthy city enjoyed profound tranquility, without hearing the ſound of a

d cannon, drum, trumpet, or warlike inſtrument, except on public rejoicings. No wonder then if the approach of an enemy proved more alarming to its inhabitants than to others more accuſtomed to war. Women of faſhion fled their country: the rich ſent their moveables to *Leghorn*, and the mob run about like perſons diſtracted, although they had nothing to loſe [h].

*The* Spaniards *declare in favour of* Genoa.

Amidst this confuſion, the ſenate reſolved to recall all the troops they had ſent for the defence of the frontiers. A courier was ſent to *John Jerome Doria*, ordering him to aſſemble the garriſons round *Ottagio*, and bring them with the utmoſt expedition to *Genoa*. *Doria*, however, was too experienced a ſoldier to obey thoſe orders, dictated by fear and ignorance. Immediately he ſent his reaſons for this conduct to the ſenate, whoſe fears he endeavoured

e to quiet, by aſſuring them it was impoſſible the enemy could form the ſiege of *Genoa* without their heavy cannon, and that the ſureſt method to retard their operations would be to keep the paſſes blocked up in ſuch a manner, as would render it difficult for the artillery to join the army. Theſe reaſons being examined in the ſenate, were unanimouſly allowed to be judicious; notwithſtanding which, ſuch was the people's confidence in *Doria* and *Spinola*, that both were recalled for the defence of the city, and *Ottagio* and *Gavi* left to ſhift for themſelves. The garriſons, indeed, were kept in theſe places, but put under the conduct of officers of whoſe ability the ſoldiers had a meaner opinion.

The preſence of *Doria* and *Spinola* gave freſh vigour to the *Genoeſe*, which was ſoon far-

f ther encreaſed by the arrival of *Lewis Guaſco* with two thouſand *Spaniſh* foot, and two hundred horſe, from *Milan*. By *Doria*'s advice the ſenate took ſome effectual ſteps to prevent the confuſion that reigned in the city, by ſtrictly prohibiting perſons, of whatever quality, to move themſelves or effects out of *Genoa*. They next applied with great diligence to the fortifications; and mounting the cannon on the ramparts, in which employment almoſt every man fit to labour was buſied; even the clergy and women lent a hand.

After all, *Genoa* owed more to fortune than to her own conduct or prudence. The differences between the duke of *Savoy* and the conſtable greatly retarded the motions of both. The latter lay before *Gavi*, without being able to inveſt it for want of cannon, with which the duke promiſed to ſupply him, for doing which he received a very conſi-

g derable ſubſidy paid every month. It was ſuppoſed that jealouſy of the conſtable's reputation made him betray the common cauſe: but certain it is, that the delays occaſioned by his highneſs happened moſt providentially for *Genoa*. At laſt, the duke of *Savoy*, hav-

[h] Mauble. l. 13.

ing

ing gained ſome advantages over *Carracciolo*, the *Genoeſe* general at *Ottagio*, marched to join the conſtable at *Gavi* (A). a

WHILE the confederate army was preparing for the ſiege of *Gavi*, warm debates were carried on in the ſenate, whether it ſhould be evacuated, or vigorouſly defended? Some were for giving it up as untenable, recalling the garriſon for the defence of the capital, and not ſacrificing ſuch a number of men merely from a deſire of procraſtinating the ſiege of *Genoa* a day or two longer. Others, on the contrary, affirmed, that it ought to be defended to the laſt extremity, as the ſiege of ſuch a place muſt neceſſarily weaken the enemy, and give time for putting *Genoa* into the beſt poſture of defence. Amidſt a diverſity of opinions, each ſupported with ſtrong arguments, they reſolved to be determined by the ſentiments of the duke *de Feria*. But while the *Genoeſe* were deliberating whether they ſhould evacuate the town, the conſtable was trying to reduce it by force. He lodged a b
ſtrong detachment in a monaſtery, to cover the workmen employed in erecting batteries on an eminence, which was the only ground from whence the citadel was capable of ſuffering any diſturbance. Here the beſieged evacuated ſome forts, without making hardly any reſiſtance. Next day the beſiegers defeated a body of eight hundred *Genoeſe*, in the road of *Sacavalla* and took a hundred and twenty priſoners. While the *French* were receiving freſh ſpirits and courage from theſe ſucceſſes, the beſieged were thunder-ſtruck with their loſſes: they began to deſpond, and deſpair of being able to make a long reſiſtance. The town-walls were in a ſhattered condition, and a heavy piece of cannon well managed, would have made a practicable breach. *Niaſco*, who commanded, entreated *Juſtiniani*, governor of the citadel, to receive him and his people, in caſe they were driven from their poſt; c
which *Juſtiniani* refuſing, he made a ſally, with intention to break through the enemy; but was beat back to the town. Finding nothing could be done by force, he had recourſe to the clemency of his enemies, and demanded of the mareſchal *Crequi* a ſafe-conduct for himſelf and garriſon. The paſſport was granted, the capitulation ſigned, and *Niaſco* marched out with his arms, baggage, and other honours of war, wholly deſtroyed by the oath he took never to ſerve the rupublic againſt the *French*.

*A* Genoeſe *party defeated.*

Gavi *ſurrenders.*

*JUSTINIANI* was incenſed at the retreat of *Niaſco*; and to expreſs his reſentment, ordered a general diſcharge of his artillery. Next morning he was ſummoned to ſurrender; to which he replied, that the citadel being entruſted to him, he would defend it as long as d
he was able. It was repreſented to him that no quarter would be given, if he ſtood an aſſault; upon which he demanded a day to deliberate, and returned an anſwer, when the time was expired, by a briſk fire from the artillery, and a bloody flag, which he hung up in the moſt conſpicuous place. Other batteries were inſtantly erected, which began to play briſkly on the garriſon. A third time *Juſtiniani* was ſummoned; and then he deſired a paſſport for a meſſenger to go to *Genoa*, to repreſent the ſituation of the citadel, promiſing to ſurrender if he did not receive an anſwer in three days. The paſſport was granted, and the meſſenger returned within the time, with orders for the garriſon to defend themſelves, as they would ſoon receive powerful ſuccours; but the duke of *Savoy* arreſted him in the camp; and the time being expired, *Juſtiniani* was decoyed into a capitulation.

*GAVI* having ſurrendered, the *Piedmonteſe* troops took immediate poſſeſſion of the cita- e
del, which highly piqued the *French* general. The diſputes on this ſubject introduced others ſomewhat prematurely; it being warmly conteſted who ſhould be governor of *Genoa*, when taken. Beſides this, other jealouſies aroſe between the duke of *Savoy* and the conſtable, the former alledging, that the latter was ſecretly negotiating a peace with the *Genoeſe*. Theſe diviſions were very opportunely ſtopped by the king; who gave ſtrict orders that the conſtable ſhould liſten to no terms from the enemy without the duke's approbation; that the army ſhould be reinforced, and ſupplied with ſtores and proviſions; and that ſuch officers as were moſt obnoxious to the duke ſhould be recalled. Orders were likewiſe given to the duke *de Guiſe* to block up *Genoa* by ſea, with a ſquadron of ſix f
gallies.

IN the mean time his highneſs and the conſtable held a council of war on the method of inveſting *Genoa*; when it was found impracticable to beſiege that large city without a proper train of artillery and proviſions for the army, both which were wanting. It was the duke's buſineſs to provide theſe, and keep the roads in repair for drawing the cannon; and he had given directions to that effect, which were executed but ſlowly. That no time, however, might be loſt, he attacked *Piava*, a place of ſome conſequence, and carried it after a ſhort reſiſtance. The conſtable, after this, oppoſed laying ſiege to *Genoa* before the army was properly ſupplied with artillery and ſtores; but the duke made all preparations for

Piava *taken. The confederates prepare to inveſt* Genoa.

(A) Before he joined the mareſchal, he made himſelf maſter of *Ottagio*, after defeating *Carracciolo*, with two thouſand *Genoeſe* foot and two hundred horſe, who made a vigorous reſiſtance, and were juſt on the point of obliging the *Piedmonteſe* to retreat, when an unaccountable panic ſeized them, and made victory declare for the duke.

a inveſting the city, which he imagined would ſurrender to the terror of his arms, and the report of his ſucceſſes. He formed magazines at *Gavi*, ſet pioneers to work on the paſs at *Ottagio*, ordered the artillery to be put in motion, and ſeized upon ſeveral imperial fiefs belonging to the *Genoeſe* nobility. His natural ſon Don *Felix* he ſent to attack *Savignon*, by which he might open a paſſage to the valley *Biſagno*, which leads directly to *Genoa*; and this attempt ſucceeded, as all the others had done. Hearing of the loſs of *Piava*, the *Genoeſe* turned their whole attention on the defence of the capital, as the laſt ſtake. They made retrenchments, cut ditches, erected baſtions at proper diſtances, built palliſades, and mounted all their cannon. What embarraſſed them moſt was the ſcarcity of money. Remittances were expected from *Spain*; but the fear of falling in with the *French* ſquadron
b kept the ſhips from putting to ſea. Private perſons had ſent in their plate to be coined; but ſtill this was inſufficient for the purpoſes of government. As yet the *Germans* were not come to the *Milaneſe*, and there was the leſs dependence on them, as their delay was owing to the failure of the promiſed ſubſidy. Thus the *Genoeſe* had no foreign aſſiſtance to rely on, except a ſmall corps under *Pimentel*, who now deſerted them likewiſe, and drew off his forces from *Tortona* to *Alexandria*, to the great aſtoniſhment of the ſenate. Beſides, the *Swiſs*, who obſerved the treaſures of his catholic majeſty were exhauſted, ſuffered themſelves to be gained over by the confederates, and abſolutely denied the *German* auxiliaries a paſſage through their country.

But what proved moſt irkſome to the republic, was the great preparations the enemy
c were making to obtain a ſuperiority at ſea, by which they might either block up *Genoa*, or make a deſcent on *Corſica*. It was likewiſe obſerved, that all the princes in *Italy* ſeemed to have a biaſs in favour of the confederates, from a jealouſy and diſlike of *Spain*. The grand duke of *Tuſcany* was aſſembling an army at *Piſa*, with intention, it was ſuppoſed, to fall on *Sarzana* or *Sarſonello*, places to which the *Florentines* had long formed a claim; and this circumſtance obliged the *Genoeſe* to divide their forces, in order to make head againſt another enemy, and protect their poſſeſſions. The duke of *Mantua* kept up the appearance of friendſhip with the republic; but he granted a paſſage through his dominions to the confederates, and entered ſecretly into their intereſt, although he offered to raiſe ſix thouſand men for the defence of *Genoa*, provided the republic would ſupply levy-money. As to *Venice*, there
d was no ſubject of diſpute between the two republics, except their jealouſy about the ſuperiority in the *Mediterranean*. For ſeveral years back they lived in friendſhip, yet were the *Venetians* zealous promoters of this league againſt the ſiſter republic; probably from a diſlike of *Spain*, and jealouſy of the grandeur of the houſe of *Auſtria*, with which *Genoa* was cloſely allied. All, however, that the *Venetians* did, was to render it difficult to ſend aſſiſtance from *Milan*, by making a diverſion in the *Cremoneſe*: however, the old animoſity was ſo far renewed, that the *Genoeſe* merchants durſt not appear in *Venice*; and public rejoicings were made in that city upon every advantage gained by the confederates. In a word, the affairs of the republic appeared to themſelves to be in ſo deſperate a ſituation, that they connived at the horrid attempt of aſſaſſinating the conſtable; an attempt which re-
e flects infamy on the republic, and the baſe projector, the baron *de Allegre*.

Such was the ſtate of the *Genoeſe* affairs when a million of ducats arrived from *Spain*, which was ſoon after followed by five millions more. Matters inſtantly aſſumed a different face: alacrity and ſpirit appeared in every face; the works, which had long languiſhed, were reſumed with ſpirit; levies were ſet on foot; remittances made to *Milan*, in conſequence of which near eight thouſand troops arrived from that duchy, among whom were two thouſand of the beſt veterans in the ſervice of *Spain*: to this may be added other advantages equally important. The inclinations of his holineſs and the grand duke ſeemed to veer with the fortune of the republic; for now they made no ſcruple of reinforcing the *Spaniſh* fleet with a certain number of gallies, which it was believed was in-
f tended for the ſervice of *France*.

A council of war was called at *Genoa*, to determine upon the operations of the campaign; and here it was reſolved to take particular care of the defence of *Genoa* and *Savona*; the latter being neceſſary to the ſecurity of the former, and the ſucceſs of all their meaſures. It was farther agreed, that no attempt ſhould be made to recover the places the enemy had taken, ſince they muſt of courſe belong to that ſide which was maſter of the field. At the ſame time theſe circumſtances concurred to defeat the enemy's projects, they were diſappointed of the proviſions expected from *England*. The king of *France* wanted all his ſtrength to reduce the *Hugonots*; an epidemical diſeaſe carried off near half the army: beſides, the *Piedmonteſe* troops were greatly diſtreſſed, the inhabitants of *Montferrat* refuſing, on account of ſome ill uſage they had received, to ſuffer convoys to paſs through their country. His highneſs was encamped between *Gavi* and *Ottagio*, and not only cut off from proviſions, but greatly moleſted by alarms and attacks from the inhabitants, who

ſeized every opportunity of annoying him. Some quarter of the camp, or party of foragers was every day attacked; by which means the army was greatly harraſſed with being conſtantly under arms. But what diſtreſſed the duke moſt, and rendered it impoſſible for him to have his artillery, at leaſt for ſome time, was an order ſent by the ſenate to the inhabitants of *Poſeveri* to form themſelves into a ſtrong detachment, and ſeize upon five hundred bullocks, which were croſſing the ſkirts of the valley, to go to the camp for the uſe of the artillery. This order was executed with great ſpirit, the eſcort defeated, and the cattle carried off with triumph to *Genoa*. It was not poſſible for the duke to aſſemble a number of draught-horſes or bullocks ſufficient for his purpoſe, and he was reduced to the neceſſity of waiting for horſes from *France*. a

*Advantages gained by the peaſants.*

THE peaſants of *Poſeveri* were not contented with their late advantage; it had ſo elated their courage, that they determined upon ſome enterprize worthy of men. Accordingly they joined a ſmall corps of regulars, and laid ſiege to *Savignon*, in which place the duke's ſon, Don *Felix*, commanded two hundred men. Their attack was ſo ſudden and briſk, that Don *Felix* muſt have ſurrendered priſoner at diſcretion, had not the duke, on the firſt intimation of his danger, made a forced march with five hundred men to croſs the mountains, and carried him off in the night. This retreat, however, was effected with great danger, as the peaſants purſued him cloſely in the rear, and fell upon him in a defile through which he muſt neceſſarily paſs. b

HITHERTO the duke *de Feria*'s conduct had been irreſolute, through want of money, and the fear of coming to a rupture with *France*. At length the remonſtrances of the ſenate prevailed, or rather the liberal remittances they made, enabled him to take the field with a powerful army, that greatly perplexed the duke of *Savoy* and the conſtable. After *Feria* had put ſtrong garriſons in all the fortified towns, his army amounted to upwards of twenty thouſand fighting men, a force greatly ſuperior to that of the confederates, which did not exceed eight thouſand, harraſſed, ſickly, and ſtarved with hunger. Nothing was now thought of but how to retreat, and a variety of projects were formed to effect even this with ſafety; for as to the ſiege, it was abandoned as a thing impracticable. They were purſued in their march; and ſeveral ſkirmiſhes happened between the confederates and the *Spaniſh* troops, but none of any importance. c

Novi *and* Gavi *recovered.*

IN conſequence of this retreat, the *Genoeſe* recovered *Novi* and *Gavi*, with ſeveral other little places which had fallen into the enemy's hands. *La Grange* commanded in *Gavi* with a ſlender garriſon, which capitulated a few days after the *Genoeſe* appeared before the town; nor did the citadel, though ſtrong and well ſupplied with neceſſaries, make any defence, as the retreat of the confederate army rendered it impoſſible for them to expect any relief. The governor was, indeed, ſuſpected of corruption, and to have ſurrendered his truſt for a ſum of money. Accordingly he was ſent priſoner to *France*, and orders were iſſued out for trying him, when he happily died, and avoided a more ignominious end. d

*The confederate army retreats.*

*Peace concluded.*

AFTER the retreat of the confederate army, negotiations for peace were ſet on foot, which was accordingly concluded upon equal terms, matters being reſtored to the ſituation they were in at the beginning of the war [b]. e

A. D. 1627.

ABOUT two years after the peace with *France* and *Savoy*, the republic was greatly embarraſſed by a reſolution of his Catholic majeſty to leſſen the intereſt of the money he borrowed from the bank of *Genoa*, or rather ſink the capital an eighth part. *Olivarez* had done them this office, becauſe the republic had declined lending a large ſum of money, at low intereſt, upon the ſecurity of ſome very precarious funds he offered. Nothing could be more unſeaſonable than any diſpute with *Spain*, when a circumſtance happened which ſet the republic and the duke of *Savoy* at variance. Since the late peace at *Monçon*, general *Brancaccio* lodged at *Pigna*, a town under the authority of the republic, but maintaining, at its own expence, a garriſon of three companies of *German* foot. Part of this garriſon going to *Buſſo*, a little town within a mile of *Pigna*, and in its juriſdiction, found ſome *Piedmonteſe* troops quartered there, which they drove out, after leaving a great number dead on the ſpot. The duke highly reſented this act of hoſtility, and declared that he looked on the peace as infringed, and would act accordingly. The republic puniſhed the offenders; but the duke was not to be pacified, although he was ſenſible that the ſenate had no ſhare in the tranſaction. f

*An account of* Vachero, *and the plot contrived by him.*

WHILE his highneſs was contriving means to revenge himſelf on the republic, *Vachero* came to *Turin*, to propoſe to him an enterprize which would ſufficiently puniſh the *Genoeſe*. This *Vachero* was a young, ambitious, and wealthy plebeian, who, receiving ſome affronts from certain young nobility, reſolved to revenge himſelf on the whole body. He beheld with chagrin perſons of inferior wealth intitled to poſts by their quality, which were refuſed to him. His pride was viſible in the haughtineſs of his gait, and inſolence of his g

[b] MAUBLE. t. 6. l. 14.

a look; but his profuſe liberality gained him a number of adherents, and made his houſe the rendezvous of the factious, the daring, and thoſe who wiſhed for a revolution to wipe off their crimes, or their debts. Since his return from *Turin*, he redoubled his careſſes and liberality, and even found means to draw into his intereſt perſons of better morals, and leſs deſperate fortunes; to whom, however, he communicated but a part of his real deſign, which was no leſs than to extirpate the whole body of the nobility, and to get himſelf made ſovereign of *Genoa*; ſo ſhort-ſighted is ambition! Merchants, mechanics, and the meaneſt of the people, had acceſs to *Vachero*'s houſe and table; and in a ſhort time the number of the conſpirators was ſo great, and the plan ſo well laid, that *Genoa* muſt have been the ſcene of blood and confuſion in a few days, had it not pleaſed Providence to interpoſe, and
b diſcover their machinations in a manner inſcrutable by human foreſight. He had deferred the day of execution too long from a deſire to concert his meaſures ſecurely. Villainy generally overſhoots the mark, and too much precaution as frequently as too little betrays it. The duke of *Savoy* had repeatedly urged him to ſtrike the blow, which he delayed for the greater ſecurity. At length, the day was fixed for the firſt of *April*, 1628; and he had given orders to the conſpirators to aſſemble at the palace in as great numbers as poſſible, and after killing the *German* guards, to force their way into the chambers, throw the ſenators over the windows, and maſſacre all who fell in their way; aſſuring them, that they would eaſily get the government into their own hands, as there was a body of *Piedmonteſe* to ſupport them. A. D. 1628.

c THE conſpirators expected with impatience that day, to be rendered ſo deplorably memorable by ſuch a variety of murders; but it pleaſed the Divine Providence to turn the plot upon the contrivers, and make their ambition the ſcourge of their villainy. *Vachero*, for the greater ſafety, wanted to engage one *Radini*, a captain, in the conſpiracy. He invited him to his houſe with ſeveral other conſpirators, and treated him with ſuch profuſe generoſity, that *Radini* was prevailed to engage in this faction, in hopes of raiſing his fortune by performing an action ſo agreeable to his natural ſovereign the duke of *Savoy*. He took an oath to meet them next day at the palace with his company of ſoldiers; yet, upon farther thoughts, he reflected with horror on the crime he was going to commit, and thought it his duty to ſave ſuch a number of lives by the breach of an oath taken raſhly. Ac-
d cordingly he went over-night to *Luke Clavari* the duke, informed him of the whole plot, and obtained under his ſign-manual a full pardon for his offence, and the promiſe of a reward adequate to the importance of the ſervice he had done the ſtate. *Conſpiracy diſcovered.*

FILLED with horror and amazement, the duke immediately aſſembled the ſenate privately, and acquainted them of the danger of their ſituation. After ſeveral warm debates on the means of warding off the blow, it was determined to ſeize the perſons of the principal conſpirators, by entering their houſes in the moſt ſecret manner; and alſo to ſecure their magazine of arms, which buſineſs was committed to *Lommelin*. This laſt order was executed immediately, and all the arms brought to the palace without the leaſt noiſe or diſturbance; but *Barigel*, to whom the buſineſs of ſeizing on the conſpirators was en-
e truſted, betrayed the ſenate, and gave them notice of his order. He happened, indeed, to be a party in the conſpiracy, and took his meaſures ſo well, that not only himſelf, but the chief of his accomplices eſcaped before the morning. *Vachero*, *Zignato*, and *Fornari*, endeavouring to eſcape by ſea, were taken, and publicly executed. Several of the others got ſafe to *Turin*, from whence they iſſued bitter invectives againſt the government. Some time after, however, they ſuffered the juſt puniſhment of their crimes: endeavouring, with the aſſiſtance of a body of *Piedmonteſe*, to ſurpriſe *Genoa*, they were repulſed, beſieged, and burnt in a houſe, to which they retired. In this manner ended a conſpiracy which brought *Genoa* to the brink of perdition, and nearly ended in the entire extirpation of the whole body of nobility [i].

f As ſoon as the duke of *Savoy* was informed that *Vachero* was priſoner, and the conſpiracy diſcovered, he omitted nothing to ſave the lives of that criminal and his accomplices. He declared himſelf to be the author of the whole, in order to revenge the affair of *Buſſo*: he inſiſted that the priſoners ought to enjoy the benefit of the amneſty paſſed after the late peace, though nothing could be more abſurd than the arguments alleged; and he found means to engage the governor of *Milan*, and the marquis *de Croix*, in his ſuit. He even ordered the *Genoeſe*, taken at the battle of *Ottagio*, and permitted on their parole the freedom of the city, to be ſhut up in priſon, threatening to make their lives anſwer whatever ſhould be done to the conſpirators. There were, indeed, ſome circumſtances with reſpect to the *Genoeſe* priſoners, which gave a colour of juſtice to this proceeding, and greatly
g embarraſſed the republic and the court of *Spain*. The ſenate reſolved, however, to run all riſks, and even hazard the conſequences of a war, unſupported by *Spain*, rather than pardon

[i] CHEVAL. MAUBLE. l. 11.

ſo

Vachero *put to death.*

ſo groſs a violation of the laws of nature and ſociety. *Vachero* was not only ignominiouſly put to death, but his houſe razed to the ground, and a column, with an inſcription ſetting forth his crimes, erected on the ſpot (A). a

THE ſenate tried *Vachero*; but a court called the *Burning Chamber* was eſtabliſhed for the trial of the other conſpirators. The power, however, of this tribunal was limited in ſuch a manner that it could not condemn to death, until the evidence was firſt reported to the ſenate. When the duke of *Savoy* was informed of the death of *Vachero*, and the inquiſition erected for the trial of his accomplices, in the firſt tranſport of paſſion, he gave orders that four of the principal *Genoeſe* priſoners ſhould be puniſhed in the ſame manner; but his choler ſubſiding, he liſtened to the admonitions of his miniſters, who repreſented the inhumanity of ſacrificing innocent lives, and revoked his rigorous orders. The *Spaniſh* miniſtry b expreſſed great reſentment likewiſe at the little regard paid to the interceſſion of his Catholic majeſty; and the governor of *Milan* ſet at liberty ſeveral of the conſpirators arreſted in that city at the requeſt of the ſenate. But matters went no farther; the king of *Spain* was too cloſely connected with the republic in pecuniary matters and in trade, to ſuffer a diſpute of this nature to interfere with his intereſt.

*CHARLES EMANUEL*, duke of *Savoy*, dying in 1631, his ſon *Victor Amadeus* intreated his Catholic majeſty to terminate, by his mediation, his diſputes with the republic; which was done by a treaty ſigned at *Madrid* by the ambaſſadors of *Genoa* and *Turin*. By this treaty it was agreed, they ſhould mutually reſtore the towns, cannon, and priſoners, taken from each other ſince the commencement of the war: that the property of *Zuccarel* remain c in the republic, on payment of ſixteen thouſand crowns to the duke, at four inſtallments: that a general amneſty be granted to the ſubjects of either ſide who ſerved againſt their country; in which article were included the conſpirators, who were reſtored to their former eſtates and privileges. Both parties exclaimed againſt this article; the *Genoeſe* thinking it a groſs inſult on the republic, that traitors ſhould be comprehended in a treaty of peace; and the duke complaining that moſt of the conſpirators were already put to death, and only a few now alive to receive the benefit of the amneſty. To compenſate this loſs, he inſiſted on the full reſtitution of his gallies; that his cannon ſhould be ſent to *Gavi*, together with ſeveral other points, which were at laſt compromiſed, on condition that only priſoners of war be included in the general pardon.

THUS was peace at length concluded with *Savoy*, after a long and troubleſome war, d which had coſt the republic not leſs than eight millions, if we include the fortifications erected between fort *Maurice* and *Savona*, together with the new walls extending from the *Lanthorn* fort to the valley of *Biſagno*, great part of which were over mountains, and cut in the ſolid rock (B).

*Plague in* Genoa.

*GENOA* was no ſooner eaſed from the calamities of war, than it was afflicted with the ſtill more dreadful conſequences of peſtilence: however, by the excellent regulations of the ſenate, a ſtop was put to its progreſs, and the plague was intirely confined to the city, in which it did no conſiderable damage.

IN the year 1636, the *Spaniards* attempted to ſurpriſe the city; but notice of the plot e being given to the ſenate, by the republics of *Venice* and *Florence*, meaſures were taken to fruſtrate it. Accordingly the *Spaniſh* admiral was refuſed leave to enter the harbour, the fortifications were diligently inſpected, twenty-four companies of foot put under arms, and *Charles Doria*, who was ſuſpected to be privy to the deſign, arreſted with his whole family at *Savona*. The *Spaniards* diſappointed at ſeeing ſuch preparations, abandoned the enterprize, and the affair was dropt without any conſequences to affect the repoſe of the republic. From this time till the year 1656, *Genoa* enjoyed all the bleſſings of peace and commerce. On that year the city was moleſted with two evils, each of them calamitous, and

(A) *Vachero*, to avoid the ſhame of public puniſhment, endeavoured to put an end to his own life; and ſome writers ſay, that he was executed in priſon, to prevent his being reſcued by the mob: but it is agreed, that all his accomplices ended their lives on gibbets erected in the moſt conſpicuous places, with great firmneſs, and a conſtancy worthy of a better cauſe. His wife was put to the queſtion; but neither the intreaties of her friends, or the moſt exquiſite tortures, could prevail on her to diſcover any thing to the prejudice of her husband, whom, ſhe ſaid, it was her duty to honour and ſerve faithfully with all his faults.

(B) In the following inſcription, over one of the gates, the reader will find the length of this wall, the depth of the ditches, and other particulars of this prodigious work.

*Quartum murorum ambitum*
*Aggeribus, foſſa, propugnaculis*
*vallatum, ſtadiis* LXII. *per*
*juga montium, per ima*
*vallium, per maritimum littus*
*adductum*
Genuienſium *reſpublica*
*Libertatis munimentum excitavit.*
*Cœptum opus Anno* MDCXXX.
*Perfectum* XXXIII.

Several other inſcriptions were likewiſe placed in conſpicuous places to perpetuate the memory of this immenſe work (1).

(1) *Vid. Mailly. Hiſt. Gen. t.* 3. *l.* 14.

deſtructive

a deſtructive of her happineſs. A dreadful plague reigned within the walls, and the corſairs were grown ſo powerful in the *Mediterranean*, that the trade of the republic was almoſt wholly deſtroyed. All inland traffic was likewiſe ſtopped up by the plague; ſo that the city was reduced to extreme diſtreſs. To remedy theſe evils, every poſſible precaution was taken to check the progreſs of the peſtilence, and a powerful fleet equipped againſt the *Moors*. On this occaſion, *Hippolito Centurioni*, the *Genoeſe* admiral, diſtinguiſhed himſelf in an extraordinary manner. Being ſeparated from the fleet in a hard gale, he fell in with four ſtout corſairs, who attacked him with great fury. The engagement was unequal in force; but *Centurioni* compenſated the want of numbers by ſkill and intrepidity: though raked on every ſide, and often boarded, he plyed his cannon and ſmall arms with ſuch
b dexterity, that the enemy were conſtrained to ſheer off in a very ſhattered condition. This was the only action that happened; for the plague raging with unrelenting violence on board the reſt of the fleet, the admiral put into port, and the ſhips were laid up.

*War with the corſairs of* Barbary.

Next year the fleet put again to ſea; but were ſoon obliged to return, the plague having carried off near three hundred ſeamen in the ſpace of a week. *Centurioni*, however, with two gallies kept the ſea, and gained ſeveral advantages over the corſairs, taking ſome of their ſhips, and putting all to the ſword who fell into his hands; a ſeverity which ſomewhat checked their inſolence, and paved the way for a treaty of commerce concluded with the piratical ſtates, and Grand Seignior, on the following year. The treaty with the *Porte* was conſiderably extended by the marquis *Durazzo*, who went in quality of ambaſſador to
c *Conſtantinople* in the year 1666. The particulars were mutually advantageous, and ſuch as renewed the vigour of the *Genoeſe* trade to a pitch beyond what any of the maritime towns experienced, ſince the *Dutch* had founded their commercial republic, and extended their trade not only to the *Levant*, but to every quarter of the globe.

A. D. 1657.

For ſome years *Genoa* lived in peace with all the neighbouring powers, enjoyed domeſtic harmony, and aſſiduouſly cultivated commerce, and whatever could render the republic powerful and happy. Some little jealouſies and differences aroſe between her and *Venice*, the ſiſter and rival republic; but they were ſuch as terminated amicably, and never gave any diſturbance to the repoſe of *Italy*. Towards the year 1670, the duke of *Savoy* began
d to renew his claim to ſome of the dependent territories of *Genoa*, at the perſuaſion of *Raphael de la Torré*, a young turbulent ambitious man, ſon to *Torré*, a celebrated civilian of that age. This gentleman was bred at *Florence*, and afterwards made page to the grand duke. Tired of this employment, he returned to his own country, where he confirmed every bad habit contracted at a wealthy and luxurious court. He afterwards made the tour of *Italy*, rather to cull vices than to improve his manners; and in coming back, indulged himſelf in the moſt profuſe and criminal diſſipation, to the ruin of his fortune, which he ſought means to repair at the expence of his country, and of his honour. How groſs ſoever his vices were, he had his imitators and adherents; and he linked himſelf in ſtrict ſociety with perſons of his own diſpoſition, who flattered his paſſions, and cajoled his vices, while
e his fortune was able to ſupport their own. As his genius was lively, and imagination fertile in the worſt of artifices and calumnies, he profited himſelf of that talent. In a word, ſo eaſily did he extricate himſelf out of all difficulties into which his vices led him, that he was grown daring in the moſt enormous crimes, and inſolent in actions, which would have procured other men a gibbet. A laſt, a robbery on the high ſeas, which he committed, obliged him to fly *Genoa*; upon which he repaired to the court of *Turin*, and inſinuated himſelf into ſo much favour, that he obtained offices, which aſtoniſhed all thoſe who were acquainted with his character. Raiſed to the command of a company of cuiraſſiers, he immediately turned his thoughts to revenge the injury done to his reputation, in paſſing upon him a ſentence which he richly merited; for he was condemned to death at *Genoa*.

*Account of La* Torré *and the conſpiracy he formed againſt* Genoa.

f Determined to render his exile fatal to his native country, he firſt fell upon the meaneſt ſtratagems to execute the dictates of that inveterate grudge he bore to the city which gave him birth. The houſe of *Cæſar Durazzo* was burnt to the ground, and there was the ſtrongeſt preſumptions that *Torré* was the incendiary; for *Durazzo*, in quality of perpetual governor of the city, had paſſed ſentence on him. But not contented with a private revenge; he propoſed nothing leſs than the conqueſt of *Genoa*, and the ruin of the commonwealth, a plan for which he drew up and communicated to the young marquis *Livorno*, who was diſſuaded from preſenting it to the duke of *Savoy* by the marquis *de Pianezza*, his father, who had long governed *Savoy* in quality of prime miniſter, and now, though retired from buſineſs, was conſulted by all the princes of *Italy* as an oracle. *La Torré*, however, was ſo
g preſſing in his inſtances with the young marquis, that he at length procured him an audience of the duke. He found his highneſs's ſentiments favourable to his deſign, and the project was embraced, contrary to the ſentiments of the marquis *Pianezza*, who gave in ſeveral remonſtrances

remonſtrances againſt embracing a ſcheme planned by the diſguſt and revenge of a wrong headed refugee. a

RAVISHED with joy at ſeeing his deſigns ſucceed ſo happily, *La Torré* indulged himſelf, like another *Cataline*, in the pleaſing proſpect of reducing the ſenate under his power, oppreſſing his enemies, pillaging the rich treaſures of St. *George*, and trampling on the liberties of his country. His mind, filled with revenge, rioted in imagination upon all the cruelties he ſhould be able to commit: he beheaded, proſcribed, oppreſſed, and ruined whole families, at pleaſure, glutting his fancy with the enchanting ſatisfaction of committing every vice, which a corrupted heart and fruitful head could invent.

BEING now protected by the duke's countenance, he began to commence hoſtilities, raiſing a gang of deſperadoes, to rob, plunder, and ſpoil his country: but theſe incurſions neither ſatiating his reſentment, his ambition, or his avarice, he reſolved to collect as ſtrong a band as he could, with which he formed a plan to ſurpriſe *Savona* in the night, than which nothing could be more romantic and wild, ſuppreſſing every circumſtance dictated by prudence, and cheriſhing only thoſe inſpired by his ſanguine expectations. The duke was flattered by his minions in whatever could gratify his ambition: he did not perceive the abſurdity of *La Torré*'s project, becauſe he examined it only with the eye of paſſion and hope; for had he once applied to his reaſon, he could not fail of perceiving the futility, the weakneſs of the meaſure concerted by that rancorous exile. War with the republic was abſolutely determined upon; and count *Catalan Alfieri*, an officer of approved valour, was ordered to advance to *Ceva* with three thouſand foot and one thouſand horſe. They arrived here on the twenty-fourth of *June*, and then took the road to *Savona* in the night, with the utmoſt ſilence, attended only with petards, the artillery being unneceſſary, as a coup de main and ſurprize were intended. *Alfieri*, however, falling ill, the command devolved on the marquis *Livorno*, general of the cavalry. b c

*March of the Piedmonteſe army.*

THE ſenate had been advertiſed of the march of the *Piedmonteſe* army; but as it was in time of full peace, they doubted not but their intention was to go to work on ſome fortifications: however, when certain intelligence arrived of their approaching *Savona*, all were thrown into conſternation; but ſtill they could not perſuade themſelves that a young wild ſpendthrift, like *La Torré*, could have formed a plan ſo bold, or acquired influence enough at the court of *Turin* to have it embraced, notwithſtanding they were informed of his ſecret practices. The confuſion and terror in the capital was augmented by advices that certain companies, ſent to defend the paſſes, were beaten by the enemy. This intelligence, however, proved falſe; for *Jerome Spinola*, governor of *Savona*, in order to ſtrengthen theſe poſts and his own garriſon, had aſſembled the militia of the country, fortified the paſſes, and taken every neceſſary meaſure of defence. Some days after, a letter of the marquis *Livorno* was intercepted, whence it appeared that he had correſpondents in *Genoa* and *Savona*. A *Piedmonteſe* prieſt, who acted as a ſpy, was taken up; but he found means to eſcape the puniſhment he deſerved. d

WHATEVER precautions *Spinola* had taken for the ſecurity of *Savona*, the capital could oppoſe no more than a garriſon of three thouſand men, moſtly undiſciplined, to the regular numerous army of *Savoy*. Levies were ordered to be made, and the principal nobility took upon themſelves the charge of defending the moſt important poſts round the city. *Marc Doria* was ſent with two hundred *Corſicans* to *Chiavari*, to ſuppreſs ſome commotions in that place in favour of *La Torré*. Indeed the *Corſicans* exerted a laudable ſpirit on this occaſion, for the ſupport of the government. The nobility of the iſland raiſed companies at their own expence, which they ſent over to *Genoa*, under the conduct of their ſons, brothers, or cadets of their families. e

To theſe preparations the ſenate added others of no leſs conſequence. Commiſſaries were ſent to the valley of *Poſeveri*, to raiſe the peaſants of the valley and neighbouring mountains; ſome ſtout men of war were equipped, the number of gallies augmented, which immediately ſailed for the protection of the maritime towns. All the nobility, and ſome of the citizens, raiſed men at their own expence; and prince *John Andrea Doria*, then a youth, diſtinguiſhed his patriotiſm in a very extraordinary manner, offering his perſon, his fortune, and all his influence, for the ſervice of his country. His example drew forth the generoſity of the reſt of the nobility; and ſo liberal were their donations, that in the ſpace of a few days the ſum of three millions of livres was raiſed for the public uſe, and about ſix thouſand foot for the defence of the city. Even the women, in ſpite of the natural weakneſs of their ſex, were highly ſerviceable to the government, contributing their jewels and ornaments for the protection of liberty, and the expences of ſo juſt a war. f

IN the mean time, the *Piedmonteſe* army, which had reſted for ſome days at *Ottari*, renewed their march; but, as if the elements had conſpired againſt them, they had ſcare advanced g

a vanced two miles, when a moſt dreadful ſtorm of thunder, lightning, and rain, fell with ſuch violence as greatly frightened and diſcompoſed them. This incident, and intelligence of the preparations made by the *Genoeſe*, induced the marquis *Livorno* to alter his purpoſe, and inſtead of beſieging *Savona*, to march his troops towards *Salicet*. Soon after the arrival of the army here, the marquis *Catalan*, ſomewhat recovered from his illneſs, joined the army, and determined to lay ſiege to *Pavia*. His march was rapid, and the conſternation of the inhabitants of this place proportioned to the ſuddenneſs of the ſtroke. Their courage failed them, and the town was ſurrendered on the firſt ſummons. Here it was that the marquis publiſhed ſeveral manifeſtoes, declaring the duke of *Savoy*'s motives for ſeizing upon *Pavia*, which, he ſaid, was rather to ſecure his own poſſeſſions againſt the in- Pavia *taken.*
b curſions of the *Genoeſe* peaſants, than to augment his dominions by unjuſt conqueſts. To theſe manifeſtoes the republic made ſeveral ſpirited replies, which were ſent to the *Genoeſe* ambaſſadors at the ſeveral courts of *Europe*.

At this time, the duke *d'Oſſona* was governor of *Milan*, a man whoſe intereſt the ſenate knew to be very conſiderable at the court of *Madrid*. It was their buſineſs, therefore, to prevent the duke's falling in with the meaſures of *Savoy*, which would throw the weight of *Spain* in that ſcale, and make it greatly preponderate. Upon this conſideration, the marquis *Francis Maria Balbi* was ſent to *Milan*, to gain over the duke; and a more fit ambaſſador could not be choſen, both for his illuſtrious rank, and lively engaging addreſs. Notwithſtanding, however, all his arts and remonſtrances, the duke *d'Oſſona*'s reply was ex-
c tremely equivocal, and couched in ſuch terms as gave the ſenate uneaſineſs, although it did not damp their ſpirit. Upon the departure of *Balbi*, he publiſhed an edict ſtrictly prohibiting all the ſubjects of his catholic majeſty from enliſting in the ſervice of any foreigners; which was the moſt poſitive refuſal of the ſenate's requeſt, that he would ſend them ſuccours. But to preſerve the appearance of neutrality, he made loud complaints againſt the duke of *Savoy*, particularly of the march of his army through the catholic king's dominions without permiſſion; and of the little diſcipline maintained among his troops, by which his majeſty's ſubjects ſuſtained ſeveral groſs indignities and flagrant injuries.

The *Genoeſe* ſenate were no ſtrangers to the duke *d'Oſſona*'s real ſentiments; but as he did not declare againſt the republic, they were ſatisfied, and took the moſt vigorous ſteps for
d defeating the deſigns formed by the court of *Turin*. Receiving advice that the enemy were fortifying *Pavia*, they put all the neighbouring places in a ſtate of defence. What moſt embarraſſed the magiſtrates and generals of the republic, was the terror which had laid hold of the minds of the people, particularly the peaſants, before they had ſet eyes on the enemy. Every perſon who could afford freight, was preparing to move off to ſome foreign country with his family and effects. As nothing could be more pernicious to the public, the ſenate reſolved to put a ſtop to this practice by the moſt ſevere edicts; which, however, proved inſufficient, till the country was put in ſuch a poſture of defence, as bid defiance to all the power of *Savoy*.

What contributed to the ſecurity of the republic more than all her endeavours, was the *Great diſor-*
e diſorder that reigned in the enemy's camp. The marquis *de Catalan* received at *Pavia* a *der in the* Piedmonteſe *camp.* reinforcement of five hundred foot ſent from *Mondovi*. On their arrival they were ſo fatigued and jaded with their march over deſert rugged mountains, as to be unfit for ſervice, and ſo badly diſciplined, that they abandoned themſelves to every kind of licentiouſneſs, ruining by their example the reſt of the army. The indulgence of their officers encreaſed their abandoned inſolence, and ſet them on committing the moſt flagrant thefts and robberies with impunity. *Catalan* exerted all his influence to reſtrain them; he cajoled, harangued, and puniſhed them to no purpoſe. The duke of *Savoy* had particularly enjoined him to treat his new ſubjects of *Pavia* with the utmoſt indulgence, the ſooner to conciliate their affections. *Catalan* endeavoured to obey his orders; but all was fruſtrated by the turbulent
f mutinous ſpirit which daily encreaſed among the ſoldiery. Daily complaints againſt the army were lodged by the inhabitants; the general puniſhed without remedying the diſorders, and his ſeverity produced no other effect than deſertion, which became ſo general, that two hundred frequently went off in a day to the *Genoeſe*, and incorporated themſelves in the troops of the republic.

On the other hand, the *Pavians*, not able to endure the inſolence of thoſe who remained, began firſt with attacking all ſtrollers, whom they ſacrificed without mercy: next, they proceeded to more open defiance, and expreſſed their reſentment by forming a kind of regular army, with which they attacked the works erecting by the *Piedmonteſe*, and attempted to cut off the communication between the infantry and cavalry. Several ſkirmiſhes paſſed,
g and numbers were ſlain on both ſides; but the *Piedmonteſe* were generally worſted.

In this ſituation were affairs, when the duke of *Savoy* ſent D. *Gabriel* of *Savoy*, with a ſtrong reinforcement, to take the command of the army, reſtore diſcipline, and puſh the war

war againſt the republic with all poſſible vigour. This prince made ſuch diſpatch, that he arrived on the eighth of *July* at *Pavia*, and found the troops greatly diminiſhed by deſertion and ſkirmiſhes with the enemy; the generals at variance; all diſcipline neglected; and the whole in a ſtate of confuſion: however, inſtead of applying remedies to evils of ſo dangerous conſequence, the prince contented himſelf with making replies to the manifeſtoes publiſhed by the republic, in which he ſhewed the quibble of a ſchoolman rather than the talents of a politician. a

WHILE the *Piedmonteſe* generals were thus making war among themſelves, the republic neglected nothing which could forward their affairs, during this relaxation from hoſtilities. The ſenate well knew, that gaining time was of the utmoſt importance to the defenſive ſide; they abſtained, for this reaſon, from every meaſure which could rouſe and irritate the enemy, contenting themſelves with completing their levies, fortifications, and magazines. The prince of *Piedmont* repaired to court to receive freſh inſtructions, leaving *Catalan* in the utmoſt perplexity how to act. Of this the *Genoeſe* made their advantage; and ſo harraſſed him with perpetual attacks on his foragers and convoys, that he reſolved to leave *Pavia*, after razing the fortifications, and at length enter upon ſome action, which would ſilence the reproaches of his enemies, eſpecially of the marquis *Livorno*, who was his rival in command and glory. He was ſenſible of beginning the campaign under great diſadvantages, when all the paſſes were ſtrongly fortified, and the enemy in a poſture of defence: however, regard to his own reputation, and the inſtructions of his court, obliged him to put the army in motion, to keep up the credit of the *Piedmonteſe* arms. After receiving a reinforcement of ten thouſand foot and one thouſand horſe, he begun with attempting to open the paſſes, and chiefly thoſe which led from *Pavia* to *Ormea*; and the *Genoeſe* officers uſed all their diligence to fruſtrate his meaſures. *Reſtori*, a *Corſican* officer, taking the command of all his countrymen, who kept up perpetual ſkirmiſhes with the *Piedmonteſe:* at laſt he came to a more general action, in which he muſt have ſunk under numbers, had he not been ſeaſonably ſupported by *Gentile*, a *Genoeſe* general, who maintained the battle upon an equal footing, till the enemy again gained the ſuperiority by the arrival of the marquis *Livorno*. After this *Reſtori* drew off his troops in good order; but left the enemy in poſſeſſion of the out-poſts of *Pavia*, and the bridge of St. *Anthony*, from the firſt of which he wanted to diſlodge them. b c *A battle between the two armies.* d

THE advantage gained by the *Piedmonteſe* on this occaſion did not prevent the *Corſican* general from harraſſing *Catalan*'s out-guards, and cutting off his convoys in ſuch a manner as greatly diſtreſſed him. This rendered it neceſſary once more to ſend the prince *Gabriel* to the army, accompanied by the regiment of *Piedmont*, and a great number of volunteers. This junction no ſooner took place, than the army was divided into two columns, the prince with the ſtronger marching towards *Oneille*, to prevent the *Genoeſe* gallies from ſeizing on that important place: In his way he ſummoned the ſlight fortreſs of *Deano*, garriſoned by a handful of militia, and fifty *Corſicans*, to ſurrender, threatening to give no quarter ſhould the governor refuſe to comply; but that brave officer returned an anſwer, that he would defend his charge with the laſt drop of his blood. This reply he faithfully adhered to, and, by his vigorous defence, obliged the prince to abandon the ſiege. In his retreat he was attacked by *Reſtori* and his *Corſicans* with great intrepidity. For ſome time the *Piedmonteſe* ſtood their ground; but the fury of the *Corſicans* at length broke and defeated them with the loſs of ſixty officers, killed, wounded, and taken priſoners. After this, his highneſs was ſtill more unfortunate; for taking the road of *Tatico*, near *Stuknello*, he found the poſt ſo ſtrongly guarded, that, without hopes of paſſing it, he was attacked in front, flanks, and rear, by the *Corſicans*. Theſe brave iſlanders, without regard to diſcipline, fell on with ſuch impetuoſity, that the *Piedmonteſe* were totally diſcomfited, and were ſaved from deſtruction only by a ſtrong reinforcement, which fortunately joined them from *Catalan*. It is true, the *Corſicans* likewiſe received conſtant ſupplies of freſh troops from the gallies; but their bravery, and not their numbers, it was that obtained the victory, and forced prince *Gabriel* to ſkreen himſelf under the habit of a prieſt, by which he eſcaped being made priſoner. e *The* Genoeſe *gain ſeveral advantages.* f

As for *Catanella*, his meaſures were more prudently taken, and the iſſue more fortunate. His deſign was to attack *Roccabarbena*; and, to prevent the enemy's penetrating his views, or incommoding his march, he divided his army into three bodies, each of which had orders to march to the place appointed by different roads. The ſcheme ſucceeded; he appeared before the town without moleſtation, and obtained poſſeſſion of it after an hour's cannonading, notwithſtanding the garriſon was ſufficiently ſtrong to have made a long defence. Such was the ſhameful panic which ſeized the *Genoeſe* troops, that they fled at a poſtern-gate, leaving their arms behind, to prevent their being encumbered in their flight. The ſame ſucceſs attended this general before *Zuccarel*, a place of ſlight defence, and ruinous g

walls,

a walls, but garriſoned by *Piedmonteſe* deſerters, who, expecting no quarter, made deſperate efforts to prevent their falling into the hands of thoſe who would not fail to puniſh their perfidy.

WHILE *Catanella* remained at *Zuccarel*, he was joined by *Carlo Emilio de Parella*, an officer of fire and ſpirit, who was diſpleaſed with the cautious conduct of the general, and preſſed him to vigorous meaſures, contrary to prudence. *Catanella*, fearing his reputation might ſuſtain ſome prejudice from the miſrepreſentations of *Parella*, advanced towards *Albengna*, and ſent to requeſt prince *Gabriel* to join him there. But the prince's circumſtances would not permit it, the roads being infeſted with bands of *Corſicans*, and himſelf wholly engaged in preparations for recovering *Villa Nova*, which the *Genoeſe* had lately
b taken. The marquis *Livorno*, indeed, offered to conduct the army to *Albengna*, and the prince yielded to his remonſtrances: but the iſſue had near proved fatal; for the *Corſicans* attacked them in the narrow paſſes, rendered it impoſſible to advance, and almoſt cut off a retreat. *Catanella*, on the other hand, finding himſelf too weak to attempt any thing with his own corps, and the prince unable to alter his ſituation, made ſeveral puſhes to unite the whole *Piedmonteſe* army; but this the *Genoeſe* and *Corſicans* fruſtrated by their diligence.

WHEN *Catalan* perceived the *Genoeſe* forces daily augment, himſelf cut off from the reſt of the army, forage, proviſion, and ammunition failing, and the ſoldiers murmuring, concluding that the campaign muſt end in his ruin, if he kept the open field, he reſolved to retreat among ſome inacceſſible rocks and mountains in the neighbourhood of *Zuccarel*;
c and in that ſituation wait till fortune ſhould favour the endeavours of the prince to join him. The great irreſolution which appeared in all his motions, indeed, perſuaded the prince, and even *Catalan*'s own officers that he never had any ſerious thoughts of effecting a junction; becauſe they imagined this might have been done by force, had he pleaſed. Exceſs of prudence ſometimes paſſes for folly; *Catalan*'s conduct was not without ſolid reaſons to excuſe it. He had left behind his baggage under a ſlight guard, which his ſon commanded, in the neighbourhood of *Albengna*. Had he removed at any conſiderable diſtance, the *Genoeſe* garriſon in that town would be more than ſufficient to beat his ſon, and take all his baggage, which it was impoſſible to carry acroſs the mountains. It was this
d that induced him to chuſe a ſtrong encampment to wait for the prince, who was now reduced to great ſtraits by the junction of the *Genoeſe* forces, and the nature of their diſpoſition, which rendered it next to impracticable for him to hold any communication with *Catanella*. On the other hand, this officer, greatly ſtraitened for proviſions in his preſent encampment, was deſirous of cantoning his army in *Caſtel Vecchio*, *Erli*, and *Gereſſio*, which was a matter of difficulty, on account of the barren mountains he muſt neceſſarily croſs, and the variety of parties with which the *Genoeſe* blocked up all the paſſes. Neceſſity, however, obliged him to make the experiment; and, after a fatiguing march, the van-guard arrived at *Gereſſio* when the rear was attacked by the *Genoeſe*. The *Piedmonteſe* army had marched in two columns, which were now ſeparated by a long wall that encloſes one ſide of *Elri*, and it was neceſſary to open a breach here before the corps could aſſiſt
e each other. In the mean time the rear of the army was put in confuſion, and the bridge at *Elri* ſeized, to prevent *Catalan*'s throwing himſelf into *Gereſſio*, which was the only paſs by which he could procure ſubſiſtence for the troops. The marquis *de Livorno*, who commanded the rear of the ſecond column, was entirely defeated; the marquis *Careto*, third in command, ſlain; together with a great number of ſoldiers and volunteers, which obliged *Catanella* to make the beſt of his way with his ſcattered forces to *Caſtel-Vecchio*, a place neither fortified, nor capable of ſupplying him with proviſions. *Parella*, with a body of volunteers, ſeized upon a church and a ſmall fort in the neighbourhood; and the regiments of *Montferrat* and *Piedmont* gained the paſſes of *Gereſſio* and *Zuccarel*.

*Catalan's retreat.*

*CASTEL-VECCHIO* was of all places the moſt unfit to ſuſtain a ſiege, yet *Catanella* was
f reduced to this neceſſity. On the third of *Auguſt*, *Reſtori* with his *Corſicans* inveſted the place, while *Gentilé*, with the *Genoeſe* under his command, ſurrounded *Parella*. *Reſtori*'s firſt meaſure was to deprive the beſieged of water, for which he knew they muſt be pinched in a few days. The exceſſive heat of the weather effectually anſwered his purpoſe, and reduced the *Piedmonteſe*, in the ſpace of two days, to the moſt deplorable neceſſity; nor was there any method of removing it, but by forcing the lines which the *Corſicans* had drawn, and their triple retrenchments defended with cannon. Water was ſold at an enormous price, and the ſoldiers fell down dead with thirſt; upon which *Catalan* determined to break his way through ſword in hand. The efforts he made were, indeed, glorious, though unhappy: by moon-light he ſallied forth at the head of his men, forced one line after another, and filled them with ſlaughter. The *Genoeſe* and *Corſicans* behaved with the utmoſt intrepidity; but the confuſion which happened in the night, rendered it impoſſible to diſtinguiſh friends from foes, by which means *Catanella*, *Livorno*, and a few other officers and ſoldiers, made their eſcape, all the reſt being killed or taken priſoners. *Parella*, with the whole

A. D. 1672.

*His army cut off.*

force under his command, was forced to ſurrender at diſcretion; and thus the whole *Piedmonteſe* army was almoſt totally ruined in one campaign. a

IT was the misfortune of the *Genoeſe*, either to be ignorant of the means of purſuing their victory, or at leaſt to neglect them. It is a maxim in war never to lay aſide arms till the conquered are under the neceſſity of ſuing for peace. Had the republic attended to this, and carried the war into the enemy's country, the duke of *Savoy* would have been compelled to grant any terms; but the ſenate contented itſelf with repulſing the danger with which the ſtate was threatened, without a thought of purſuing their good fortune. Inſtead of this, their inactivity animated the duke of *Savoy* to retrieve his affairs by the moſt vigorous meaſures, at a time when all the world expected to ſee the victorious *Genoeſe* army carrying ſlaughter and devaſtation to the walls of *Turin*. *Clement* the ninth interpoſed b his mediation to reconcile the parties; but the duke's levies being in great forwardneſs, and ſtrong reaſons, furniſhed by the conduct of the *Genoeſe*, to ſuppoſe thoſe republicans better acquainted with the means of obtaining, than of uſing victory, induced his highneſs to reject all pacific propoſitions. This, however, he did in ſuch a manner, as to amuſe the nuncio, and lull the republic into ſecurity, while he was preparing to deſtroy the very being of the commonwealth. Reſolving to purſue the war with all his forces, and the allies he could make, he diſpatched ambaſſadors to the duke of *Bavaria*, his brother-in-law, to the dukes of *Parma* and *Mantua*, and to *Lewis* the fourteenth for aſſiſtance. From this monarch he had great hopes of powerful ſuccours, as the anſwer of *Lewis* appeared favourable, when he was addreſſed to this purpoſe at the commencement of the war. c

AT laſt, the ſenate penetrated the duke's intentions, and, after ſuffering themſelves to be amuſed a long time, ordered their armies to take the field. That under *Prato* undertook the ſiege of *Oneille*, the capital of a ſmall principality of that name belonging to *Savoy*, and obliged the garriſon to ſurrender upon honourable conditions (C). The reduction of this city was followed by that of *Corio*, *Aprico*, *St. Sebaſtian*, *St. Peter*, *Bergo de Marro*, *Condeſco*, and ſeveral other places that ſent deputies to *Prato*, offering their ſubmiſſion. He then pitched his camp under the walls of *Oneille*, in a ſtrong ſituation, where he could neither be forced or ſtraitened. This ſeaſonable motion prevented the *French* fleet, which appeared on the coaſt, from attempting any thing contrary to the intereſt of the republic; for their firſt intention was to have raiſed the ſiege of *Oneille*, and to retake it. d

*Several towns yield to the Genoeſe.*

*Progreſs of the war.*

THE *Genoeſe*, who had now ten thouſand men in the enemy's country, formed two flying camps under *Reſtori* and *Frediani*. *Reſtori* marched with ſix thouſand men, chiefly *Corſicans*, acroſs the mountains, to form the attack of *Briga*, an important place in the neighbourhood of *Ventimiglia*. On his firſt motion, the peaſants aſſembled to defend the paſs called *Notre Dame*, within a mile of *Briga*; but they were ſoon diſlodged, and *Briga* forced to ſurrender on the firſt aſſault.

*FRANCIS MARIA SPINOLA CETO*, who commanded the army of *St. Remo*, was leſs fortunate in the ſiege of *Perinaldo*, a large town belonging to the duke of *Savoy*. After firing the works in the ſuburbs, he applied petards to the gates, and ſcaling-ladders to the walls; but was obliged to retire with precipitation, the beſieged having almoſt covered his e men with great ſtones and flaming combuſtibles. He was afterwards joined by *Frediani*, and both generals reſumed the ſiege with more alacrity and ſucceſs, the governor having ſurrendered at diſcretion after a ſhort attack.

THIS was not the only ſubject of affliction to the duke of *Savoy*; another of more conſequence occurred about this time. The *Spaniſh* gallies, commanded by the duke *de Turſis*, entering the port of *Genoa*, acted in concert with the *Genoeſe* admiral, in carrying ſtores, ammunition, and men, to all the maritime towns, which was a direct declaration of his Catholic majeſty's good will to the republic. His highneſs gave immediate inſtructions to his ambaſſador at *Madrid*, to complain to his majeſty of this breach of his profeſſed neutrality, hoping to obtain an order to recal *Turſis*; or, in caſe of refuſal, to make *Lewis* the f fourteenth declare himſelf againſt the republic: but he applied himſelf chiefly to work on the paſſions of the latter, and ſucceeded ſo happily, that his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, agreeable to the maxims eſtabliſhed in *Italy* of aſſiſting the weaker ſide, ordered the marquis *de Vivonne*, with a ſtrong ſquadron, to watch the motions of the *Genoeſe* fleet, and treat them as enemies, in caſe the republic refuſed liſtening to a reaſonable accommodation, and the mediation of the *French* envoy.

IT is certain that the republic had always been inclined to peace, and prolonged the war for no other reaſon than becauſe the enemy would not grant ſuch terms as the ſucceſs of

(C) According to *Mailly*, *Oneille* was beſieged by general *Duraxzo*, and taken ſome months after *Prato* had put his corps in motion (1). It muſt therefore have been the town of *Azzo*, which, on this occaſion, ſurrendered to *Prato*.

(1) *L.* 16.

the

a the *Genoeſe* arms deſerved. On the contrary, the duke of *Savoy* was making the greateſt preparations for attacking the *Genoeſe* territories on the ſide of *Lombardy*, where the country was more open, and his cavalry at liberty to act. A powerful army was ſet in motion with orders to attack the enemy in four different quarters, *viz.* by the paſs of *Nova*, the mountain of *Airolo*, behind *Pavia*, the paſs of *Erli*, and by the mountain *Juſtinian*, near *Torrano*. In their march they were attacked by the *Genoeſe*, and great numbers of them ſlain in the defiles. But the ill ſucceſs of this ſkirmiſh did not prevent the *Piedmonteſe* from forcing the paſs of *Nova* and *Erli*; after which they burnt ſeveral *Genoeſe* tents pitched in form of a ſmall camp. The marquis *St. Damien*, with three thouſand regulars, and a great army of peaſants, laid all the *Genoeſe* villages in aſhes, and put the inhabitants
b to the ſword; after which he retook *Rinaldo*, and ſome other places of leſs importance. He made ſeveral attempts on *Pena*, all of which were fruſtrated by the diligence and intrepidity of the inhabitants, who adhered with an inviolable conſtancy to the fidelity they owed the republic. His diſappointment the marquis revenged on the country lying round *Ventimiglia*, which he pillaged and burnt, while *Prato* was buſy putting the fortifications of the town in a ſtate of defence.

After this it was that a fourth attempt was made on *Rena*, and the place beſieged in form by general *Badate*, detached with a ſtrong corps by the marquis *St. Damien*. On this occaſion the beſieged behaved with more gallantry than ever, defending the town againſt the will of the treacherous governor, who, finding them obſtinate, deſerted to the enemy.
c His name was *Corſelin*, which ought to be tranſmitted with infamy to poſterity, as that of his ſucceſſor merits the higheſt praiſes. Captain *Gaſtaldi* took the command on *Corſelin*'s departure, and refuſed to capitulate on any terms, tho' the *Piedmonteſe* general threatened to put to death his two ſons who were priſoners in the camp. His zeal for the ſervice of his country abſorbed all the dictates of natural affection, *Gaſtaldi* preferring the reputation of a faithful and brave citizen, to that of a fond father. He ſo animated and inſpired his men, that, pinched with the extremity of want, they bravely determined to wait for aſſiſtance from *Prato*, who was making efforts to relieve this brave garriſon of militia. At laſt, the ſiege was raiſed by *Frediani*, who, after defeating ſeveral parties of the beſiegers, found means to throw a large convoy into *Rena*, under cover of a vigorous ſally made by
d *Gaſtaldi*.

*Bravery of the garriſon of* Rena.

In the mean time, the duke's army on the ſide of *Lombardy*, was more ſucceſsful, the number of the *Piedmonteſe* cavalry giving the general a great advantage over the *Genoeſe*. *Ovada* ſurrendered to the duke's general, and this obliged *Durazzo* to recal thoſe from *Dolce Aqua*, when he was juſt on the point of ſtorming in breach, and making himſelf maſter of the place. It was imagined the *Piedmonteſe* would next undertake the ſiege of *Ventimiglia*, to cover which place *Prato* was recalled. Upon this occaſion, his retreat, amidſt dangerous defiles, lined with the enemy's troops, does more honour to the military ſkill of that officer, than all his former actions, which had raiſed his reputation high. Immediately after this he prepared to relieve *Pena*, which was again inveſted by the *Piedmonteſe*, as if they were de-
e termined to conquer the obſtinacy of this little intrepid garriſon. The efforts he made to accompliſh this purpoſe diminiſhed nothing of the reputation which he ſo deſervedly acquired. D. *Anthony* of *Savoy*, with an army of ſix thouſand men, triply entrenched, covered the ſiege; and *Prato*, with ſcarce one thouſand regulars, planned a ſcheme for forcing this ſtrong camp, or raiſing the ſiege. He diſpoſed his men in ſuch a manner as to conceal his weakneſs, and attacked the enemy with ſuch fury in different quarters, that having forced two entrenchments, he was in a fair way of gaining the third, when a ſudden panic ſeized his men, made them retire with precipitation, leaving their brave general to fall into the hands of the enemy, had he not been reſcued by *Grampilla*, who flew with a ſmall corps to his aſſiſtance, and brought him off. Notwithſtanding this repulſe, *Prato* made himſelf ma-
f ſter of *Brecco* next day, which he fortified, in hopes by this means of making a diverſion in favour of the garriſon of *Pena*. All his endeavours hitherto proved ineffectual: and the generals of ſuperior rank believing the deſign impracticable, and that all attempts would only be attended with the loſs of ſo many brave ſoldiers, ſent orders for *Prato* to retire, and rejoin the main army under *Durazzo*. This was what *Prato* could not prevail upon himſelf to do: he eſteemed it diſhonourable to ſuffer a brave garriſon to periſh for want of aſſiſtance, and determined upon one more exertion of his genius and courage for their relief. Carefully concealing the orders he had received, and the arrival of the gallies in which he was to embark his men, he publiſhed a report that they had a reinforcement of five hundred men on board, with which he intended next morning attacking the
g enemy's lines. In order to publiſh this news in the enemy's camp, he ordered two *Corſican* deſperadoes to deſert, and take the firſt opportunity of returning to him. By them D. *Anthony* of *Savoy* was informed of *Prato*'s intention; and, not caring to come a ſecond

time

time to blows with an officer of ſo invincible courage, he ſet fire to his camp and raiſed the ſiege; upon which *Prato* ordered *Dornano*, with two companies of foot, and a quantity of proviſion and ammunition, to throw himſelf into *Pena*. No ſooner did the inhabitants ſee themſelves once more delivered from their enemies, than they determined upon revenge, the cruelty of which ſullied all the glory acquired by their courage and fidelity. They murdered all their priſoners, before notice of their intention was given to *Prato*; an action which afforded matter of great grief to that brave officer, whoſe humanity and principles of honour were equal to his conduct and intrepidity (A). In the mean time, D. *Gabriel* of *Savoy* was making rapid conqueſts on the ſide of *Lombardy*. *Ovada* was taken after a tedious and bloody ſiege; *Oneille* regained, and *Saſello* reduced, in ſpite of the endeavours of the *Genoeſe* generals. *Prato*, however, was determined not to abandon the coaſt towns to *Damien* and D. *Antonio* of *Savoy*, although he had repeated orders to embark and join the forces in *Lombardy*. Inſtead of obeying, he returned the gallies empty, ſending the ſenate an explicit juſtification of his conduct, which was approved; a dangerous precedent of diſobedience, but a meaſure ſometimes neceſſary, where the fidelity, courage, and ability of the perſon are unqueſtionable. Indeed, without this diſcretionary power, it is impoſſible to accommodate meaſures to circumſtances, which hourly change, and become totally different in military operations (B). a b

His Holineſs and Catholic majeſty now uſed all their influence to accommodate matters betwixt the republic and duke, to prevent the flames of war from ſpreading through the reſt of *Italy*: but it was *Goſmont*, the *French* envoy, who put the laſt hand to this work, removing, by his addreſs, every difficulty that lay in the way. In his way to *Genoa* he paſſed through *Turin*, and ſoon penetrated the intentions of the duke, which were to gain time, in hopes of fully re-eſtabliſhing his affairs. The *French* miniſter ſoon convinced his highneſs, that he muſt either liſten to the mediators, or run the hazard of their joining with his enemies to compel him into meaſures neceſſary to the repoſe of *Italy*. Having diſpoſed the duke to accept of *Lewis*'s mediation, he haſtened to *Genoa*, where he was magnificently entertained in the houſe of *Pietro Spinola*. He next day had an audience of the ſenate, before whom he laid his inſtructions, which were to demand the reſtitution of *Oneille*, and a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities; after which they were required to appoint commiſſaries to treat of peace. Immediately the ſenate conſented to the truce, but remonſtrated againſt the reſtitution of *Oneille*, though they were ſoon obliged to accede to this propoſition. At laſt peace was concluded, on condition that the priſoners ſhould be mutually releaſed, their conqueſts mutually reſtored, and boundaries left to be adjuſted by the doctors of *Ferrara*; ſoon after which the duke died, highly eſteemed and regretted. c d

*Peace concluded by means of the* French *envoy.*

For ſome years the republic diligently purſued her commerce, and reaped all the bleſſings of repoſe. In the year 1684, the *Genoeſe* had the misfortune to incur the reſentment of *Lewis* the fourteenth, which had almoſt proved fatal to the city, bombarded by a formidable royal armament. Peace, however, was purchaſed by thoſe humiliating conceſſions which the reader has already ſeen at the cloſe of our hiſtory of *France* [a].

[a] Vol. 25. Un. Mod. Hiſt.

(A) Notwithſtanding this barbarous action, which was executed without the conſent of *Gaſtaldi*, the ſenate recompenſed the valour of the garriſon, by ordering penſions for life to the wounded, the widows, and children of the deceaſed, and half a year's pay to be preſented to the living. *Gaſtaldi* had a handſome penſion ſettled on him, and portions aſſigned for his daughters. The city of *Ventimiglia* had ſo ſtrong a ſenſe of the ſervice done by *Prato*, in relieving *Pena*, that it ſolemnly decreed a yearly preſent of a fine ſword, adorned with jewels, to be made to him, as the recompence beſt ſuited to the diſpoſition of a warrior, and his generous diſintereſted ſpirit (1).

(B) The chevalier *Mailly* relates another ſedition excited this year in *Genoa* by one *La Torré*, without diſtinguiſhing him from a perſon of the ſame name, mentioned particularly in the beginning of this war. He even inſinuates, contrary to the teſtimony of all other authors, that *La Torré* eſcaped on that occaſion, and that now the inquiſition proceeded againſt him on diſcovery of the plot, executed him, razed his houſe, confiſcated his eſtate, baniſhed his family, and perpetuated his infamy by an inſcription in braſs, ſetting forth his crimes (2).

(1) *Ib. l.* 16. (2) *L.* 16. *p.* 224.



THE

# The SESSION of the STATES, in the GENERAL DIET of the EMPIRE.

## The EMPEROR, or his Commiſſary (*a*).

## The ELECTORS.

| 8. | 6. | 4. | 1. | 2. | 3. | 5. | 7. | 9. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Palatine. | Saxony. | Bohemia. | Mentz. | Triers. | Cologne. | Bavaria. | Brandenbourg. | Hanover. |

### Bench of Eccleſiaſtical Princes (*b*).

*Archduke of* . . Auſtria.
*Duke of* . . . . Burgundy. } *alternatively.*
*Archbiſhop of* . . Saltzbourg.

*Grand Maſter of the* Teutonic *Order* (*c*).

*Biſhops of* . . . Bamberg.
Wurtzburg.
Worms.
Eichſtedt.
Spire.
Straſbourg (*d*). } *alternatively at each Seſſion.*
Conſtance.
Augſburg.
Hildeſheim.
Paderborn.
Freiſinghen.
Ratiſbon.
Paſſau.
Trent (*e*).
Brixen. } *alternatively.*
Baſil.
Liege.
Oſnabrug (*f*). } *Diſpute the Precedency.*
Munſter.
Coire.
Lubeck (*g*).

*Abbots of* . . . Fulde.
Kempten.
Elwangen.
Murbach.
Luderen.
Heiderſheim. } *Diſpute the Precedency.*

*Grand Prior of the Order of* Malta.

*The Abbot of* . . Bergtolſgaden.
*The Provoſt of* . Weiſſenbourg (*h*).
*Abbots of* . . . . Prum (*i*).
Stablo.
Corbie.
*Prelates of* . . Suabia (*k*).
*The* Rhine (*l*).
*The King of* Denmark *for* . . . Gluckſtadt.
*The Duke of* . . Holſtein-Gottorp.
*The Elector of* Brandenburgh *for* . . . . . Minden, *a Principality.*

*Count of* Papenheim,
*Who collects the Votes of the Diet.*
Oſnabrug.
Lubeck.
Croſs Bench.
*Directorial Table.*

### Bench of Secular Princes.

*The Duke of* . . . . Bavaria (*m*).
*The King of* Pruſſia *for* . . . . . Magdeburg.
*The Elector* Palatine *for* . . . . . Lauteren.
Simmeren.
Neubourg.
*The Elector of* Hanover *for* . . . . Bremen (*n*).
*The Duke of* . . . . . Deux-Ponts.
*The Elector* Palatine *for* . . . . . Weldentz (*o*).
Lautrecht.
*The Duke of* Saxe-Gotha *for* . . . . Altenbourg.
Cobourg.
*The Duke of* Saxony *for* . . . . . Weimar.
*The Duke of* Saxony *for* . . . . . Gotha.
*The Duke of* Saxony *for* . . . . . Eiſenach.
*alternatively on the Days of Deliberation* (*p*).
*The Margrave of* . . Culmbach.
*The Margrave of* . . Anſpach.
*The Elector of* Hanover *for* . . . . . Zell.
Calenburg.
*The Duke of* Brunſwic-Wolffenbuttle *for* . . . . . Grubenhagen (*q*).
*The Elector of* Brandenburg *for* . . . Halberſtadt.
*The Elector of* Hanover *for* . . . . . Verden.
*The Duke of* . . . . . Wirtemberg.
*The King of* Sweden *for* . . . . . Heſſe-Caſſel.
*The Landgrave of* . Heſſe-Darmſtadt.
*The Margrave of* . . Baden-Baden.
*The Margrave of* . . Baden-Durlach.
*The Margrave of* . . Baden-Hochberg.
*alternatively.*
*The Duke of* Mecklenbourg *for the* . *County of* Schwerin.
*Duchy of* Guſtraw.
*The King of* Sweden *for* . . . . . Hither Pomerania.
*The Elector of* Brandenburg *for* . . . FurtherPomerania.
*The Elector of* Hanover *for the Duchy of* Saxe-Lawenbourg (*r*).
*The Duke of* . . . . Savoy.
*The Elector of* Bavaria *for the Landgraviate of* . . . . . Leuchtembourg.
*The Prince of* . . . Anhalt.
*The Succeſſion of* . . Henneberg (*s*).
*The Duke of* Mecklenburg *for the Principality of* . . Schwerin.
*The Elector of* Brandenburg *for the Principality of* . . Camin.
*The Duke of* Mecklenburg - Strelitz *for the Principality of* : . . . . . Ratzebourg.
*The Landgrave of* Heſſe-Caſſel *for the Principality of* . . Hirchefeld.
*The Duke of* Lorraine *for the Marquiſate of* . . . . . Nomeni.

*Princes of* . . . . . Montbeliard.
Arenberg.
Lobkowitz.
Salm.
Dietrichſtein.
Naſſau-Hadumar.
Nauſſau-Siegen.
Nauſſau-Dillenbourg *and* Dietz.
Averſberg.
Eaſt-Frieſland } *alternatively.*
Furſtenberg.

*Counts of* . . . . . Schwartzenberg.
Lichtenſtein.
Suabia (*t*).
Wetteravia (*u*).
Franconia (*w*).
Weſtphalia. (*x*).

## IMPERIAL TOWNS.

### Bench for the Towns of the RHINE.

Cologne.
Aix la Chapelle (*y*).
Lubeck. } *alternatively.*
Worms.
Spire.
Francfort *on the* Mayne.
Haguenau } (*z*).
Colmar
Sleſtadt
Goſlar.
Bremen (*aa*).
Mulhauſen.
Northauſen } (*bb*).
Weiſſembourg
Landau
Oberehenheim
Kayſerberg
Munſter
Roſheim
Turckheim
Dortmond.
Friedberg.
Wetzlar.
Gelnhauſen.

### Bench for the Towns of SUABIA.

Ratiſbon.
Augſburg.
Nuremberg.
Ulm.
Eſlingen.
Reutlingen.
Nordingen.
Rotenbourg.
Hal *in* Suabia.
Roſweil. } *alternately.*
Uberlingen. }
Heilbron.
Gemund.
Menimingen.
Lindau.
Dinikelſpul.
Donamuth (*cc*).
Billerach.
Ravenſbourg.
Swinport.
Kempten. } *alternatively.*
Winſheim. }
Kaufbeuren.
Weil.
Wangen.
Iſne.
Pfullendorf.
Offenburg.
Leutkirch.
Wimpfen.
Weiſſenbourg *in* Nortgau.
Gingen.
Gingenbach.
Zel, *et Namerback.*
Buchorn.
Aalen.
Buchan.
Bopfengen.



### REFERENCES.

(*a*) The Emperor's Throne is always empty, except when he is perſonally preſent.

(*b*) Formerly Precedency was regulated by Age; and the Eccleſiaſtic Princes, when they were of the Imperial Blood, had a raiſed Seat.

(*c*) The Biſhop of *Bamberg* proteſts againſt his Precedency.

(*d*) In 1674 the Diet ſuſpended his Vote, which was again admitted in 1714.

(*e*) The Biſhops of *Trent* and *Brixen* are ſubjected to *Auſtria*.

(*f*) In caſe he ſhould be of the *Roman* Catholic Religion; for the Succeſſion is alternative between the Catholics and the Princes of the Houſe of *Hanover*: When he is a *Lutheran* he ſits upon the Croſs-Bench.

(*g*) He now ſits upon the Croſs-Bench.

(*h*) This Provoſtſhip is united to the Biſhopric of *Spire*.

(*i*) This Abbey is united to the Archbiſhopric of *Triers*.

(*k*) Of old, all the Prelates had Place and Votes in the Diet; but, when the College of Princes aſſembled alone, the Prelates of *Suabia* were reduced to a ſingle Vote; yet, when the Counts obtained a Third Suffrage in 1641, the Prelates of *Suabia* and of the *Rhine* demanded and obtained Admiſſion. There are Fifteen Prelates and Five Abbeſſes, who have Seats on the Bench of *Suabia*.

(*l*) There are Eight Prelates and Eleven Abbeſſes on the Bench of the *Rhine*.

(*m*) The Dukes of *Saxony* diſpute the Precedency with him.

(*n*) On account of the Ceſſion of it to him by the *Swedes*.

(*o*) This Suffrage is in Suſpenſe, becauſe the Succeſſion is not ſettled.

(*p*) They take it by Turns, in this Order;

| First Day. | Second Day. | Third Day. |
|---|---|---|
| *Weimar.* | *Cobourg.* | *Weimar.* |
| *Eiſenach.* | *Gotha.* | *Eiſenach.* |
| *Cobourg.* | *Altenbourg.* | *Cobourg.* |
| *Gotha.* | *Weimar.* | *Gotha.* |
| *Altenbourg.* | *Eiſenach.* | *Altenbourg.* |

(*q*) The Elector of *Hanover* has ceded this Suffrage to *Lewis Rodolphus* Prince of *Blankenbourg* for his Life.

(*r*) The Elector of *Hanover* has received the Inveſtiture of this Duchy, without Prejudice, however, to the Rights of any other Prince; and the Houſe of *Anhalt* has reſerved to itſelf any Rights that may belong to it.

(*s*) At preſent the Elector of *Saxony* enjoys this Suffrage, conjunctly with the Dukes of *Weimar*, *Eiſenach*, and *Gotha*.

(*t*) Of old, the Counts were always reputed States; but, when the Princes began to aſſemble by themſelves, they allowed them only Two Suffrages, which were the Counts of *Wetteravia* and *Suabia* alternatively, under whom all the reſt were comprehended. At the Diet of *Frankfort* in 1641, the Counts of *Franconia* obtained a Third Suffrage; and at the Diet of *Ratiſbon* the Counts of *Weſtphalia* obtained another. Twenty-one Counts ſit upon the Bench of *Suabia*.

(*u*) Eleven Counts ſit on the Bench of *Wetteravia*.

(*w*) Ten Counts ſit on the Bench of *Franconia*.

(*x*) Fourteen Counts ſit on the Bench of *Weſtphalia*.

(*y*) The Town of *Aix-la-Chapelle* proteſts againſt the Precedency of *Cologne*.

(*z*) Theſe Three Towns are now dependent upon *France*.

(*aa*) The Liberty of this Town is diſputed.

(*bb*) They are of the Number of the Ten Towns of *Alſace*, the Liberty of which was ſecured by the Peace of *Munſter*. The king of *France* having ſeized upon them in 1672, the Reſtitution of them was treated of, tho' ineffectually, at the Congreſs of *Ryſwick*.

(*cc*) This Town recovered its Liberty in 1705; yet, by the Treaty of *Baden*, it has fallen again to the Elector of *Bavaria*.

# The SESSION of the STATES, in the GENERAL DIET of the EMPIRE.

## The EMPEROR, or his Commiſſary (*a*).

## The ELECTORS.

| 8. | 6. | 4. | 1. | 2. | 3. | 5. | 7. | 9. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Palatine. | Saxony. | Bohemia. | Mentz. | Triers. | Cologne. | Bavaria. | Brandenbourg. | Hanover. |

### Bench of Eccleſiaſtical Princes (*b*).

*Archduke of* . . Auſtria.
*Duke of* . . . . Burgundy. } *alternatively.*
*Archbiſhop of* . . Saltzbourg.

*Grand Maſter of the* Teutonic *Order* (*c*).

Bamberg.
Wurtzburg.
Worms.
Eichſtedt.
Spire.
Straſbourg (*d*). } *alternatively at each Seſſion.*
Conſtance.
Augſburg.
Hildeſheim.
Paderborn.

Oſnabru
Lubeck.

*Count of* Papenheim,

Donamuth (*cc*).
Billerach.
Ravenſbourg.
Swinport.
Buchorn.
Aalen.
Buchan.
Bopfengen.

### Bench of Secular Princes.

*The Duke of* . . . . Bavaria (*m*).
*The King of* Pruſſia *for* . . . . . } Magdeburg.
*The Elector* Palatine *for* . . . . . { Lauteren. Simmeren. Neubourg.
*The Elector of* Hanover *for* . . . . . } Bremen (*n*).
*The Duke of* . . . . . Deux-Ponts.
*The Elector* Palatine *for* . . . . . { Weldentz (*o*). Lautrecht.
*The Duke of* Saxe-Gotha *for* . . . . { Altenbourg. Cobourg.
*The Duke of* Saxony *for* . . . . . } Weimar. } *alternatively on the Days*
Furſtenberg. } *tively.*
*Counts of* . . . . . { Schwartzenberg. Lichtenſtein. Suabia (*t*). Wetteravia (*u*). Franconia (*w*). Weſtphalia. (*x*).

### REFERENCES.

(*a*) The Emperor's Throne is always empty, except when he is perſonally preſent.

(*b*) Formerly Precedency was regulated by Age; and the Eccleſiaſtic Princes, when they were of the Imperial Blood, had a raiſed Seat.

(*c*) The Biſhop of *Bamberg* proteſts againſt his Precedency.

(*d*) In 1674 the Diet ſuſpended his Vote, which was again admitted in 1714.

(*e*) The Biſhops of *Trent* and *Brixen* are ſubjected to *Auſtria*.

(*f*) In caſe he ſhould be of the *Roman* Catholic Religion; for the Succeſſion is alternative between the Catholics and the Princes of the Houſe of *Hanover*: When he is a *Lutheran* he ſits upon the Croſs-Bench.

(*g*) He now ſits upon the Croſs-Bench.

(*h*) This Provoſtſhip is united to the Biſhopric of *Spire*.

(*i*) This Abbey is united to the Archbiſhopric of *Triers*.

(*k*) Of old, all the Prelates had Place and Votes in the Diet; but, when the College of Princes aſſembled alone, the Prelates of *Suabia* were reduced to a ſingle Vote; yet, when the Counts was ſecured by the Peace of *Munſter*. The king of *France* having ſeized upon them in 1672, the Reſtitution of them was treated of, tho' ineffectually, at the Congreſs of *Ryſwick*.

(*cc*) This Town recovered its Liberty in 1705; yet, by the Treaty of *Baden*, it has fallen again to the Elector of *Bavaria*.

# HISTORY of the GERMAN EMPIRE.

## CHAP. I.

*Containing the Hiſtory of* Germany, *from the Election of* Conrad, *to the Succeſſion of* Otho.

### INTRODUCTION.

a WE have, in the Antient Hiſtory, traced the gradual decline of the Weſtern empire, which, after having been weakened by diviſions and inteſtine broils, was deluged by an inundation of fierce and warlike nations, who have likewiſe been deſcribed under the names of *Allemans*, *Gepidæ*, *Franks*, *Suevi*, *Heruli*, *Burgundians*, *&c.* We have ſeen how *Odoacer*, king of the *Heruli*, made ſuch a ſucceſsful expedition into *Italy*, that the emperor *Auguſtulus*, being in no condition to make head againſt him, was obliged to ſubmit, and his reſignation put an end to the empire in the Weſt. The *Heruli* were ſoon expelled by the *Oſtrogoths*, and theſe, in their turn, ſubdued by *Juſtinian*, who re-united this province to the Eaſtern empire; but the popes found means to obtain the temporal, as well as ſpiritual juriſdiction over a conſiderable part of it, while the reſt was erected into a b kingdom by the *Lombards*, who were very troubleſome neighbours to the pontiffs, and at length beſieged *Adrian* I. in his capital. In this emergency he had recourſe to *Charlemagne*, who came to his relief with a powerful army, defeated *Deſiderius*, and cauſed himſelf to be crowned king of *Lombardy*. The pope, in order to expreſs his gratitude to that victorious monarch, and ſecure the protection of ſuch a powerful ally, did, with the conſent of the *Roman* people, declare him emperor, and dignified his dominions with the appellation of the new Weſtern empire, after he had agreed that the pontiffs ſhould reſide in *Rome*, while he himſelf ſhould chooſe his reſidence on the other ſide of the *Alps*, where he might be nearer the center of his territories.

THUS *Germany* became the ſeat of the Weſtern empire; the hiſtory of which it is now c our purpoſe to diſplay; but, before we proceed to a detail of the events which compoſe it, the reader will, doubtleſs, be pleaſed to find ſome general account of this great body, in a ſummary ſketch of that conſtitution by which it ſubſiſts; that, from ſuch previous information, he may conceive a diſtinct idea of the politics which actuated particular ſtates, as well as the motives that influenced the reſolutions and conduct of the community.

*The limits of* Germany;

*GERMANY* is at preſent bounded on the north by the *Baltic* ſea, *Denmark*, and the *German* ocean; on the ſouth by *Italy* and the *Swiſs*; on the eaſt by *Pruſſia*, *Hungary*, and *Poland*; and on the weſt by the *Low Countries*, *Lorraine*, and *Franche Compte*; ſo that it comprehends the *Palatinate*, *Cologne*, *Triers*, and *Liege*, which formerly belonged to the *Gauls*, and is diſmembered of *Friezland*, *Groningen*, and *Overyſſel*, which are now incord porated with the *Low Countries*.

SINCE the reign of *Charlemagne*, this country is divided into *High* and *Low Germany*: the firſt, towards the ſouth, comprehending the *Palatinate* of the *Rhine*, *Franconia*, *Suabia*, *Bavaria*, *Bohemia*, *Moravia*, *Auſtria*, *Carinthia*, *Carniola*, *Stiria*, *Tyrol*, the *Swiſs*, and the *Griſons*; while the provinces of *Lower Germany* towards the north conſiſt of the *Low Country* of the *Rhine*, *Triers*, *Cologn*, *Mentz*, *Weſtphalia*, *Heſſe*, *Brunſwic*, *Miſnia*, *Luſatia*, *High Saxony* upon the *Elbe*, *Low Saxony* upon the *Elbe*, *Mecklenburgh*, *Lauenburgh*, *Brandenburgh*, *Magdeburgh*, and *Pomerania*.

*its diviſion*;

*GERMANY* is likewiſe diſtinguiſhed by thoſe countries that border upon the *Rhine*, the *Danube*, the *Oder*, the *Elbe*, and the *Weſer*; and thirdly, it is divided into certain generae lities or large provinces, called circles, comprehending the princes, prelates, counts, and cities, which, on account of their nearneſs to each other, may conveniently aſſemble about their common affairs. Under this appellation the members of the empire were divided by *Maximilian* I. into ſix parts, namely, *Franconia*, *Bavaria*, *Suabia*, the circle of the *Rhine*, *Weſtphalia*, and *Lower Saxony*: he afterwards added thoſe of *Auſtria*, *Burgundy*, the *Lower Rhine*,

*Rhine*, and *High Saxony*; ſo that the number was augmented to ten, and confirmed in the reign of *Charles* V. a

EACH circle is provided with directors and a colonel; the firſt being inveſted with the power of convoking the general aſſembly of the ſtates belonging to the circle, and of regulating its public affairs, while the colonel is intruſted with the command of the ſoldiers, and the care of the artillery and munitions of war.

As all the members muſt contribute for the occaſions of the empire, each circle is taxed for the ſupport of the troops and other public neceſſities, at the rate of ſo many horſe and foot, or a certain monthly ſum, diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Roman months*; an appellation derived from the firſt uſe of that tax, which was levied for the ſupport of 20,000 foot and 4000 horſe, to accompany the emperor in his journey to *Rome*; and thoſe who could not furniſh ſoldiers, paid a monthly equivalent in money. b

THE circle of *Auſtria*, of which the emperor, as archduke, is director, comprehends all the provinces depending upon the empire, which are poſſeſſed by the houſe of *Auſtria*; for the kingdoms of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, together with ſeveral other ſtates, which they poſſeſs independent of the empire, are not compriſed in this circle.

THE circle of *Bavaria*, ſo called, becauſe that duchy conſtitutes the principal part of it, includes ſeveral other independent ſtates; the elector, as duke of *Bavaria*, and the archbiſhop of *Salzburgh*, being the directors.

THE circle of *Suabia*, which, more than any other, abounds with imperial towns, has for directors the biſhop of *Conſtance* and the duke of *Wirtemberg*.

THOSE of the circle of *Franconia*, denominated from the province of that name, are the biſhop of *Bamberg* and the margrave of *Bareith*, or *Culmbach*, who poſſeſſes the burgraviate of *Nuremburg*. c

THE circle of *Upper Saxony* is under the ſole directorſhip of the elector; but as for that of *Low Saxony*, which is one of the moſt conſiderable circles in *Germany*, the king of *Sweden*, as duke of *Bremen*, and the elector of *Brandenburgh*, as duke of *Magdeburgh*, are alternately co-directors with the eldeſt of the dukes of *Brunſwic* and *Lunenburgh*.

THE circle of *Weſtphalia* produces ſuch plenty of men and horſe fit for ſervice, that, in time of war, the ſtates of this province chuſe to furniſh their proportion rather in thoſe than in money: their directors being the elector of *Brandenburgh* and duke of *Neubourg*, with the biſhop of *Munſter* (A). d

THE circle of the *Lower Rhine*, which is alſo called the circle of the four electors, becauſe it includes the three eccleſiaſtic electors, and the *Palatinate* ſituated upon the *Rhine*, has for directors the electors of *Mentz* and *Palatine*; while thoſe of the *Higher* or *Upper Rhine* are the biſhop of *Worms* and elector *Palatine*, as having ſucceeded to the duchy of *Simmeren*, though the firſt pretends to be ſole director.

As for the circle of *Burgundy*, which takes its name from that province, now diſmembered from the empire, and belonging to the king of *France*, it was formerly under the directorſhip and ſovereignty of the king of *Spain*, and comprehended not only *High Burgundy*, or *Franche Compte*, but likewiſe the ſeventeen provinces of the *Low Countries*, which in the reign of *Charles* V. were received as members of the empire, independent indeed of the imperial chamber with reſpect to juſtice, but ſubject to pay as much as is levied from two electors, in caſe of a war againſt the *Turks*: however, this contribution was never raiſed; and is now entirely omitted in the rolls of the contingencies of the empire. Excluſive of this circle, therefore, the contributions for a *Roman* month, paid by all the others, amount to 2419 horſemen, and 12,400 foot ſoldiers; or, in money, to 75,840 florins; and this tax is augmented double, triple, and quadruple, according to the number of troops to be raiſed, but always in proportion to the eſtabliſhed rates in the book of matriculation. e

*and that of the ſtates.*

The empire of *Germany* is a body, of which the emperor is the head, and the ſtates are the members. Theſe ſtates are divided into three claſſes, namely, the college of electors, the college of eccleſiaſtic and ſecular princes, and that of the imperial towns, which are admitted into the diets or general aſſemblies. f

*CHARLEMAGNE*, and his ſucceſſors, poſſeſſed the empire by hereditary right; but that race being extinct, the princes aſſembled, elected *Conrad*, and afterwards *Henry the Fowler*, who was ſucceeded by *Otho*, ſurnamed *the Great*, after whom the emperors enjoyed their dignities by ſucceſſion, though the conſent of the people was neceſſary, touching the capacity of him upon whom the empire devolved. This cuſtom continued till the reign of *Henry* IV. who gave occaſion to the conſtitution which regulates the elections of the emperors, and by virtue of which he himſelf was afterwards depoſed. The confuſion which neceſſarily attended the election, on account of the great number of princes, ſtates, and ſovereigns, who had a right to vote, induced them to transfer that power to ſeven chiefs, g

*The nature of the election of the emperor.*

(A) The elector and duke are directors of this circle, as being poſſeſſed of the duchies of *Juliers*, *Cleves*, and *Bergue*, the counties of *La Mark* and *Ravenſberg*, together with the lordſhip of *Ravenſtein*.

whom

a whom they denominated electors, and who were afterwards confirmed as such in the reign of *Charles* IV. by an ordonnance called a *golden bull*, which regulates the form of the election, and the power of those electors, which is now hereditarily annexed to certain states of the empire.

BEFORE *Charlemagne*, and a long time after his reign, the empire was altogether monarchical through the whole extent of its dominions, both in *Germany* and *Italy*; but since *Frederic* II. the electors and princes have insensibly acquired certain rights, to which they did not formerly pretend; so that the government is become monarchical, and partly aristocratical: for there are certain prerogatives which the emperor enjoys by his sole power and imperial authority; while in other affairs he must have recourse to the voice, and sollicit
b the consent, of the princes and electors, and even of all the states of the empire, in consequence of a solemn capitulation which he signs at his election. He assumes all the marks of the antient emperors of the West, with the titles of *semper Augustus*, *Cæsar*, and *sacred majesty*. His crown is closed above, and surmounted with a globe, which is the symbol of univerial monarchy; and the Christian princes allow him the first rank, on account of his dignity. He convokes and dismisses the diets and other imperial assemblies, having a right to authorize their resolutions, which are afterwards published and executed in his name: he confirms the alliances and treaties which have been made by their predecessors for the welfare of the empire: he alone enjoys the benefit of what is called the first prayers, that is, the right of filling up the first canonship, or any other dignity, in the cathedral and collegiate churches,
c as well as in the abbies, of the empire, that shall be vacant after his coronation: he creates and confers all the other secular dignities, such as king, prince, archduke, duke, marquis, landgrave, count, and baron. To him alone belongs the power of bestowing the great fiefs of the empire, the investiture of which he gives to the ecclesiastical princes by the sceptre, and to the secular by the standard or sword: he receives the oath of allegiance from the electors, princes, and all the members of the empire; and all the dominions which devolve to the empire, by forfeiture or otherwise, are intirely at his disposal: he grants pardons and remissions, institutes or confirms universities and academies, and possesses other prerogatives, which are marks of sovereignty. But he is obliged to consult the electors, before he can alienate or mortgage the effects of the empire, grant the privilege of coining
d money, or confiscate the estates of rebels. The general consent of all the states is necessary in regulating the affairs of religion, in making or annulling laws, fixing the value of money, proclaiming war within or without the empire, imposing subsidies or general contributions, raising troops, building new fortresses, or putting garrisons in the old, and in making treaties and alliances. Nevertheless, if the affair is pressing, no more than the consent of the electors is required; and in truces or cessation of arms, the authority of the emperor is sufficient. To these restrictions he subjects himself by a capitulation made at his election, which is a contract between him and the electors and princes, introduced since the reign of *Charles* V. before which time, the ordinary constitutions of the empire served in lieu of this capitulation. In the absence of the emperor, the sovereign power devolves to the king of
e the *Romans*, as perpetual vicar of the empire; but, in default of the emperor and king of the *Romans*, the authority is transferred to the two vicars of the empire in *Germany*, namely, the elector of *Bavaria*, or palatine of the *Rhine* (for the right is contested), and the elector of *Saxony*, who each, in his own extent of principality, exercise the same functions in all things, except the grand fiefs, called the fiefs of the sceptre and the sword, which can be bestowed by none but the emperor.

*His dignity and prerogatives.*

*His restrictions.*

*His substitutes.*

THE domain possessed as emperor, and the revenues which he draws from the empire for the support of his imperial dignity, have been formerly very considerable; but at present are so much reduced, as to be altogether insufficient to maintain the posts of the empire; so far are they from being able to support his dignity, or contribute to the subsistence of his
f troops. There is not one town belonging to him as emperor; and in case the *Germans* should elect a prince destitute of hereditary dominions, the city of *Bamberg* would be assigned to him as the place of his habitation, and the bishop in that case be obliged to retire to *Villac*.

*Revenue.*

The emperor's revenue consists in aids, which are called *Roman months*, paid by the states and members of the empire, in some other subsidies from the imperial towns, which amount to about 40,000 livres a year, in taxes of the chancery, and exactions from the *Jews*, distinguished by the name of *oblation money*.

BESIDES the *Aulic* council, which shall afterwards be mentioned, there are three others established for dispatching the affairs of the empire. The first is the council of state, composed of a president and four and twenty counsellors, who are princes and counts of the em-
g pire, and other considerable noblemen, and ten secretaries for expediting letters and decrees. The second is that of the finances, composed of two presidents, one director, with fourteen assessors, and six secretaries. The third is the imperial council of war, consisting of two presidents, who are generals, and seven counsellors, who are camp-marshals, major-generals,

*The councils.*

rals, and colonels, with an auditor-general, regiſters, and ſecretaries. The title of king of the *Romans*, as it is at preſent underſtood, was altogether unknown in the time of the firſt emperors, who were actually ſovereign princes of the city of *Rome*. *Charlemagne* having deſtined the ſucceſſion of the empire to his eldeſt ſon, beſtowed upon him the quality of king of *Italy*, a title which *Lewis the Debonair*, and *Lotharius* I. likewiſe conferred upon their preſumptive heirs; an appellation equivalent to that of *Cæſar* among the antient emperors, and to that of king of the *Romans* in its preſent ſignification. This laſt title began to be in uſe about the tenth century, when it was ſuppoſed that the pope had the ſole right of creating the emperor. Accordingly many emperors contented themſelves with this appellation, until they were actually crowned at *Rome*; and in this ſenſe we muſt underſtand the ſecond chapter of the golden bull, which, ſpeaking of the election of a king of the *Romans*, mentions him only as a ſucceſſor in the empire, who could not be qualified as emperor till after his coronation by the pope. a b

*The quality of king of the* Romans.

At preſent, the king of the *Romans* is he who is choſen by the princes electors, during the emperor's life, to conduct the affairs of *Germany* in the emperor's abſence, as vicar-general of the empire, and to ſucceed him on the imperial throne at his death, without any other election or confirmation. This is an expedient uſed by the emperor, when he wants to ſee the ſucceſſion ſecured during his own life, or is no longer in a condition to manage the reins of government. The king of the *Romans* is not crowned with an imperial, but with an open crown; nor does he receive the oath of allegiance till after the death of the emperor; nor is he honoured with the epithet of *ſemper Auguſtus*; nor does he bear the ſpread eagle with two heads; nor does he exerciſe any power in the empire while the emperor is there in perſon, but, in his abſence, commands by virtue of his dignity. c

*The electoral college.*

We have already obſerved, that there are three colleges in the empire, a diſtinction which was eſtabliſhed in the diet of *Francfort* in the year 1580. Of theſe the chief is the electoral, which originally conſiſted of ſeven electors; an eighth was afterwards added; and it is at preſent compoſed of nine, in each of whom are united the two qualities of prince of the empire and elector. As the firſt, he is ſovereign in the extent of his own dominions, with certain reſtrictions, which render him dependent upon the emperor and empire. As elector, he has a right to elect the emperor and king of the *Romans*, and precedes all other princes of the empire, not excepting cardinals and kings. This college comprehends three archbiſhops, and five ſecular princes; the firſt are thoſe of *Mentz*, *Triers*, and *Cologn*, who, according to the golden bull, are great chancellors of the empire: the ſecular princes are, the king of *Bohemia*, great cup-bearer; the duke of *Bavaria*, great maſter of the palace; the duke of *Saxony*, great marſhal; the margrave of *Brandenburg*, great chamberlain; and the count palatine of the *Rhine*, high-treaſurer. The number of electors was augmented by the emperor *Leopold*, who erected the houſe of *Brunſwick* into a ninth electorate, under the title of elector of *Hanover*, on pretence of giving ſatisfaction to the Proteſtants, who complained, that their authority was diminiſhed by the palatine electorate's paſſing into a Catholic branch of that family. The ſecular electors have both an active and a paſſive voice, each having a right to chuſe and to be choſen emperor; whereas the eccleſiaſtical electors can only chuſe, without having any right to be choſen. The three archbiſhops muſt have attained the age of thirty years before they can obtain that dignity; but the ſecular elector is at age at eighteen. During his minority, his neareſt relation is appointed as his tutor or adminiſtrator, and exerciſes the electoral dignity, maintaining the rank, and wearing the habit, of an elector. We have already obſerved, that two of theſe electors are vicars-general of the empire, which they govern upon the death or reſignation of the emperor, when there is no king of the *Romans*. Each exerciſes a ſeparate power in the provinces of his juriſdiction; except in the chamber of *Spire*, the acts of which are ſigned by the names of both, becauſe there juſtice is adminiſtred by all the ſtates of the empire. Each of theſe ſecular electors has a vicar, who performs his office in his abſence; and theſe vicariates are hereditary. The eccleſiaſtics acquire their electorate in the manner by which prelacies are obtained: but the ſeculars acquire it by collation or ſucceſſion. Collation takes place in default of male iſſue legitimate and laic, and is ſanctioned by the emperor; who is obliged to complete the number of electors, and confer the vacant place upon a *German* prince. The ſucceſſion ſubſiſts, conformable to the ſalique law, according to the right of ſeniority, being independent of all tranſactions, teſtaments, and other civil acts, which are uſed in other caſes for changing the order of ſucceſſion. d e f

*The privileges of electors.*

The electors have the right of poſſeſſing ſalt-works, and all ſorts of mines, in their own electorates; to coin gold and ſilver money; to levy the ancient taxes; to acquire the greateſt fiefs in preference to all others, and to be inveſted *gratis*; to refuſe compliance with any privilege contrary to their own; to exerciſe a ſuperior and ſovereign juriſdiction in their dominion: tho' the vaſſals of all the electors, except thoſe of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, have g

a right

a a right to appeal to the imperial chamber; but the moſt characterizing diſtinction of the electors is their right of chuſing and depoſing the emperor.

THE next college comprehends all the other princes; either ſecular, as dukes, margraves, landgraves, burgraves, counts, *&c.* or eccleſiaſtic, ſuch as archbiſhops, biſhops, abbots, *&c.* that immediately hold of the empire. Thoſe who compoſe this college, have the right of ſitting in the diets or general aſſemblies with a deliberative and deciſive voice, and contribute to the neceſſities of the empire, according to the tax eſtabliſhed by the matricular book or regiſter of the ſtates. The archbiſhop of *Saltzburg*, and the archduke of *Auſtria*, are alternately directors of the college of the princes of the empire; and this alternative is not regulated by the different ſittings, but by the different ſubjects that are propoſed and b diſcuſſed. Beſides theſe princes, there is a number of counts in the empire, who hold of the empire alone, and are divided into four claſſes; namely, thoſe of *Wetteraw*, *Suabia*, *Franconia*, and *Weſtphalia*, together with a great deal of free nobleſſe, diſtinguiſhed by that of *Franconia*, *Suabia*, and the *Rhine*. The princes of both orders hold immediately of the emperor and the empire, and generally receive their inveſtiture by the ſword, from the hand of the ſovereign ſeated on his throne; though the counts and barons of the chamber of *Spire* are inveſted with the ſtandard or enſign, repreſenting the arms of their reſpective countries. They have power to appoint judges for the adminiſtration of juſtice; which ſome of them exerciſe as ſovereigns, while others are limited to certain ſums, above which, all cauſes depending muſt be decided by appeal to the chamber of *Spire*. They are allowed to eſtabliſh c new laws, create magiſtrates, grant letters of grace, reſpite, ſafe-conduct, majority, and legitimation. They have the right to ſucceed to baſtards, to raiſe and quarter ſoldiers, erect univerſities, coin money, make arms, and caſt artillery; to increaſe the number of their fortreſſes, and ſecure them with garriſons; make alliances among themſelves, as well as with ſtrangers, for their common defence; and, in a word, to reign in their own territories, as the emperor reigns in the empire.

*The college of the princes.*

THE third college is that of the imperial towns, which, like the other two, aſſembles apart, in order to deliberate upon the propoſals that are made for the occaſions of the empire; and the cities, which compoſe it, are called imperial, becauſe they hold immediately of the emperor and empire. They, as well as the other colleges, have a right to ſit in the diets d with a deliberative and deciſive voice. They regulate the form of government in their own juriſdiction, creating magiſtrates and officers of juſtice, and enacting laws, regulations, and ſtatutes, by their own proper authority. They have a right to coin money, to fortify their towns, to levy ſoldiers, and to exerciſe every act of ſovereignty, which is exerciſed by the princes of the empire in their different principalities. Formerly the number of the imperial towns amounted to eighty-four or eighty-five; but is at preſent reduced to fifty-eight, ſeparated into two benches in the aſſemblies; namely, that of the *Rhine*, and that of *Suabia*. The firſt comprehends the cities of *Cologn*, *Aix la Chapelle*, *Lubeck*, *Worms*, *Spire*, *Franckfort upon the Maine*, *Wetſler*, *Gellenhauſen*, *Dortmund*, and *Friedberg*; while *Ratiſbon*, *Augſburg*, *Nuremburg*, *Ulm*, and two-and-thirty other cities, are comprehended in that of e *Suabia*.

*The college of the imperial towns.*

THE appellation of *Hans* or *Anſe*, which, in all probability, comes from the *German* word *Anzee*, ſignifying *near the ſea*, is given to a confederacy of towns, that engaged in an alliance for the mutual ſupport and improvement of commerce. About the year 1164, the city of *Bremen* formed the firſt ſcheme of this ſociety, with ſeveral other ſea-port towns in *Livonia*; tho' the number that firſt entered into the aſſociation is uncertain. Be that as it will, it afterwards increaſed to ſuch a point of importance, as to comprehend fourſcore principal trading towns; among which were many foreign places, that deſired admiſſion into the confederacy. Accordingly we ſee in the old liſt *Antwerp*, *Dort*, *Amſterdam*, *Rotterdam*, *Bruges*, *Oſtend*, *Dunkirk*, *Calais*, *Rouen*, *St. Malo*, *Bourdeaux*, *Bayonne*, *Marſeilles*, *Barcelona*, f *Seville*, *Cadiz*, *Liſbon*, *Leghorne*, *Meſſina*, *Naples*, and *London*.

*Of the* Hans *towns.*

IN the flouriſhing times of the ſociety, they choſe four towns, where they eſtabliſhed free ſtaples, or general factories, for the convenience of their ſhipping, and the ſale of their merchandize; for the trade was chiefly carried on by barter or exchange. Theſe were *London* in *England*, *Bergues* in *Norway*, *Novogrod* in *Ruſſia*, and *Bruges* in *Flanders*. This *Anſeatique* alliance, which at firſt had no other aim than the ſecurity of commerce againſt pirates, and the mutual advantage of extending it among the towns concerned, by peaceable and friendly communication, became ſtrong enough to maintain an offenſive war againſt *Waldemar* III. king of *Denmark*; whom they obliged to ſue for peace, and cede to them, for a term of years, the iſle of *Schonen*, in order to indemnify them for the expence of their equipment. g They afterwards fitted out a powerful fleet againſt *Eric* X. and gave him great diſturbance. In 1615, they obliged the duke of *Brunſwic* to raiſe the ſiege of that town, which he had inveſted; and next year entered into a general alliance with the States of the United Provinces. In the ſame manner they often engaged in treaties with other princes and ſtates, and particularly

larly with different kings of *France*, who granted them ſeveral advantageous privileges in trade. a

AFTER the kings of *France*, *Spain*, *Italy*, and *Denmark*, had forbid their towns to continue members of this ſociety, the *Teutonic Hans* reſtricted their alliance to *Germany*, or, at leaſt, to the towns depending upon the empire, and diſtributed them under four metropolitans; namely, *Lubeck*, *Cologne*, *Brunſwick*, and *Dantzick*. The firſt comprehended the towns of *Hamburgh*, *Roſtock*, *Wiſmar*, *Stralſund*, *Lunenburgh*, *Stetin*, *Anclam*, *Golnau*, *Gnepſwald*, *Colberg*, *Stargard*, *Stolpen*, and *Rugenſbald*. Under that of *Cologne* were *Weſel*, *Emmeric*, *Druſburg*, *Oſnabrug*, *Dortmont*, *Soeſt*, *Herworden*, *Paderborn*, *Northauſen*, *Nimmegen*, *Zutphen*, *Ruremonde*, and ſeveral others of *Weſtphalia* and the *Low Countries*. The metropolitan of *Brunſwick* included *Bremen*, *Magdeburgh*, *Hildeſheim*, *Goſlar*, *Minden*, *Erimbeck*, and others: b and in the diviſion of *Dantzick* were all the *Hans* towns ſituated upon the *Baltick*, from the *Viſtula* as far as *Ruſſia*, comprehending *Colm*, *Thorn*, *Elbing*, *Konigsberg*, *Riga*, &c.

*LUBECK* is the chief of all the *Hans* towns, from a pre-eminence which it enjoys, not only on account of its central ſituation, but alſo of its privileges and power. It convokes the general aſſembly, is the depoſitory of the money contributed to defray the common expence; preſerves all the titles, acts, and archives, of the alliance; uſes its own ſeal to the letters ſent in the name of the community to foreign princes and ſtates, as well as to all their reſolutions and treaties: from its citizens are generally choſen the ambaſſadors and deputies appointed by the ſociety; and here the ſyndic of the alliances commonly reſides.

IN their aſſembly, the deputy of *Lubeck*, as preſident, ſits by himſelf, the reſt being ſeated on two benches, to the right and left, and votes before all others: their affairs are determined by a majority; nevertheleſs, when there is a great oppoſition, the queſtion is generally thrown out: their ordinary aſſemblies are held every three years, about *Whitſuntide*, and the extraordinary as often as the emergency of affairs requires a. c

*The diet of the empire.*

THE imperial diets are compoſed of theſe three colleges, which comprehend all the eſtates and immediate members of the empire. The diet is convoked by the emperor, after he has agreed with the electors upon the neceſſity of aſſembling it, and the place proper for the ſeſſion. In this aſſembly, the emperor is ſeated upon a throne; the electors of *Mentz*, *Bavaria* and *Brandenburg* being on his right hand; thoſe of *Cologn*, *Saxony*, and *Palatine*, upon his left; and the elector of *Triers* oppoſite to his perſon. The eccleſiaſtic princes are d ſeated on benches to the right; the ſecular princes ſit upon the left; and the deputies of the imperial towns occupy others that croſs from the right to the left. The emperor's propoſal being made in the general aſſembly, the three colleges deliberate apart upon the ſubject; then, aſſembling together in one place, communicate their ſentiments, and concur in a reſolution, which is ſent to the emperor; with whoſe approbation it paſſes into a law, and is received as an imperial conſtitution.

*The methods of adminiſtring juſtice.*

THERE are two methods of adminiſtring juſtice in the empire: one is exerciſed in general, and the other in particular tribunals. All the princes, ſtates, and members of the empire, have a right to adminiſter juſtice in their own fiefs, except in particular caſes, where an appeal lies to the imperial chamber of *Spire*, or the *Aulic* council. In the particular juriſdictions, they follow the laws of the empire; which arethe antient conſtitutions, the golden bull, the pacification of *Paſſaw*, the treaties of *Weſtphalia*, the *Saxon* law eſtabliſhed by *Charlemagne*, and the *Roman* law eſtabliſhed by the emperor *Juſtinian*, which is obſerved in all places where the other is not received. The general tribunals are thoſe of the imperial chamber of *Spire*, and the *Aulic* council of the emperor, which exerciſe an univerſal and ſovereign juriſdiction over all the ſubjects of the empire. The firſt was heretofore ambulatory, and eſtabliſhed at *Augſburg* by *Frederic* IV. It was afterwards held ſucceſſively at *Franckfort*, *Worms*, *Nuremburg*, *Ratisbon*, and *Eiſlengen*, till *Charles* V. fixed it at *Spire*. In conſequence of the treaties of *Weſtphalia*, it ought to be compoſed of a Catholic judge, and four preſidents, named by the emperor, two of each religion, and fifty counſellors, ſix- f and-twenty of which are Catholics, and the reſt Proteſtants. The judge muſt be a prince, count, or baron; two of the preſidents being of the ſword, and two of the gown. The counſellors are named and preſented in this manner; two Catholics by the emperor, as many by each of the four Catholic electors; two Proteſtants by each of the three Proteſtant electors; and the reſt by each of the circles of the empire. This is the regulation according to the treaties of *Weſtphalia*; but the imperial chamber is at preſent reduced to a much ſmaller number of officers, being compoſed of the elector of *Triers*, who is judge as biſhop of *Spire*, of one Catholic and one Proteſtant preſident, and eight Catholic and ſeven Proteſtant counſellors.

*The imperial chamber at* Spire.

*The* Aulic *council.*

THE *Aulic* council is compoſed of one Catholic preſident, one vice-chancellor, preſented g by the elector of *Mentz*, and nine counſellors of each religion; who, with the preſident,

a HEISS. l. 6. p. 357.

are

a are nominated by the emperor. They are divided into two benches; one of which is occupied by the nobles, and the other by the lawyers. They hold their aſſemblies near the perſon of the emperor, whence it is called *Aulic*, or the council of the imperial court.

ALTHOUGH the ſentences of theſe councils are final, there are nevertheleſs ſome caſes in which the parties may appeal to the emperor, and demand a reviſion of the proceſs; particularly in thoſe cauſes which regard the duchies, principalities, counties, and other immediate fiefs of the empire. In both theſe tribunals, the emperor preſides as ſovereign judge, and, when he is preſent, pronounces ſentence; and, in his abſence, he, who repreſents his perſon as judge, has a right to wear an imperial ſceptre as a badge of his dignity [b].

*Their deciſions not final in all caſes.*

b IN *Germany* are two ſorts of nobility; one free and immediate, holding only of the emperor and empire; the other mediate, which, though owning the emperor as chief of the empire, is likewiſe ſubjected to the juriſdiction of another prince. This laſt, though not in poſſeſſion of ſuch liberties as thoſe that are peculiar to the firſt, is nevertheleſs very conſiderable in *Germany*; for there is a great number of thoſe gentlemen of the ſecond rank, whoſe families pretend to be as antient and illuſtrious as thoſe of the immediate nobles, and who, in marrying, prefer the pooreſt gentlewoman to the richeſt plebeian. As for the gentlemen of the firſt rank, many of them are deſcended from thoſe heroes who accompanied *Charlemagne* and his ſucceſſors in all the victories they obtained over the *Saxons* and other nations which they ſubjected to their empire. Many others, coming from the neighbouring ſtates to ſettle in *Germany*, were afterwards united with this body of nobility, becauſe they were of noble
c extraction: while others again, whoſe fathers had merited that rank by their perſonal virtue and exploits, were in the ſequel immatriculated among the antient nobility by patents obtained from the emperor; but theſe cannot be admitted into the chapters, from which are choſen the archbiſhops, electors of *Mentz*, *Triers*, and *Cologne*, together with the other biſhops and prelates who are princes of *Germany*; becauſe, before a perſon can be received into this chapter, he muſt prove his nobility in thirty-two deſcents both by father and mother.

*Of the nobility.*

THE immediate nobility poſſeſs fiefs, which they hold only of the emperor and empire, and are intailed on heirs male; becauſe, by an expreſs clauſe in their charter, they are
d obliged to ſerve the emperor in perſon, upon all occaſions, with a certain number of ſervants, according to the ſtrength and revenue of the fief. Almoſt all their fiefs are ſituated in *Suabia*, *Franconia*, and along the *Rhine*, comprehending *Lower Alſace*; a diſpoſition made on purpoſe, that the nobility, being leſs diſperſed, might be the more ready on all emergencies, and more conveniently defend the frontiers on that ſide againſt foreign invaſion.

THE emperor has beſtowed upon the immediate nobility the ſame privileges enjoyed by the other immediate ſtates of the empire, with power to raiſe taxes thro' the whole extent of their reſpective fiefs, and to exerciſe a civil and criminal juriſdiction, the laſt of which is without appeal; but, from the civil, there lies an appeal to the *Aulic* council, or imperial chamber of *Spire*.

e HERETOFORE this nobility was admitted to the imperial diets, where they even pretended to take the rank of the cities; but, on account of the extraordinary expences incurred by their ſitting, the calling of them was gradually neglected, tho' they are left at liberty to aſſeſs themſelves in contributing to the public neceſſities of the empire.

THIS nobility forms a kind of ariſtocratical republic; for tho' they are divided into three claſſes, they never fail, on important occaſions, to join their councils and their ſtrength for the preſervation of the whole. They have divided the circle of *Suabia* into five departments called quarters; that of *Franconia* into ſix; and that of the *Rhine* into four. All theſe quarters have their chiefs, which, in *Suabia* and *Lower Alſace*, are called directors; but in *Franconia*, and the *Upper* and *Lower Rhine*, they are diſtinguiſhed by the name of captains,
f being choſen ſometimes from one family, and ſometimes from another. A chief can regulate nothing without the advice of two or three other gentlemen, who are nominated as his coadjutors, and a lawyer to be conſulted in ſuch affairs as depend upon the interpretation of the law. With theſe counſellors, the director or captain examines the differences that are brought before them, and exerts himſelf for the preſervation of the privileges of the whole body. If it is neceſſary to repreſs the injuſtice or violence of any nobleman, the director or captain convenes the whole circle, or even all the three circles, to ſupport and give ſanction to his determination; and, as to public affairs, the quarters uſually aſſemble once a year.

HAVING thus given a ſuccinct idea of the preſent conſtitution and government of *Ger-*
g *many*, it will not be amiſs to mention the preſent character of the people, as we find it deſcribed by modern authors of credit.

[b] Vide PUFFEND. HEISS. MORER.

THE

*The character of the* Germans.

THE *Germans* of theſe days are ſaid to be laborious, ſimple, faithful, valiant, and well adapted for war; but at the ſame time cruel, mercenary, and addicted to pillage. They are ſtaunch to the religion they embrace, ſlow in council, and truſty in their friendſhips; but withal diſguiſed in their enmity, diſtruſtful, ſuſpicious, and more given to exceſs in eating and drinking than any other nation in the world. Heretofore they were barbarous, and groſsly ignorant; but they have been civilized and poliſhed by their aſſiduous application to the ſtudy of arts and ſciences, in which they have made conſiderable progreſs. Yet their improvement is rather owing to indefatigable toil and induſtry than to their natural vivacity, genius, and penetration, in which they are counted inferior to almoſt all their neighbours. Indeed this allegation ſeems to be juſtified by their works, which are not at all remarkable for ſpirit or imagination; but commonly compoſed of tedious citations, compiled by dint of toil and perſeverance; ſo that they have incurred the imputation of carrying their genius not in the brain but in the back. They have nevertheleſs acquired ſome reputation in philoſophy and the belles lettres, and made very ingenious improvements in mechanics; but their hiſtories are not much to be depended upon, becauſe of their exceſſive credulity. This may have likewiſe contributed to that ſpirit of alchemy which hath engaged ſo many of their nation in ſearch of the philoſopher's ſtone. They are extremely fond of hunting, and ſo ridiculouſly vain, that every petty prince in the empire thinks his own family better than that of the king of *France*. The language is a dialect of the *Teutonic*; ſome of them profeſs the Roman Catholic, and ſome the Proteſtant, religion; but all others are tolerated for the convenience of commerce and the advantage of the country [c].

[c] Vide BODIN. P. BOUHOURS. SCALIGER.

## CONRAD I.

AS the affairs of *Germany* are interwoven with thoſe of *France*, during the reign of *Charlemagne* and his ſucceſſors, who are therefore naturally comprehended in the modern hiſtory of that kingdom, we ſhall begin with *Conrad*, the firſt *German* who ruled the empire, when it became a diſtinct ſovereignty, altogether independent of *France*, of which it had hitherto been reckoned an appendage.

SOME, indeed, are of opinion, that the commencement of the *German* empire does not properly take place till the reign of *Otho the Great*, when *Italy* was re-united to the imperial dominions [a]; but, in order to maintain the connexion between this and the Ancient Hiſtory, it was neceſſary to take notice of *Conrad* and his ſucceſſor, who, tho' they were not in poſſeſſion of the kingdom of *Lombardy*, deſerve, without all queſtion, to be ranked among the *German* emperors (A).

BESIDES, the extinction of the *Carlovingian* race, when the empire was wholly detached from *France*, and the imperial dignity became elective, is ſurely as proper a period for an hiſtorian to begin with as the reign of *Otho*, in which the *Italian* dominions were recovered to the empire.

ALTHOUGH the ſucceſſors of *Charlemagne* had really poſſeſſed the empire, by right of hereditary ſucceſſion devolved from father to ſon, theſe princes uſually procured the conſent of their grandees, as a ſanction to their laſt wills, that no diſputes might attend the diſpoſitions they had made. What was at firſt no more than a political condeſcenſion in the emperors, was in time interpreted into a privilege of thoſe nobles; and hence is derived the right of thoſe electors, by whom the emperor is inveſted with the imperial dignity and power [b].

THUS authorized by cuſtom, the *German* noblemen aſſembling at *Worms*, upon the death of *Lewis* IV. made a proffer of the imperial crown to *Otho*, duke of *Saxony*; who declined the honour on account of his great age, and, with a generoſity almoſt peculiar to himſelf, recommended *Conrad*, duke of *Franconia* and *Heſſe*, whom (tho' his own enemy) he knew to be a prince of merit and capacity. In conſequence of this recommendation, the aſſembly elected *Conrad*, whom ſome writers pretend to have been ſon-in-law to *Lewis* IV. a circumſtance highly improbable, as *Lewis* died very young [c].

*Conrad is elected emperor.*

[a] GOB. PERS. ex Meib. p. 246. [b] HEISS, l. ii. p. 153. [c] GOB. PRES. p. 246.

(A) At the death of *Lewis* IV. the empire of *Germany* comprehended *Franconia*, the province of *Bamberg*, *Suabia*, *Conſtans*, *Baſil*, *Bern*, *Lauſanne*, *Burgundy*, *Bezançon*, *Lorrain*, *Metz*, *Liege*, *Cambray*, *Arras*, *Flanders*, *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Utrecht*, *Cologn*, *Treves*, *Mentz*, *Worms*, *Spire*, *Straſbourg*, *Friezland*, *Saxony*, *Heſſe*, *Weſtphalia*, *Thuringia*, *Wetteravia*, *Miſnia*, *Brandenbourg*, *Pomerania*, *Rugen*, *Stetin*, *Holſtein*, *Auſtria*, *Carinthia*, *Stiria*, the *Tyroleſe*, *Bavaria*, the *Griſons*, and in general all the countries ſituated among theſe provinces and their dependencies (1).

(1) *Barre, Hiſt. d'Allemagne, t.* iii. *p.* 285.

BE

a BE that as it will, he no ſooner received the imperial diadem than he took all the precautions neceſſary to ſupport his authority, in the midſt of a great many powerful princes, who envied his promotion. Several noblemen of *Lorrain*, who acknowledged *Charles the Simple* as their ſovereign, reſolved to put him in poſſeſſion of the dominions which had belonged to *Lewis* of *Germany*, on this ſide the *Rhine*; but the count *Des Retz*, being deſirous that *Lorrain* ſhould fall into the hands of *Conrad*, engaged thoſe of *Namure* and *Limbourg* in behalf of that prince; who, underſtanding that his preſence was neceſſary, marched into *Lorrain*, where, being well received by the lords of his party, he endeavoured to conciliate the affection of the natives, by conferring new titles, and other acts of liberality, in favour of the nobility and clergy [d]. A. D. 912.

b HIS ſtay in *Lorrain* was ſhortened by the revolt of *Henry* duke of *Saxony*, who was incenſed againſt him becauſe he had refuſed to give him the inveſtiture of *Thuringia* and *Weſtphalia*; tho' this refuſal was intirely owing to his apprehenſion, that the duke would become too powerful by ſuch an addition to his dominions. *Henry*, by the aſſiſtance of *Burchard* duke of *Suabia*, *Arnold* duke of *Bavaria*, and ſeveral other noblemen, ſaw himſelf at the head of an army which *Conrad* durſt not venture to encounter. He therefore had recourſe to other arts, by which he found means to detach *Burchard* from the *Saxon* party; and *Henry*'s forces being at the ſame time weakened by the retreat of *Arnold*, whoſe country was threatened with an invaſion by the *Hungarians*, he agreed to a ſuſpenſion of arms; in conſequence of which *Conrad* returned to *Franconia*. Henry *duke of* Saxony *revolts*.

c THE *Hungarians* having advanced with a great body of horſe as far as the river *Inn*, demanding tribute of the *Bavarians*, *Arnold* aſſembled his troops, which were reinforced by thoſe of *Erchanger*, adminiſtrator of the treaſury, and *Berthold* count *Walric*. Dividing them into two bodies, he placed the moſt conſiderable part in ambuſcade, and with the other retired before them into a marſhy place; where, their horſe being unable to act, they were charged with great impetuoſity, and utterly overthrown [e]. Arnold *duke of* Bavaria *defeats the* Hungarians.

THIS ſucceſs inflamed the ambition of *Erchanger* and *Berthold*; who, on pretence of being deſcended from *Charlemagne*, aſpired to the higheſt dignities, and actually turned their arms againſt *Conrad*; tho', finding themſelves unequal to the enterprize they had undertaken, they ſoon implored his clemency; but he was reſolved to inflict an exemplary
d puniſhment, and they were, after a fair trial in the aſſembly of *Altheim*, convicted of treaſon, and executed at *Aldeingen*. Erchanger *is executed at* Aldeingen.

THIS rebellion was ſucceeded by that of *Arnold* duke of *Bavaria*, who took the field, and entered *Suabia* with a ſtrong army; upon which the emperor forthwith marched againſt him, at the head of ſuch troops as he could raiſe for the occaſion, and overthrew him in a pitched battle, in which *Arnold* was mortally wounded [f]. Arnold *is defeated by* Conrad. A. D. 914.

*GESELBERT* duke of *Lorrain*, and *Burchard* duke of *Suabia*, having received conſiderable ſuccours from *Charles the Simple*, were likewiſe reſolved to try their fortune againſt the emperor; but, engaging him in a diſadvantageous place, their army was cut in pieces, and *Eringer* and *Bertold*, the ſons of *Geſelbert*, being taken priſoners, were beheaded by or-
e der of the conqueror. A. D. 916.

THE *Hungarians* too, taking advantage of the troubles of the empire, after having compelled *Berenger*, king of *Italy*, to ſue for peace, in their return made irruptions into *Saxony*, *Thuringia*, *Franconia*, *Lorrain*, and *Alſace*, which they deſolated with fire and ſword, and obliged the emperor to purchaſe peace upon the moſt ſhameful conditions [g]. A. D. 917.

AFTER a reign of about ſeven years, *Conrad*, perceiving his end approaching, recommended to the princes and ſtates of the empire, even when his own brother *Everard* count of *Franconia* was preſent, *Henry* duke of *Saxony*, and ſon of *Otho*, as the moſt proper perſon to ſucceed him on the imperial throne [h]; tho' this very *Henry* had been one of his moſt inveterate enemies (B). The princes having approved of his choice, he, before his death, ſent to him
f by the hands of his brother *Everard*, the crown, ſcepter, lance, ſword, and other regalia; thus nobly ſacrificing his reſentment to the advantage of the empire, and treating the ſon with the ſame generoſity which he himſelf had experienced from the father. *The emperor recommends the duke of* Saxony *as heir to the throne, and dies.*

[d] Chron. WORM. [e] Ann. Boicæ Gent. part i. l. xiii. [f] GOD. PERS. æt. vi. c. 46. [g] Ann. Hildeſh. HERM. CONTRA. ad ann. 916. [h] HEN. BOD. SYNTAG. ex Meib. p. 490. HEISS, p. 155.

(B) He had even attempted to poiſon *Conrad* by means of a golden bracelet, which *Hatton*, biſhop of *Wurtzburgh*, was to have preſented to him in *Henry*'s name in token of reconciliation; but this attempt was diſcovered by ſome friends whom *Conrad* had at *Henry*'s court; ſo that their enmity increaſing, acts of hoſtilities were committed on both ſides. The emperor undertook the ſiege of *Merſbourg*; but *Henry* forced his lines, and routed his whole army; of which the carnage was ſo great, that the *Saxons* ſaid, by way of deriſion, they could ſcarce believe hell was large enough to hold the infinite number of *Franks*, which they ſent thither in one day (2).

(2) *Remarq. ſur Heiſs, l.* ii. *p.* 155.

## *HENRY* I. surnamed *the Fowler.*

A. D. 919. Henry *surnamed* the Fowler, *is elected emperor.*

THE emperor being dead, the dukes of *Bavaria*, *Franconia*, and *Suabia*, together with all the other states of *Germany*, assembled the following year at *Fritzlar*; where *Henry* duke of *Saxony* being present, was elected, and confirmed in the imperial dignity with universal applause. He was distinguished by the epithet of *the Fowler*, because he was much addicted to that amusement, and was actually engaged in it when he received intimation of his being recommended by *Conrad* as his successor in the empire [i]. a

THE pope, disturbed by the factions of several petty princes, who assumed the title in *Rome*, proffered to declare *Henry* emperor of the *Romans*; but this honour he declined, either because he would not give himself the trouble of marching into *Italy* to subdue his competitors, or was resolved to re-establish the tranquility of his own empire before he would engage in that enterprize. With this view he had, in the beginning of his reign, endeavoured to promote a mutual reconciliation among all the princes, counts, and noblemen, of *Germany*, as the only sure basis of universal prosperity; nor was he disappointed in his aim. Concord and harmony were diffused thro' the whole empire, and the affection of his subjects so happily conciliated, that when the *Hungarians*, according to custom, invaded his territories with a powerful army, they unanimously took up arms in his defence, and drove the enemy out of the empire, with the loss of eighty thousand men left upon the field of battle, which was fought near the city of *Mersbourg*. He afterwards defeated the *Vandals*, who had made an irruption into *Saxony*, and pursued them as far as the city of *Brandenbourg*, which he besieged and took in the middle of winter. The same people again having attempted to invade the empire, *Henry* attacked them upon the coast of the *Baltic*; where they were utterly exterminated, about one hundred and twenty thousand being killed upon the spot. *Gonnen*, king of *Denmark*, met with the same fate. The *Sclavonians* and *Dalmatians* were subdued, as well as the *Bohemians*, whose king, *Winceslaus*, he took prisoner; and, after long captivity, released, and generously reinstated in his dominions. In fine, he reduced the *Abotrites*, who had revolted, and was successful against all the enemies of the empire. Among others, he repulsed *Charles the Simple* from the banks of the *Rhine*, whither he had come to ravage *Lorrain*, and the cities of *Mentz*, *Spire*, and *Worms*. b

A. D. 920. *Defeats the* Hungarians *near* Mersbourg.

*Subdues the* Dalmatians, Bohemians, *and* Abotrites.

A. D. 921. *Surmounts all opposition.*

AT length the two princes, after they had twice conferred with each other at *Bonn*, entered into a treaty called *Pactum Bonnense*, which is a famous epocha in history; and this is the only attempt that ever was made by *Charles*, or his successors, in favour of their pretensions upon the empire [k]. c d

SOON after this accommodation, he held an assembly at *Coblentz*, composed of several *French* and *German* bishops, where the treaty was confirmed; and, among other regulations, it was decreed, that there should be no marriage between relations within the sixth degree of consanguinity; and that no layman should receive tythes, which were wholly ecclesiastic [l].

ABOUT this time, *Conrad*, at the sollicitation of some *French* noblemen, advised *Charles* of *France* to dismiss his favourite *Haganon*, who abused his confidence, and was odious to the whole kingdom; but this advice being rejected, duke *Robert*, to whose son *Hugh* *Charles* refused the abbey of *Chelles*, assembled a body of forces, took the town of *Laon*, in which he found the treasures of *Haganon*, was crowned at *Rheims* by the archbishop *Hervè*, and, in order to support his new dignity with the friendship of *Henry the Fowler*, demanded an interview with that prince. They accordingly met on the banks of the river *Roer*, that runs by *Juliers*, where they engaged in a league offensive and defensive, and made considerable presents to each other. e

Charles *is defeated by* Hugh *surnamed* the Abbot. A. D. 923.

*CHARLES*, alarmed at this alliance, extracted courage from necessity; and, assembling his troops, marched directly to *Attigni*, and attacked the army of his rival. The battle was maintained with great obstinacy on both sides; and, even after *Robert* was slain, his son *Hugh*, taking the command, exerted himself with such valour, that *Charles* was worsted, and obliged to quit the field [m]. The malecontents afterwards elected *Raoul* duke of *Burgundy* their king; and *Charles*, seeing himself abandoned by many noblemen who had hitherto been attached to his interest, had recourse to *Henry the Fowler*, in whose favour he promised to cede all his possessions in *Lorrain*. In consequence of this engagement, *Henry* began to levy troops; and the malecontents of *France* being terrified at his preparations, *Herbert* count de *Vermandois*, one of their chiefs, amused *Charles* with protestations of fidelity, and, on pretence of concerting measures for suppressing the rebellion, se- f

Henry *espouses the cause of* Charles,

[i] HEISS, l. ii. p. 156. GOB. PERS. p. 246. HEN. BOD. p. 490. tom. ii. & iii. [k] Pact. Carol. & Hen. Reg. ap. DUCH, t. ii. [l] Concil. t. ix. p. 579. [m] MABIL. t. xiii. A. BENEDICT. p. 374.

duced

duced him to *Peronne*, where he was apprehended, and committed close prisoner to *Chateau-Thierri*. *who is made prisoner by the malecontents.*

*HENRY*, being informed of this event, passed the *Rhine* with his army, and ravaged the country between that river and the *Moselle*; but, understanding that *Raoul* was advancing with a superior force, he repassed the *Rhine*, and took possession of an advantageous post, where he remained until he had the pleasure of seeing almost all the noblemen of *Lorrain* forsake the banners of *Raoul*, who began to treat them with insolence and contempt. This defection might have been very advantageous to *Henry*, had not he been prevented from turning it to account, by a severe distemper that reduced him to extremity; during which the *Lorrainers*, despairing of his recovery, reconciled themselves to *Raoul*, by the
b mediation of *Herbert de Vermandois* and *Hugh the Abbot*.

*HENRY* no sooner recovered his health, than, resolved to punish them for their inconstancy, he marched into *Lorrain*, retook several strong places, pursued duke *Geselbert* from town to town, and in a little time subdued the whole country. With regard to the laymen of *Raoul*'s party, he banished some, kept others in confinement, and deposed *Hugh the Abbot* from the bishopric of *Verdun*, which he bestowed on one of his own adherents. The *Lorrainers*, exasperated at this arbitrary method of proceeding, formed a conspiracy against *the Fowler*, and raised an army with such secrecy and dispatch, that he was fain to pacify them by redressing their grievances, and restoring the province to *Geselbert*, who took the oath of allegiance, and did him homage accordingly. *The emperor subdues* Lorrain, *and is reconciled to duke* Geselbert. A. D. 926.

c THE duke, however, not contented with such a dependent situation, began to form new projects and cabals against *Henry*, who obliged him to appear at the diet of *Worms*; where he was deprived of his duchy, which was given to *Everhard*, a *Saxon* nobleman. *Geselbert*, enraged at this event, had recourse to arms; but, before he could commit any acts of hostility, he was seized and delivered to the emperor: yet so pliant was his disposition, that, even during his captivity, he insinuated himself into the good graces of *Henry*, who not only reestablished him in the duchy of *Lorrain*, but also gave him his own daughter in marriage [n].

To clear his domninions of thieves and banditti, he published a general amnesty in their favour, provided they would inlist in his service; and actually formed them into a regiment. He ordered that all his cities should be garrisoned with a ninth part of the peasants who in-
d habited the boroughs and villages, and that the other eight should cultivate the lands, on condition of contributing towards the subsistence of the rest, and of furnishing yearly the third part of all their grain, for the magazines established in every city, that there might never be any want either of soldiers or provision [o]. *He regulates the police of his dominions.*

SUCH was the zeal of this prince for the propagation of the Christian faith, that he undertook, and actually effected, the conversion of the king of the *Abotrites* (C), and appointed the first bishop in *Holstein* to preach the gospel among the *Vandals*, whom he had subdued [p]. He created a marquis in the city of *Brandenbourg* to defend his frontiers against the *Abotrites*, as he had done before in *Misnia* and *Lusatia*, for security against the incursions of the *Bohemians*; in imitation of *Charlemagne*, who had taken the same precautions in *Austria* and
e *Moravia* against the *Sarmatians*, *Poles*, and *Hungarians*. He likewise ordered his towns to be surrounded with walls, bastions, and ditches, for the advantage of commerce, as well as the security of the inhabitants; and that the nobility might be inured to the exercise of arms, even in time of peace, he appointed tournaments, in which they vied with each other in displaying their dexterity and address. But he expressly excluded from these lists of honour all those who did not profess the true religion, as well as those who had been guilty of perjury, treason, rape, sacrilege, or murder. *converts the king of the* Abotrites *to the Christian faith.* A. D. 927. *secures his dominions;*

AFTER having taken these precautions for the security of his dominions, he marched to the assistance of *Winceslaus*, duke of *Bohemia*, whose dominions were invaded by *Ladislaus*, a *Polish* prince, who was obliged to retire at his approach; and he stayed some time at
f *Prague*, in order to establish the young duke on his dominions, and protect the Christian religion, which had greatly suffered by the efforts of *Draghomire*, the mother of *Winceslaus*, a bigotted pagan [q]. *marches to the assistance of the duke of* Bohemia, *and*

*HENRY*'s next expedition was into *Lorrain*, where he besieged the castle of *Durefort*, belonging to count *Boson*, brother of king *Raoul*, who had seized by force several abbies of *Lorrain*; but he was persuaded to restore the lands, make a submission, and swear allegiance to the emperor [r]. *enters* Lorrain.

WHILE *Henry* was thus employed in appeasing the troubles of *Bohemia* and *Lorrain*, the *Slaves*, who inhabited *Pomerania*, made an irruption into *Saxony*, ravaged the province of *The* Slaves *are defeated.* A. D. 929.

[n] WITTICH. l. i. p. 639. [o] Annal. Saxon. ad an. 927. [p] Annal. GERN. HOPPENROD. ex Meib. t. ii. p. 417. [q] Hist. Bohem. t. iv. p. 58. [r] BARRE, t. iii. p. 327.

(C) *Abotrites*, a people bordering upon *Bulgaria*, in that part of *Dacia* contiguous to the *Danube* (1).

(1) *Mascou.*

*Lunen-*

*Lunenburg*, and taking the capital, put the inhabitants to the ſword. Being afterwards joined by the *Abotrites*, *Wilſes*, and *Vandals*, they found their army augmented to a very great number; and becoming more and more formidable, *Henry* ordered *Bernard*, duke of *Lunenburg*, and the count *Theucmare*, to march againſt them with a powerful body of forces. Theſe two generals undertook the ſiege of *Lunden* in *Scania*; and the barbarians marching to its relief, a battle enſued, in which they were utterly overthrown; ſo that of courſe this town of *Lunden* fell into the hands of the conqueror [s]. a

THE truce with the *Hungarians* being expired, *Henry* aſſembled the ſtates of the empire, and after having recapitulated the victories he had obtained over the barbarians, which ſeemed to preſage his future ſucceſs, expatiated upon the diſgrace that would be entailed upon *Germany*, provided they ſhould commence tributaries to the *Hungarians*. His ſpeech had ſuch an effect upon the aſſembly, that they unanimouſly declared for war: but before he would undertake any thing againſt the enemy, he reſolved to take cognizance of ſome abuſes which had crept among the clergy, and which were accordingly reformed in a council held at *Erfort* in *Thuringia*. b

*The* Hungarians *invade the empire, but are defeated.* A. D. 932.

THESE meaſures being taken for the repoſe of the church and ſtate, he began to make preparations for the war againſt the *Hungarians*; who having ſent deputies to demand the annual tribute, *Henry* refuſed to pay it with marks of diſdain, and in lieu of it ſent a mangy dog with a meſſage, importing, that, if they expected any other tribute, they muſt come and look for it themſelves. This haughty reply exaſperated them to ſuch a degree, that they joined the *Slaves*, and entering *Germany* with an army of 300,000 men, deſolated the country with fire and ſword. They ſeparated into two diſtinct bodies; one of which croſſed the *Rhine* in boats, and having pillaged *Alſace*, fell upon *Lorrain*, where they were defeated by the count *de Sunderhauſen*, and obliged to return to their ſecond army in *Saxony*, which was at that time employed in beſieging *Mersbourg*. *Henry* had marched againſt another body that ravaged *Thuringia*, which having ſurpriſed and utterly defeated, he reſolved to go to the relief of *Mersbourg*, where he found the enemy drawn up in order of battle. Although he was at that time very much indiſpoſed, and infinitely inferior to the *Hungarians* in number, he reſolutely attacked them without heſitation, and they being immediately put into diſorder, a terrible carnage enſued, inſomuch that they left above 40,000 men dead upon the field of battle, and a very conſiderable booty, by which the ſoldiers of the emperor were enriched [t]. c d

*HENRY*, having ſubdued all his enemies, reſtored peace and concord to his ſubjects, and ſubjected the empire to proper regulations, began to taſte the fruits of his wiſdom and ſucceſs, when the pope and citizens of *Rome*, tired of the civil wars that had raged ſo long in *Italy*, implored the aſſiſtance of his arms to deliver them from oppreſſion; and, in order to facilitate his compliance, invited him to come and receive at *Rome* the unction and imperial crown. Far from neglecting an occaſion ſo favourable to his views upon *Italy*, he forthwith ſet out at the head of his troops; but being ſeized with an apoplexy by the way, he was obliged to return to *Manſleben*; where, believing himſelf near his end, he convoked the princes of the empire, who, in his preſence, complied with his deſire, and ſettled the ſucceſſion on his ſon *Otho*. Soon after this nomination, he died at *Manſleben*, in the 60th year of his age, and 17th of his reign; upon which occaſion it was ſaid, that the ableſt ſtateſman [u], and the greateſt king of *Europe*, was dead: and really no prince ſurpaſſed him either in the qualities of the heart and head, or in any perſonal accompliſhment. He was extremely munificent to the church, and had the intereſt of religion very much at heart (D). He married *Mathilda*, daughter of *Theodoric*, count of *Aldenburg*, by whom he had three ſons, *Otho*, *Henry*, and *Bruno*, and enjoyed the ſatisfaction of leaving to the eldeſt of theſe, who was already of age, the empire much more powerful, and the authority better eſtabliſhed, than he had received them from his predeceſſor [w]. e

*Appoints his ſucceſſor.* A. D. 936.

f

[s] WITICHIND, l. i. p. 639. [t] ENGELHUSIUS, p. 174. [u] Ann. WITICHIND, ex Meib. p. 642. t. i.
[w] BOD. SYNTAG. ex Meib. p. 490.

(D) *Henricus Bodo* relates, that *Rudolphus*, king of the *Burgundians*, being poſſeſſed of a lance formerly belonging to *Conſtantine the Great*, who had fixed upon it a croſs made of the nails of that croſs on which Chriſt ſuffered, the emperor *Henry* obtained it from him, partly by threats, and partly by entreaties; and, by virtue of this holy weapon, triumphed over all his enemies: that a vein of ſuperſtition ran through his character may be alſo gathered from the tranſports of joy and adoration with which he received a hand of St. *Denis*, ſent to him in a preſent by *Charles the Simple*.

## CHAP. II.

### *The Reign of* Otho I. *including the Tranſactions of the Weſtern Empire under this Prince and his Deſcendents.*

a THOUGH the princes of *Germany* had not been very well diſpoſed towards *Otho*, the great power he had derived from his hereditary ſucceſſion, together with his enterprizing ſpirit, and perſonal qualifications, would have obliged them to adhere to the promiſe which they had already made in his favour (E). He was accordingly elected emperor at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, by the unanimous conſent of all the princes then preſent, among which number were the archbiſhops of *Mentz*, *Magdebourg*, *Triers*, and *Beſançon*; the biſhops of *Ratisbon*, *Treſingen*, *Augsbourg*, *Conſtance*, *Eichſtet*, *Worms*, *Spire*, *Brixen*, and *Hildeſheim*, this laſt being the emperor's chancellor; the abbots of *Fulde*, *Herchfelt*, and *Erbach*, together with the king of *Bohemia*, and the dukes of *Saxony*, *Bavaria*, *Auſtria*, *Moravia*, and *Lorrain* [x]. All theſe took the oath of allegiance, and did homage to the new emperor, whom b they promiſed to ſerve, and aſſiſt againſt all his enemies. Then they accompanied him to the great church, where he was met by the archbiſhop of *Mentz*, and the dioceſan, in their pontificals, aſſiſted by other biſhops, and all the clergy, who having ſaluted him with the uſual ceremonies, he proceeded into the middle of the church, where he ſtood in the ſight of the people, to whom the prelate addreſſed himſelf in words to this effect: "I here preſent to you *Otho*, choſen of God, formerly deſtined to the empire by his father *Henry*, "and now elected into that ſupreme ſtation by all the princes here aſſembled. If this election is agreeable to you, hold up your hands in token of your approbation." This addreſs being received with univerſal applauſe, and a thouſand acclamations, *Otho* was conducted to the great altar, on which the regalia were placed, when the archbiſhop girding c on his ſword, "Receive (ſaid he) that ſword, and uſe it againſt the enemies of Jeſus Chriſt, "as well as thoſe who unworthily profeſs his name; and employ the authority and power "of the empire, which God hath put into your hands, to confirm and preſerve the peace "of the church." Then putting on the mantle of ſtate, "Remember (continued he) "with what fortitude and fidelity you are obliged to maintain peace and tranquillity to the "end of your life." Laſtly, preſenting him with the ſceptre and mace, he added, "Warned by theſe emblems, inflict upon your ſubjects no other than paternal chaſtiſement: "extend your mercy and compaſſion to the miniſters of God, to the widow and the orphan; "and let the balm of your pity never ceaſe to flow, that you may acquire a never-fading "crown both in this life and that which is to come." After this exhortation, he was d anointed by the biſhops with the ſacred oil, and the archbiſhop ſet the crown upon his head. Then he aſcended the throne, on which he ſat during the ſervice; after which, he was reconducted to the palace, where he dined in public, and was ſerved by the dukes and other noblemen, while the biſhops had the honour of ſitting at his own table.

A. D. 936.

Otho *is elected, and crowned at* Aix-la-Chapelle.

*The ceremony of his coronation.*

HE began his reign with the moſt upright adminiſtration [y], being an implacable enemy to all cruelty and baſeneſs, and, for a little time, he ruled in tranquillity and peace; but this calm was not of long duration. The *Hungarians*, according to cuſtom, invaded *Franconia*, and ravaged the provinces of *Upper* and *Lower Saxony*, where they put a number of people to the ſword, without diſtinction of ſex or age. However, their progreſs was ſoon checked by *Otho*, who, coming up with them in the plain of *Dortmund* in *Weſtphalia*, attacked and e defeated them with great ſlaughter; then marching into *Lower Saxony*, fortified *Magdebourg*, and paſſed the *Elbe*, to reſtrain the *Slaves* and other barbarians of the north, who were meditating a freſh irruption. After this expedition, being informed that *Winceſlaus*, who was inveſted with the dukedom of *Bohemia* by the emperor his father, had been murdered by *Boleſlaus* his own brother, who afterwards took poſſeſſion of the duchy by force, he was ſo incenſed at the inhumanity of the uſurper, that he ſent an army againſt him, under the command of *Æſic*, count of *Aſcania*, who engaged, and at firſt defeated *Boleſlaus*, and believed that, by this victory, he had put an end to the war; but the uſurper having, in a few days, rallied and reinforced his troops, and making a ſudden aſſault upon the victors, cut in pieces the whole imperial army [z].

*He ſends an army againſt* Boleſlaus.

[x] WITT. ann. l. ii. [y] HEISS, l. ii. WITT. ann. l. ii. [z] DUBRAVIUS Hiſt. Bohem.

(E) He inherited from his father the duchy of *Saxony*, *Weſtphalia*, *Angria*, *Thuringia*, *Heſſe*, *Wetteravia*, the countries on the *Weſer* in the neighbourhood of *Minden*, and thoſe upon the *Elbe*, towards the confines of *Lunenburg*, comprehending the city of *Wittenberg*, *Miſnia*, *Luſatia*, the country on the eaſt ſide of *Pleſſe* and *Eſter*, the country of *Northeim*, and that whole tract in which the city of *Magdebourg* is ſituated (1).

(1) *Heiſs*, *l.* ii.

*OTHO* was mortally chagrined at this misfortune, which, however, he endeavoured to repair, by levying a new army with all poſſible expedition. He accordingly carried on the war for the ſpace of fourteen years with great vigour and perſeverance, till at laſt he gained a complete victory over *Boleſlaus*, who was fain to ſubmit, and own him for his ſovereign. But this was not the only war which at that time engroſſed the attention of the emperor. a

*The ſons of* Arnold, *duke of* Bavaria, *refuſe to do homage to* Otho,

THE death of *Arnold*, duke of *Bavaria*, produced a great revolution in that province. He left three ſons, *Everhard*, *Arnold*, and *Herman*, with a daughter called *Judith*, who was married to *Henry* of *Saxony*, brother of *Otho*. *Everhard*, as eldeſt, ſeized the whole duchy, and refuſed to do homage to the emperor, on pretence that he was not his vaſſal, but ally: and although *Arnold* and *Herman* diſputed the duchy with *Everhard*, all three agreed to conſider *Bavaria* as altogether independent of *Germany*; a circumſtance which incenſed *Otho* to b ſuch a degree, that he diveſted them of the duchy, and beſtowed the inveſtiture upon *Arnold*'s brother *Bertolf*, who willingly did homage for ſuch a preſent. Each pretender was ſupported by his own party: Pope *Leo* II. owned *Everhard* as duke of *Bavaria*, in a letter addreſſed to the biſhops and noblemen of *Germany*; and *Otho*, alarmed at this deciſion, ſet on foot a negotiation to engage the three brothers to reſign their pretenſions: but they refuſing to comply with his deſire, he entered *Bavaria* with a powerful army, and having ſeized *Everhard*, ſent him into exile. *Arnold* and *Herman* were obliged to follow his court, and their uncle *Bertolf* remained in quiet poſſeſſion of *Bavaria* [a]. As for the eldeſt, he was obliged to paſs the reſt of his days in the allodial territories depending on *Bavaria*, ſituated in *Voigtland* and *Franconia*: but each of his brothers afterwards obtained a palatinate. *Arnold* c was put in poſſeſſion of the lordſhip of *Scheyern*, and became count palatine in *Bavaria*, and *Herman* acquired the ſame dignity in one of the provinces upon the *Rhine*.

*who enters* Bavaria, *and baniſhes the eldeſt.* A. D. 938.

*EVERHARD*, duke of *Franconia*, was likewiſe inveſted with the ſame quality, by which he maintained a juriſdiction over the magiſtrates and receivers, and beſtowed thoſe places, and many others, upon his own friends and adherents. The *Saxons* grew jealous of his credit and power; and *Henry* duke of *Brunſwick*, the emperor's brother, not only refuſed to ſubmit to his authority, but alſo inſpired the *Saxons* with the ſame ſentiments, which entailed upon them the reſentment of *Everhard*, who declared war againſt *Henry*, and burnt the town of *Elmen* upon the *Weſer*. *Otho* no ſooner heard of theſe proceedings, than he aſſembled the noblemen of his court, and bringing *Everhard* and his accomplices to a tryal, con- d demned each of them to carry a dog upon his ſhoulders, from the place of his habitation as far as *Magdeburg*. In this manner did the antient nations of the north puniſh the ſeditious, who had diſturbed the public tranquillity. *Evrehard*, however, was pardoned at the interceſſion of his friends; though the enmity ſtill ſubſiſted between him and the duke of *Brunſwick*, and in a little time broke forth in preparations of war: then *Otho* ſummoned both to appear at the diet of *Arensberg* (F), which was at that time convened; but they did not think proper to obey the citation; and *Henry* was afterwards ſurprized by his antagoniſt in the town of *Baudewic*, and committed cloſe priſoner to a caſtle in *Alſace*, from whence, however, he was ſoon releaſed, after having entered into a league againſt his brother with *Everhard*, and *Sigebert* duke of *Auſtraſia*. Theſe, who were themſelves pretenders to the throne, e took great pains to perſuade *Henry*, brother to *Otho*, that he had the beſt title to the imperial dignity, becauſe he was born after the elevation of his father to the throne; whereas the birth of *Otho* was not attended with ſuch advantage. He liſtened to theſe idle inſinuations; and an aſſociation being formed, they began to levy troops, and in a little time brought a conſiderable army into the field; but were intirely routed by the emperor, duke *Everhard*, who was general, being killed in the battle, which was fought upon the banks of the *Rhine*, and *Sigebert* drowned in that river, in attempting to make his eſcape. Mean while *Henry*, taking refuge in the city of *Mersbourg*, and finding himſelf unable to defend it againſt his brother, was fain to ſubmit by capitulation; in conſequence of which he retired to the dominions of *Lewis*, king of *France*, who had declared war againſt the emperor in ſupport of f his pretenſions. Peace was ſoon after concluded between that prince and the emperor, who was reconciled to his brother, and beſtowed upon him the duchy of *Lorrain*, which did not long remain in his poſſeſſion [b] (G).

*Diſſention between* Everhard, *duke of* Franconia, *and* Henry, *duke of* Brunſwick.

Henry, *brother of* Otho, *rebels, but is defeated,*

*and retires to* France. A. D. 941.

*SIGE-*

[a] SIGEB. ad ann. 936. [b] Ann. TREVER.

(F) In this diet it was debated, whether children could inherit the effects of their fathers, while their grandfathers were ſtill alive; and as this point could not be determined any other way, it was agreed that it ſhould be decided by duel. Accordingly an equal number of combatants being choſen on both ſides, they entered the liſts; and the champions of the children having obtained the victory, the proceſs was determined in their favour (1).

(G) *Wittichindus*, who dedicates his annals to *Otho*'s daughter, gives an account of a rebellion raiſed by *Everhard* and *Tancmarus*, the emperor's natural brother; who being abandoned by his followers, and taking refuge in a church at *Hareſbourg*, was ſlain at the altar by ſome

(1) *Barre hiſt. d'Allemagne*, *t.* iii. *p.* 352.

a *SIGEBERT*, or *Giſelbert*, duke of *Auſtraſia* or *Lorrain*, had prevailed upon the noblemen of that province to make a tender of it to *Lewis*, king of *France*; who received their homage accordingly: and *Otho*, hearing of this revolt, marched thither with an army, and defeated the rebels. After this victory, he undertook the ſiege of *Chevremont*, in the dioceſe of *Liege*, which, however, he was obliged to quit, in order to oppoſe the progreſs of the count palatine, and the king of *France*, who had entered *Lorrain*, and compelled his friends to retire to the other ſide of the *Rhine*. But *Lewis* being informed of a contract which the biſhop of *Laon* had made with his enemy *Herbert*, count of *Vermandois*, quitted *Alſace*, to prevent the effect of this treaſon; and *Otho* inveſted the city of *Briſac*; during the ſiege of which, he was abandoned by a number of noblemen, and among the reſt by *Frederic*,
b archbiſhop of *Mentz*, and *Ruthard*, biſhop of *Strasbourg*; nevertheleſs he continued his operations until the place was taken, and then marching into *Lorrain*, made himſelf maſter of *Metz*, where he found *Frederic* and *Ruthard*, whom he ſent into exile to the abbies of *Fulde* and *Corbie*.

*The emperor reduces* Briſac, Mentz, *and* Chevremont.

AFTER this ſucceſs, he ordered his general *Immot* to reinveſt *Chevremont*, which was defended by *Anfred* and *Arnold* with ſuch valour, that the beſiegers were fain to have recourſe to fraud; and having apprehended theſe two officers whom he had invited to a conference, he ſent them to the emperor, and the town immediately ſurrendered [c].

*Origin of the* Palatinate *of the* Rhine.

THO' *Conrad*, the ſon of *Everhard*, inherited from his father the duchy of *Franconia*, with the counties of *Heſſe* and *Alſace*, he could not ſucceed him in the dignity of count palatine,
c becauſe *Otho* had taken it from his father, and conferred it on *Herman*, third ſon of *Arnold*, duke of *Bavaria*: but as this honour was unattended with any ſolid advantage, the emperor began to annex it to the lands and caſtles ſituated on the *Rhine*, whence he acquired the title of *Count palatine of the Rhine*; and, in proceſs of time, theſe counts made great acquiſitions by marriages, purchaſes, mortgages, and imperial donations, ſo as to form a very conſiderable province [d].

*The* Slaves *make an irruption into* Bohemia *and* Brandenburg.

ABOUT this time the *Slaves*, being joined by *Boleſlaus*, made an irruption into *Bohemia*, and ſurprized the city of *Prague*, from which, however, they were expelled by the valour of the inhabitants: nor did they meet with more ſucceſs in their attempts upon the margraviate of *Brandenburg*, where they were routed by count *Geron*, who having got their
d chiefs into his power, put them all to death, without exception [e].

Otho *marches into* France. A. D. 942.

*LEWIS*, king of *France*, having loſt the eſteem of his ſubjects by his pride and indiſcretion, ſought to prevent the bad conſequences of diſaffection by an alliance with the emperor, which he endeavoured to ſtrengthen by marrying his ſiſter *Gerberge*, who was widow of *Giſelbert*, duke of *Lorrain*. But his hopes were not of long duration; for *Otho*, perſuaded by the inſinuations of *Hugh the Great*, and *Herbert*, count *de Vermandois*, entered *France* with a powerful army, obliged *Lewis* to retire from *Champagne* into *Burgundy*, and received the oath of allegiance from *Hugh* and his confederates. Yet their ardour was ſoon cooled by the death of *Herbert*; and *Otho* was recalled to *Saxony*, to oppoſe the deſigns of his brother
e *Henry*, who, taking advantage of the emperor's abſence, quitted *Lorrain*, and, by dint of preſents and promiſes, formed a very formidable conſpiracy among the *Saxon* officers and ſoldiers. His cauſe was eſpouſed by the counts *Bacco*, *Herman*, *Keenward*, *Wirende Werle*, and *Lothaire*; and meaſures were taken to aſſaſſinate the emperor at *Quidlembourg*, where he intended to celebrate the feſtival of *Eaſter*; but *Otho*, being informed of their deſign, marched againſt them without loſs of time, and defeated their purpoſe in a moment. The count *de Werle*, in order to avoid the puniſhment he deſerved, made away with himſelf; the reſt of the conſpirators were beheaded, and *Henry* confined to the caſtle of *Ingelheim*: yet he found means to eſcape, and repairing to *Frankfort*, where the emperor paſſed his *Chriſtmas*, proſtrated himſelf at his feet in a mourning habit, and implored his pardon, which was immediately granted [f].

*Is recalled to quell a new conſpiracy formed by his brother* Henry

[c] BARRE, t. iii. p. 362. [d] Hiſt. Palatinat. [e] Chron. SCLAVIC. [f] Hiſt. Lorr.

ſome of *Otho*'s ſoldiers. *Everhard*, ſeeing their ſchemes thus miſcarry, artfully inſinuated himſelf into the good graces of *Henry*, *Otho*'s brother, who was at that time his priſoner, and perſuaded him to ſet up for himſelf, and take arms againſt the emperor. Accordingly, having in a little time joined their forces, they took the field againſt *Otho*, and were routed on the banks of the *Rhine*. *Henry* retreated to *Merſbourg*, from whence he afterwards retired by capitulation; and having ſtrengthened his party by the acceſſion of *Giſelbert*, they once more gave battle, on the banks of the ſame river, to *Hermannus*, the emperor's general, by whom they were entirely defeated; *Everhard* being ſlain, and *Giſelbert* drowned, as we have obſerved above. *Otho*, commiſerating the diſtreſſes to which his brother was expoſed, took him into favour again, and it was not long before he engaged in another conſpiracy againſt his life, which being detected, he fled into another kingdom. *Otho*, having thus quelled all his enemies at home, ſubdued the kingdom of *Burgundy*, and became formidable to all the nations around. Then, by the interceſſion and admonition of his holy mother, he was prevailed upon to pardon his brother *Henry*, by this time harraſſed with the fatigues and miſeries he had undergone, and actually made him duke of *Bavaria*, *Berthold* being then dead; in which capacity he did eminent ſervice againſt the *Hungarians*, and other enemies of the empire.

*OTHO* having recompenſed the ſervices of thoſe who had never forfeited their fidelity, eſtabliſhed a tribunal at *Bonn*, to take cognizance of the injuſtice and oppreſſion which had been committed during the troubles, and made a progreſs from town to town, in order to determine differences, and regulate the police of his dominions. He afterwards repaired to *Dueſbourg* in the duchy of *Cleves*, where having aſſembled the noblemen of *Lorrain*, *Franconia*, and *Saxony*, he ordered *Rutbert*, archbiſhop of *Triers*, and *Richard*, biſhop of *Tongres*, to be tried for felony, of which they were accuſed by *Conrad*, the new duke of *Lorrain*; but they juſtified themſelves by oath, and were acquitted. *Rutbert* was afterwards in great favour with the emperor, who erected his ſee into a principality, by an authentic act, which raiſes the archbiſhops of *Triers* to an equality with ſovereigns, and inveſts them with the rights of regality through the whole extent of the dioceſe [g]. a

A. D. 943. *He erects the ſee of* Triers *into a principality.*

ABOUT this time *Bertholf*, duke of *Bavaria*, dying, *Otho*, at the ſollicitation of his mother, beſtowed that duchy on his brother *Henry*, who thenceforward behaved as a peaceable and loyal ſubject: and the tranquillity of his reign was not again interrupted, until he marched with a powerful army into *France*, to ſupport *Lewis* againſt his powerful adverſary *Hugh the Great*. He was joined by that king and the count of *Flanders* near *Cambray*, which they reſolved to attack; but underſtanding that it was too well fortified to leave them any hope of ſucceſs, they turned aſide to *Rheims*, which ſurrendered in three days after it was inveſted. From thence they advanced to *Paris*, and ravaged the duchy of *France*, belonging to *Hugh the Great*; and, inſtead of beſieging the capital, marched to *Rouen*, by the advice of the count of *Flanders*. Having paſſed the river of *Andelle*, *Otho*, at the deſire of *Lewis*, ſent a detachment of his beſt troops, under the command of his nephew, to reconnoitre; and this young captain happening to meet a body of *Normans*, attacked them with ſuch fury, that they fled to the very gate of *Rouen*: but this flight was no other than a ſtratagem to decoy the *Saxons* into an ambuſcade; for the walls and adjacent fields were filled with archers, who immediately appeared, and the *Normans* made a vigorous ſally at the ſame time; ſo that the troops of *Otho* being charged on all hands, were routed after an obſtinate diſpute: their commander was killed upon the draw-bridge, and almoſt all the *Saxons* were either taken or ſlain. Notwithſtanding this misfortune, he reſolved to beſiege the town, and continued his operations without effect, until his army was greatly diminiſhed by famine and diſtemper: then he formed the deſign of betraying the count of *Flanders* to the enemy, becauſe he had been involved in this dangerous ſituation by his miſrepreſentations; but the count being informed of his intention, withdrew his whole forces in the night, and the Imperialiſts and *French* perceiving the commotion, miſtook them for an army coming to the relief of *Rouen*. This apprehenſion filled the camp with diſorder: the ſoldiers immediately betook themſelves to flight; and the inhabitants of *Rouen* obſerving their confuſion, made a general ſally, in which a great number of the *Saxons* periſhed. Not contented with this piece of ſucceſs, part of the garriſon, conſiſting of horſe, harraſſed them in their retreat as far as *Amiens*, where *Otho* and *Lewis* paſſed the *Somme* with their army [h]. The emperor returned to *Saxony*, leaving his allies ſtill embarraſſed with the war; but at length, through his mediation, they agreed to a truce, during which he received ſuch a dangerous fall in the chace, that his life was deſpaired of, and he nominated his ſon *Ludolphus* as his ſucceſſor, in the preſence of the principal noblemen of his court aſſembled for that purpoſe; but when he recovered his health, he revoked this deſignation. b c d e

*He marches into* France *to the aſſiſtance of* Lewis *and the count of* Flanders. 945.

*The allies undertake the ſiege of* Rouen.

*which they are obliged to abandon.*

947. *Diſpute between* Artaud *and* Hugh *about the archbiſhopric of* Rheims.

*OTHO* being at *Aix la Chapelle*, was viſited by *Lewis* of *France*; and in the following autumn they met upon the *Chier*, to concert meaſures for appeaſing the troubles which agitated that kingdom, as well as for terminating the ſcandalous quarrel ſubſiſting between *Artaud* and *Hugh*, who diſputed with each other the archbiſhopric of *Rheims*. Theſe two prelates being ſummoned to appear at the council of *Verdun*, *Artaud* obeyed the citation; and as *Hugh* refuſed to come, was proviſionally confirmed in the ſee: but that his competitor might have no cauſe to complain, another aſſembly was convoked for the following year, in the church of St. *Peter* near *Monſon*; and *Hugh* ſtill continuing obſtinate, was excluded from the communion of the other biſhops, and ſuſpended from all acts of juriſdiction, until other meaſures ſhould be taken by a national ſynod, to be held next year at *Ingelheim* near *Metz*. f

*Proceedings of the aſſembly at* Ingelheim.

AT this aſſembly, where the emperor and king of *France* aſſiſted in perſon, the ſentence was confirmed in favour of *Artaud*, who was acknowleged as lawful archbiſhop of *Rheims*, and his adverſary was anathematized. Several canons were made to prevent ſimony, and the tythes from being received by laymen; and *Lewis*, in a ſet ſpeech, complained of *Hugh the Great*, who had raiſed a rebellion againſt him, and deprived him of liberty. In conſequence of theſe complaints, *Otho* ordered *Conrad*, duke of *Lorrain*, to aſſemble ſome g

[g] Ann. TREVER. FLODOARD, l. iv. [h] Hiſtor. de Normandie.

troops, and accompany *Lewis* into the *Lyonois*; where being joined by *Robert*, archbiſhop of *Triers*, and *Adalberon*, biſhop of *Metz*, after they had expelled *Hugh* from the ſee of *Rheims*, they beſieged and took *Montaigu*, and then marched againſt *Laon*, which was defended by *Threbaut*, count *de Chartres*, whom they excommunicated: they likewiſe ſummoned *Hugh the Great* to come and give an account of what he had done to the prejudice of *Lewis* his ſovereign. As for *Conrad*, without waiting for the iſſue of that citation, he quitted *Laon*, and returned to *Lorrain*, after having re-united the city of *Monſon* to the dominions of the empire; and *Hugh the Great* was excommunicated by the pope's legate, in a council held at *Triers* *.

Otho *makes war with the* Danes. A. D. 949.

THE *Danes* having taken up arms, and murdered the margrave, appointed by *Henry the Fowler*, in the town of *Sleeſwic*, and put to the ſword part of the *Saxon* colony ſettled in that place, *Otho* marched into *Denmark*, in the abſence of king *Harold*, who had gone to the aſſiſtance of *Sturbcon*, king of *Sweden*; and having defeated ſome troops that attempted to oppoſe his paſſage, penetrated into *Jutland*, without farther reſiſtance. *Harold* no ſooner heard of this irruption, than he returned to his dominions, and a battle enſued, the particulars of which are variouſly related: but, certain it is, the campaign ended in an accommodation, by which the king of *Denmark* agreed, that *Otho* ſhould keep a garriſon in *Sleeſwic*, to defend the frontiers of the empire, and that the Chriſtian religion ſhould be preached in the dominions of *Harold* †.

*Mediates a peace between* Lewis *and* Hugh. 950.

AFTER this expedition the emperor repaired to *Aix-la-Chapelle*, to regulate the affairs of the empire; and there he was viſited by *Lewis*, and his wife *Gerberge*, who intreated him to employ his good offices in terminating the troubles of *France*. He accordingly ſent *Conrad*, duke of *Lorrain*, with ſome biſhops and counts, to *Hugh the Great*, who being likewiſe tired of war, willingly liſtened to his propoſitions, and peace was ſoon concluded by virtue of his mediation.

*Reduces* Boleſlaus. 951.

IN the courſe of the ſame year, the emperor's ſon *Ludolphus* was married to *Idda*, daughter of *Herman*, duke of *Suabia*, a prince of great power and rich poſſeſſions, which at his death devolved to his ſon-in-law. But, in the midſt of theſe rejoicings, *Otho* reſolved to chaſtiſe *Boleſlaus*, who, notwithſtanding his former defeats, was ſtill engaged in new enterprizes againſt *Germany*. *Otho* therefore took the field; and having inveſted the town of *Boleſlaw*, into which *Boleſlaus* had retired, carried it by aſſault. Yet he granted him peace, upon condition that he ſhould repair the churches, recal the exiled Chriſtians, expiate by canonical penance the crime of parricide, which he had committed upon the perſon of his brother *Winceſlaus*, and hold his dominions as fiefs of the empire ‡.

*The emperor eſpouſes* Alix. 952.

IN the midſt of theſe ſucceſſes, his aſſiſtance was implored by *Alix*, widow of *Lotharius*, king of *Italy*, who was perſecuted and ſtripped of her dominions by *Beranger* the younger; and her intreaties were reinforced by the ſolicitations of pope *Agapetus* II. who was afraid of being oppreſſed by the ſame power. In conſequence of theſe importunities, the emperor marched into *Italy*, at the head of a powerful army, married *Alix* (*Ethica*, his firſt queen, who was a princeſs of *England*, being dead), made himſelf maſter of *Pavia*, in which *Alix* had been kept priſoner, and, in fine, compelled *Beranger* to ſubmit; but he was ſo generous as to give him back a good part of his dominions, and to beſtow upon his brothers the marquiſate of *Friuli*, *Verona*, and ſome lands in *Bavaria*, reſerving to himſelf no more than the glory of his conqueſt. Yet, notwithſtanding theſe favours, *Beranger* abuſed his confidence, broke his word, and renounced his friendſhip.

*His ſon* Ludolphus *rebels*, 955.

*who is reduced, and pardoned.*

*LUDOLPHUS*, ſon of *Otho* by *Ethica*, tho' he had already been declared ſucceſſor to the empire, being chagrined at his father's ſecond marriage, engaged in a confederacy againſt him with *Conrad* duke of *Franconia*, who was his own brother-in-law, and ſeveral other *German* noblemen; by whoſe aſſiſtance he took poſſeſſion of divers cities, and fixed his head-quarters at *Mentz*. The emperor, apprized of this revolt, marched directly againſt him, beleaguered that city; and, underſtanding that his ſon was fled, purſued him to *Ratisbon*, the ſiege of which he undertook ‖. After a blockade of ſix weeks, the inhabitants, being reduced to extremity, began to treat about a capitulation; but, before the articles were ſettled, *Ludolph*, by the interceſſion of the nobles, was permitted to retire with his followers, and almoſt the whole city was burned to the ground. Some time after this retreat, *Ludolph* took the opportunity, when his father was hunting, to throw himſelf bareheaded at his feet, which he bathed with his tears; and, after a pathetic pauſe, "Have "pity," ſaid he, "upon your child, who returns like the prodigal ſon to his father. If "you permit him to live, who hath ſo often deſerved to die, he will be faithful and obedient "for the future, and have time to repent of his folly and ingratitude." The father, equally ſurpriſed and affected with this moving ſpectacle, raiſed him from the ground, while the tears trickled from his eyes, took him into favour, and forgave all his followers.

* FLOD. l. iv. † Ann. Saxon. ‡ DITMAR. l. i. & ii. ‖ Annal. Germ. ex Meib. WIT. Annal. l. iii.

Otho *defeats the* Hungarians.

*OTHO*, after having put an end to the civil wars of *Germany*, was, in his return to *Saxony*, met by ambaſſadors from *Hungary*, who came on pretence of congratulating him on his victories; but, in effect, were ſpies ſent to obtain information of the ſtate of the empire: for, in a little time, he was informed by his brother *Henry*, that theſe barbarians had entered *Bavaria* with ſuch a numerous army, as ſeemed to have left their own country quite unpeopled; and that they had deſtroyed a great number of churches and other edifices, and ſlain all the inhabitants of the towns and villages through which they paſſed. The emperor no ſooner received this information, than he marched to the relief of that province, while the *Hungarians* were employed in the ſiege of *Augſburg*; and, notwithſtanding the inferiority of his number, attacked their army with ſuch vigour, that, after a very obſtinate engagement, which laſted a whole day, the barbarians were defeated, and cut in pieces with incredible ſlaughter [l]. a b

A. D. 956. *He obtains a victory over the* Slaves.

NEXT year he turned his arms againſt the *Slaves*, who had made an irruption into the empire, under the command of *Storneſger*, and found them intrenched, with their booty, on the other ſide of the river *Ratz*; which having paſſed upon a bridge of boats, he defeated them in a pitched battle, in which their king loſt his life, and next day put to death ſeventy priſoners, in order to intimidate the barbarians by this example of ſeverity. Nevertheleſs, they revolted again the following year, and being again defeated, implored the clemency of *Otho*; who pardoned them, on condition that they ſhould enjoy nothing but the effects belonging to their wives.

*Receives ambaſſadors from the* Arabs *and* Ruſſians.

DURING this war with the barbarians, he received an embaſſy from *Abderame*, king of the *Arabs* of *Cordova*, to congratulate him upon his victories, and another from *Helen*, queen of the *Ruſſians*, with compliments of the ſame kind, and a requeſt, that he would ſend miſſionaries to inſtruct her ſubjects in the Chriſtian religion [m]. In the midſt of theſe felicitations came deputies from the *Italians*, to demand ſuccour againſt the tyranny of *Beranger*; and *Otho* ſent to their aſſiſtance an army, under the command of his ſon *Ludolphus*; who, after having defeated the tyrant, made himſelf maſter of ſeveral places, and in a great meaſure delivered that country from oppreſſion; but, inſtead of applauſe, he met with nothing but ingratitude from the *Italians*, which roſe to ſuch a pitch of inſolence, that they even reproached him with his paſt conduct, and in particular with his revolt againſt his father. Theſe ſevere ſarcaſms overwhelmed him with grief and mortification, which ſoon brought him to his grave. His death, which was bitterly lamented by *Otho*, gave *Beranger* time to breathe, and take the field with *Peter Candren*, ſon of the duke of *Venice*, who had been exiled for having embarked in ſome enterprize againſt the intereſt of that republic. Theſe aſſociates began to pillage the country, and even beſieged pope *John* XIII. in the city of *Spoleto*; ſo that the *Italians* implored again the aſſiſtance of the emperor, as a recompence for which, *Valpert*, archbiſhop of *Milan*, would conſecrate him king of *Lombardy*, and the pope beſtow upon him the imperial crown. *Otho*, flattered by theſe propoſals, promiſed to march into *Italy*, as ſoon as he ſhould have regulated the affairs in *Germany*; which in order to diſcuſs, he aſſembled a diet at *Worms*, where his young ſon *Otho* by his ſecond wife, was elected king of *Germany*, and afterwards crowned at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, tho' he had not yet attained the eighth year of his age [n]. Then he appointed *Herman Biling* generaliſſimo of the troops deſtined to act againſt the *Danes* and *Slaves* in his abſence, and left young *Otho* under the tutorage of the archbiſhops of *Mentz* and *Cologn* [o]. c d e

*Sends an army into* Italy.

*The pope implores again the aſſiſtance of* Otho. A. D. 960.

HAVING taken theſe precautions, and made ſuitable preparations for his march, he ſet out for *Italy* at the head of a powerful army, accompanied by his wife *Alix*, and a great number of prelates; and, taking his route through *Bavaria*, paſſed the *Alps* without reſiſtance.

A. D. 963. *who returns to* Italy, *is conſecrated, and elected emperor of the* Romans

ON his arrival at *Rome*, he was conſecrated by the pope, crowned emperor of the *Romans*, dignified with the appellation of *Auguſtus*, and received the oath of allegiance from the ſenate and the people, who ſwore to obey him as their ſovereign lord [p] (H). Upon this occaſion, he diſtributed immenſe largeſſes in jewels, gold, and ſilver, reſtored to the church all the demeſnes formerly granted by *Pepin* and *Charlemagne*; which had been wreſted from it by the petty tyrants of *Italy*. At the ſame time letters patent were expedited and ſigned by himſelf, the biſhops, and nobles, importing, among other things, that, according to the agreement formerly made with *Eugenius* and his ſucceſſor, the *Roman* clergy and nobility ſhould oblige themſelves, by oath, to hold no election canonical, and to conſecrate no pope, f

*Is acknowledged ſupreme head of the church.*

[l] Ann Boicæ gent. [m] ADLZR. p. 1. l. iv. [n] SIGON. de Reg. Ital. [o] DIDMAR. l. ii. [p] FR. HEN. BOD. SYNT. ex Meib. p. 493.

(H) The ſame author relates the particulars of the expedition into *France*, which the emperor undertook in favour of *Lewis* his brother-in-law, who had been depoſed by *Hugh*, ſurnamed *the Great*, father of *Hugh Capet*. *Lewis* was reſtored by the arms of *Otho*, who beſieged *Paris*, took *Rheims*, and made himſelf maſter of *Lyons*. *Mezeray* and other *French* hiſtorians take notice of this invaſion; tho' *Heiſs* is wholly ſilent on the ſubject, in all probability for fear of diſobliging the *French*, among whom he lived.

until

a until he ſhould, in the preſence of the emperor's ſon, or ambaſſador, make the ſame promiſe which had been voluntarily made by *Leo* III. on the ſame ſubject.

*BERANGER* and his wife being retired to *Monteleone*, *Otho* marched thither; upon which they ſurrendered themſelves, were tried, and condemned to perpetual impriſonment at *Bamberg*, where they ended their days.

THE emperor had no ſooner withdrawn his army from *Rome*, than pope *John*, on pretence that *Otho* intended to diſpoſſeſs the church of the lands which had been granted it by his predeceſſors, introduced into the city *Albert*, the ſon of *Beranger*, who, with his father, had been his moſt outrageous enemy, and indeed the occaſion of his imploring the aſſiſtaance of *Otho*.

b THESE news no ſooner reached the ears of the emperor, than he returned to *Rome* (the pope and his new patron having fled at his approach), obliged the ſenate and people to renew the oath and promiſe they had formerly made, and, in order to be revenged on *John*, convoked a council to try him for the ſcandalous life he was accuſed of having led; for it was not his piety that had raiſed him to the papal chair, into which he was thruſt at the age of eighteen, by the intrigues and bribery of his father *Alberic*, whoſe influence and power were at that time exceſſive (I). The council being aſſembled, heavy complaints were preferred againſt him for the ſpace of three days by the archbiſhops and biſhops of *Italy*, as well as by the people of *Rome*. *Otho*, who aſſiſted in perſon, ordered him to be ſummoned to appear and anſwer to theſe accuſations; and he, refuſing to obey, was declared unworthy of the

c papacy, and depoſed: tho' many authors affirm, that, as this council could not be œcumenical, the depoſition was of no validity. Be that as it will, *Leo* VIII. was elected by the unanimous ſuffrages of all preſent, took the chair in that very aſſembly, and executed the decree by which *Otho* was recognized as emperor of the *Romans*, ſovereign and king of *Italy*, with all the rights and prerogatives for him and his ſucceſſors, which pope *Adrian* I. had granted to *Charlemagne*, including the right of inveſtiture of biſhoprics, and the election and confirmation of popes. This decree was confirmed by the oaths of all the clergy and people; ſo that, from this date, we may juſtly ſtile *Otho* emperor of the *Romans*, as he now acquired the ſame title by which it had been conferred on *Charlemagne*. Having ſettled theſe affairs at *Rome*, he ſet out to appeaſe ſome diſturbances at *Spoleto* and *Camerina*, which he erected

d into principalities; but, in his abſence, ſeveral prelates and noblemen at *Rome*, at the inſtigation of *Albert*, favoured the return of *John*, who depoſed *Leo*, and declared his election void. In a few days after his having thus re-aſſumed the papal chair, he was found in bed with a woman, and miſerably ſlain by a rival. Nevertheleſs his adherents ſtill perſiſted in refuſing to own *Leo* for pope, and proceeded to the election of *Benedict* V. who was accordingly promoted to the chair of St. *Peter*.

*Calls a council, depoſes* John XII. *and elects* Leo VIII. *to the papal chair.*

A. D. 964.

John *reſumes the papacy, annuls the election of* Leo, *and is murdered.*

THE emperor, being informed of theſe tranſactions, marched back to *Rome*; which having beſieged and taken, he cited *Benedict* to appear before another council, which he convened for that purpoſe; and he obeying the ſummons, preſented himſelf in his pontificals, and was queſtioned for his preſumption in uſurping the apoſtolic dignity during the

e life of pope *Leo*, contrary to the oath which he had taken. *Benedict* owned his error, implored the compaſſion of the council, and humbled himſelf before *Leo*; who, at the deſire of *Otho*, pardoned his crime, permitted him to keep the deacon's orders, and ſent him into exile at *Hamburgh* [q]. Then *Otho*, having obliged the *Romans* to promiſe upon oath, that they would never chuſe a native of any other country than *Germany* for their emperor, and regulated the affairs of *Italy*, he returned to his own country, and held a diet at *Cologne*, in which was confirmed the diviſion of *Lorrain* into two provinces; the one, bounded by *Luxemburg* and *Franche Compte*, being given to *Frederick* count *de Bar*, brother of *Adalberon*, biſhop of *Mentz*, and *Bruno*, archbiſhop of *Cologne*, reſerving the other, which comprehended the duchies of *Brabant*, *Juliers*, and *Guelderland*, together with the provinces con-

f tiguous to the mouths of the *Rhine*, the *Meuſe*, and the *Schelde* [r] (K).

*He is ſucceeded by* Benedict; *who is depoſed by the emperor.*

A. D. 965. *Diet of* Cologne.

[q] HEN. WOLT. Chron. Brem. [r] BARRE, t. iii. p. 427.

(I) The depoſition of the witneſſes, publicly read in council, contained the following particulars: that, in celebrating the maſs, he had not communicated; that he had ordained a deacon in a ſtable, without minding the canonical hours; that he had ſold divers biſhoprics, and one to a boy not more than ten years of age; that he had violated the widow of *Rainerus*, lain with his own father's concubine, converted the holy palace into a brothel, and cauſed *John* the cardinal and ſub-dean to be aſſaſſinated; that he was guilty of ſetting fire to houſes; that he had been ſeen exciting tumults in the ſtreets, with a helmet on his head, and a ſword by his ſide; that, in the courſe of his debauches, he had drank the health of the devil; and that, in playing at hazard, he had been ſeveral times heard invoking the names of *Jupiter* and *Venus* (1).

(K) While the emperor was in *Italy*, count *Sigefroi* purchaſed the caſtle of *Luxembourg* from *Vigger*, abbot of St. *Maximin* of *Triers*, to whom he gave in exchange the fief of *Vicelne*, ſituated in the country of *Ardennes*. The contract was executed at *Triers*, in preſence of *Bruno*, archbiſhop of *Cologne*, and many other noblemen, of the clergy as well as laity. And this is the origin of the fortreſs, duchy, and illuſtrious houſe of *Luxembourg* (2).

(1) *Gob. Perſ. æt.* 6. *c.* 51.

(2) *Ann. Trev. l.* ix. *p.* 467.

John III *is raiſed to the papacy by* Otho.

POPE *Leo* VIII. dying in the courſe of this year, the *Romans* ſent deputies to know the pleaſure of *Otho*, who ſupplied his place with *John* XIII. who was impriſoned by the *Romans*; but ſoon releaſed, and re-eſtabliſhed by the emperor, who returned to *Rome* for that purpoſe. a

*He puniſhes the* Romans *for their inconſtancy.*

NOT contented with the re-eſtabliſhment of *John*, he reſolved to puniſh the *Romans* for their inconſtancy: the conſuls were exiled, the tribunes of the people were hanged, to the number of a dozen; the body of *Jefroi*, who had been ringleader of the revolt, was dug up, dragged through the ſtreets, and thrown into the common ſewer; and his ſucceſſor as prefect was expoſed upon an aſs, with his head to the tail, and, after having been publicly whipt, confined in a dungeon.

Otho's *ſon crowned emperor at* Rome.

HAVING made theſe examples, the emperor eſtabliſhed a well-regulated policy in *Rome*, viſited the cities of *Italy*, and confirmed the donations of *Pepin* and *Charlemagne* [s]. Then he cauſed his ſon *Otho* to be crowned at *Rome*, as his aſſociate in the empire; and this ceremony being performed, he repaired to *Capua*, where he was viſited by ambaſſadors from *Nicephorus Phocas*, emperor of the *Greeks*, who came to renew the alliance that formerly ſubſiſted between the eaſtern and weſtern empires. This negotiation did not immediately ſucceed; for *Nicephorus*, who ſtill poſſeſſed ſome towns in *Calabria* and *Apulia*, demanded that *Otho* would relinquiſh ſome cities that he occupied in the ſame country, and aſſiſt him in expelling the *Saracens* from others which they had reduced. *Otho*, whoſe aim was to make himſelf maſter of *Apulia* and *Calabria*, in order to unite *Italy* and *Germany* into one empire, did not reliſh the demand of *Nicephorus*; but nevertheleſs took that opportunity of ſending a favourable anſwer to the *Greek* emperor, and of ſignifying his aſſent to a propoſal which *Phocas* had made, of a match between young *Otho* and his daughter *Theophania*. b c

A. D. 966. *Treachery of the* Greeks.

Notwithſtanding theſe advances to friendſhip and alliance, *Nicephorus* was ſo much incenſed at the refuſal of his other demand, and the preſumption of *Otho* in aſſuming the title of emperor, that he formed an execrable plan of revenge, which he was enabled to execute by his craft and diſſimulation. Ambaſſadors were ſent to *Conſtantinople*, to regulate the conditions and ceremony of the nuptials, and a place appointed at which the princeſs was to be received by the *Germans*; who repairing to this rendezvous with a magnificent train, were all maſſacred, or carried priſoners to *Conſtantinople*, except one or two who eſcaped with the news of this horrible treachery [t].

A. D. 968. Otho *ſends an army into* Calabria;

*OTHO*, incenſed at this enormous perfidy, ordered counts *Gonther* and *Sigefrid*, who were brothers, to march with the flower of his army into *Calabria*, where they defeated the *Greeks*, commanded the noſes of their priſoners to be cut off, and ravaged the whole country. d

*NICEPHORUS* being ſoon after put to death by his ſubjects, *John Zemiſces*, his ſucceſſor, not only releaſed the *Germans*, who were priſoners at *Conſtantinople*, but alſo ſent *Theophania*, with a magnificent train and rich preſents, into *Italy*, where her marriage with young *Otho* was happily conſummated (L). The emperor, ſeeing his ſon married to his wiſh, and of age and capacity to govern his dominions, enjoyed in peace the proſperous ſtate of his affairs for two years; at the end of which he died apoplectic at the city of *Minleben*, in *Saxony*, after a reign of thirty years, during which he gave extraordinary proofs of uncommon generoſity, piety, and courage, and juſtly acquired the appellation of *Great* [u]. While his father was alive, he married *Editha* (M), daughter of *Edmund*, king of *England*, who founded the city of *Magdeburg* (N); and afterwards took to wife *Alix*, who, at his death, retired into a convent (O).

A. D. 972. *and dies at* Minleben. e

[s] SIGON. de Reg. Ital. [t] LUITPRAND. WITICHIND. de Corb. Ann. l. iii. [u] Annal. Saxon. p. 324.

(L) About this time *Magdebourg* was erected into the metropolis of all *Vandalia*. The archbiſhops of this ſee have ſince been primates of *Germany*; but now that it is in the poſſeſſion of Proteſtants, it is conſidered as a ſeparate principality (3).

(M) The continuator of *Bede*'s eccleſiaſtical hiſtory ſays, that *Henry the Fowler* ſent to *Athelſtan*, king of *England*, for his two ſiſters, *Adgetta* and *Egitta*; the laſt of whom he gave in marriage to his ſon *Otho*, and the other to a certain duke, whoſe territories lay near the *Alps*. The lady, whom *Otho* eſpouſed, is variouſly named by various authors, being ſometimes called *Adiva*, ſometimes *Eadittia*; by *Witchendus*, *Edidis*; by *Ditmarus*, *Edit*; and by *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter*, *Eadgeva*.

(N) His body was tranſported to *Magdebourg*, and buried in the cathedral church, where his tomb is ſtill to be ſeen, diſtinguiſhed by this inſcription:

*Ties luctus cauſæ ſunt, hoc ſub marmore clauſæ.*
*Rex, decus eccleſiæ, ſummus honor patriæ* (4).

(O) The annals of this reign are written by the famous *Wittichind*, who was a monk of *Corbie*, and lived in this age. His work is intitled, *Annales de Geſtis Ottonum*, and publiſhed in the collection of *Meibomius* (5).

(3) *Barre, Hiſt. d'Allemague, t.* iii. *p.* 443. *Annal. de l'Emp. t.* i. *p.* 143. (4) *Annal. Sax, ubi ſupra.*
(5) *Sigeb. de Vir. Illuſt. c.* 139.

## OTHO II.

a OTHO II. ſurnamed *the Sanguinary*, on account of the great quantities of blood which he ſpilt, had been elected and crowned during the life of his father, whom he now ſucceeded in the empire, though he was at firſt oppoſed by *Henry* duke of *Bavaria*, his own couſin-german; who being ſupported by ſome biſhops, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed at *Ratisbon*: however, he was ſoon reduced, and not only obliged to renounce his title, but alſo to relinquiſh his duchy, which was given by the victor to *Otho*, duke of *Suabia*. This competitor being quelled, the emperor turned his arms towards the river *Elbe*, to oppoſe *Harold*, king of *Denmark*, who had eſpouſed the intereſts of *Henry*, and advanced with a large body of troops to ſupport his cauſe; but he was ſo hampered by *Otho*, that he ſued for peace, adding conſiderable preſents to his requeſt, and ſolemnly promiſing to pay an b annual tribute; for which he gave his own ſon as an hoſtage [x]. A. D. 975. Otho II. *ſucceeds his father, and is oppoſed by* Henry, *duke of* Bavaria;

THUS ſatisfied, *Otho* marched againſt the duke of *Bohemia*, who had been one of the confederates of his competitor; and having ravaged his country, returned to make head againſt *Henry* himſelf, and the duke of *Carinthia*, with the biſhop of *Frevingen*; whom having defeated and taken, he regained the city of *Paſſaw*, and concluded an advantageous peace with the duke of *Bohemia*. As for *Henry*, he was tried by an aſſembly convoked at *Quidlembourg*, and being convicted of treaſon, was, together with the biſhop of *Augsbourg*, exiled to *Utrecht*, where they were kept as priſoners of ſtate [y]. *whom he defeats, and makes peace with the king of* Bohemia. A. D. 977.

HE had ſcarce diſengaged himſelf from theſe troubles, when he was involved in a war with *Lotharius*, king of *France*, about the ſuperiority of *Lorrain*, to which the *French* mo- c narch revived his pretenſions, tho' the immediate cauſe of the quarrel was the countenance and ſupport which *France* gave to the two ſons of *Ranier*, count of *Hainault*, who had been ſtripped of his dominions in the reign of the late emperor. Theſe two noblemen, looking upon the death of *Otho* I. as a favourable conjuncture, aſſembled ſome forces, marched towards their hereditary dominions, and, in a pitched battle near *Peronne*, defeated *Garnier* and *Rainaud*, the two noblemen to whom *Hainault* had been given. Then they entered *Low Lorrain*, which they ravaged without oppoſition; and being ſeconded by *Charles*, brother to *Lotharius*, and *Hugh Capet*, at the head of a good army, they took poſſeſſion of their father's country, after having expelled counts *Godfrey* and *Arnold*, who had endeavoured to obſtruct their progreſs [z].

d THE emperor being intimidated by ſuch a powerful aſſociation, headed by the king of *France*, who took this opportunity to claim the ſuperiority of thoſe and many other countries, endeavoured to appeaſe that monarch, by beſtowing, in fief, the duchy of *Lorrain* upon his brother *Charles*. The king of *France*, however, was not ſatisfied with this condeſcenſion, which he did not conſider as a ſufficient atonement for the loſs he had ſuſtained by *Otho*'s encroaching upon the right he had to certain parts of that duchy: he therefore reſolved to do himſelf juſtice; and ſuddenly raiſing an army, marched directly to *Aix-la-Chapelle*, in order to take the emperor by ſurprize. *Otho* eſcaped with difficulty, and, inflamed with a deſire of revenge, aſſembled his forces, to the number of ſixty thouſand men, with which he made an irruption into the territories of *Lotharius*, ravaged all *Champagne* e and the *Iſle of France*, and having granted peace to the *French* on his own terms, evacuated the country, tho' not without ſuſtaining a conſiderable loſs by an inundation of the river *Aiſne*, in conſequence of which a great part of his army was deſtroyed [a](P).

*GEOFFROY*, count of *Anjou*, ſurnamed *Griſegonelle*, or *Grey Coat*, who commanded the *French* army on this occaſion, propoſed to decide the quarrel by ſingle combat with *Otho* [b]; but this expedient was rejected by the imperialiſts, who would not ſuffer their ſovereign to expoſe his life to ſuch unneceſſary hazard. Be this as it may, certain it is, he concluded a peace with the king of *France*, and beſtowed the whole of *Low Lorrain*, with part of the other, upon *Charles*, brother of *Lotharius*, who did him homage on his knees for that country [c].

f HAVING adjuſted the affairs of *Germany*, his next expedition was into *Italy*, in order to chaſtiſe the *Romans*, and recover *Calabria* and *Apulia*, of which the *Greeks* had taken poſſeſſion, by the aſſiſtance of the *Saracens*, contrary to the treaty made by the two emperors, by *He marches into* Italy, *and hazards a battle*, A. D. 979.

[x] BARRE. t. iii. p. 453. [y] Annal. de l'Emp. t. i. p. 145. [z] BARRE, ubi ſup. [a] BARRE, t. iii. p. 459. [b] Annal. de l'Emp. t. i. p. 146. [c] Chronogr. Sax. ad ann. 979.

(P) Some authors affirm, that *Otho* was defeated by the *French*, who purſued his army for three days and three nights as far as the river *Meuſe*, and that *Lotharius* afterwards made peace with him, againſt the inclination of his nobles (6). Others alledge the emperor retired without loſs, and paſſed the river in a miraculous manner, following St. *Wolfgang*, who divided the waters, ſo that they marched over on dry ground (7).

(6) *Guil. de Nang. ad ann.* 978. *Leon. d'Oſtie.*

(7) *Brun. Annal. Boior. p.* 2. *l.* iii. *p.* 158.

which these two provinces were given to *Otho*, as the dowry of *Theophania* his wife. Immediately after the death of *Otho* I. the *Romans* resolved to free themselves from the *German* yoke, while his successor was involved in domestic troubles. They raised one *Cencius* to the consulate [d], elected a new pope, called *Boniface* VII. who had gone to *Constantinople*, to invite the *Greek* emperors, *Basilius* and *Constantine*, to come and take possession of *Rome*; and their fleet, being joined by the *Arabians* of *Africa*, had invaded and subdued the coast of *Naples* and *Calabria*. a

*OTHO*, in consequence of these ravages, marched into *Italy*, entered *Rome* without opposition, and from thence going in quest of the enemy, hazarded a battle, in which his enemies were at first put in disorder; but the *Roman* troops and those of *Beneventum* giving ground, and the *Saracens* rallying, his army was so totally defeated, that, being divested of all hope, he fled to the sea-side, and finding a vessel, embarked, and committed himself to the mercy of the waves. The ship being taken by corsairs, who did not know his quality, he was carried into *Sicily*, where he ransomed himself for a large sum of money, having deceived his captors by the facility with which he spoke the *Greek* language (Q). b

It was not long before he levied new forces, and renewed the war; during which the
A. D. 980. *Saracens* in *Italy* were totally exterminated. Then he not only chastized the cowards who had abandoned him in the first engagement, but having discovered that the inhabitants of *Beneventum* had favoured his enemies, and even furnished them with provisions, he allowed his army to plunder the town for three whole days, and then ordered it to be set on fire. Nor did the *Romans*, who had likewise deserted him, escape with impunity: having invited the principal persons of that city to an entertainment, he, in the midst of their festivity, commanded the authors of his overthrow to be selected, and put to death in the presence of the whole company [e]; a punishment, which, tho' perhaps just in the main, was inflicted in a manner unworthy of a Christian prince, or a sound politician. This, in all probability, was the origin of the epithet *Sanguinary*; tho' he was likewise distinguished by the appellations of *Rufus* and *Terror Sarazinorum*. c

*Orders the Saxons and Thuringians to make head against the Sclavonians.*

Being informed that the *Sclavonians*, taking advantage of his absence, had invaded *Saxony*, and ravaged the bishoprics of *Brandenburg*, *Hevelberg*, and *Merseburg*, he ordered the *Saxons* and *Thuringians* to make head against them; and they, in obedience to his command, charged the enemy with such valour and success, in different encounters, that they were obliged to retreat with the loss of thirty-seven thousand men (R). d

A. D. 983. *Dies at* Rome.

Soon after this invasion, he died at *Rome* of a bloody flux [f], occasioned by a wound which he had received from a poisoned javelin, in the battle with the *Greeks*; and his death is said to have been hastened by his grief for the behaviour of the empress *Theophania*, who had in public expressed her joy at the victory of her countrymen, tho' it was obtained over her own husband (S).

## *O T H O* III.

Otho III. *succeeds to his father, but is opposed by* Henry *duke of* Bavaria; *and by* Crescentius *in* Italy.

*OTHO* III. when he succeeded to his father, was no more than twelve years of age (T), for which reason he was surnamed *the Infant*; but that appellation being soon laid aside, he acquired the epithet of *Rufus*, and at length was dignified with the title of *Wonder of the World*. His election produced great disputes among the *Italians* and *German* princes, who had accompanied his father to *Rome*; some of whom openly declared in favour of *Henry* duke of *Bavaria*, and nephew to *Otho* the first. This prince, who aspired to the empire, claimed the tutelage of young *Otho*, as his nearest relation, and the government of the empire during his minority. On this pretence he assembled a body of troops, with which he entered *Cologne*; and seizing the person of the emperor, who was in that city, under the care of archbishop *Warin*, conducted him, with a numerous train, to *Corbie*, and from thence to *Magdeburg*, where they were received amidst the acclamations of the people [g]. The *Italians*, who wanted to shake off the *German* yoke, and have an emperor of their own country, e f

[d] Baron. Onuph. [e] Barre, t. iii. p. 462. [f] Annal. Sax. l. iv. [g] Barre, t. iii. p. 474.

(Q) *Gobelinus Persona* alledges, that it was a *Grecian* ship in which *Otho* embarked; and that the master being prevailed upon, by the promise of a great reward, to carry him to the city of *Rossario*, where the empress then was, he took the opportunity, while the ship was at anchor in the road, and the master hesitating, to throw himself into the sea, and swim ashore, where he was received by his wife and adherents (8).

(R) About this time *Hamburg* and *Bremen* were erected into an archbishop's see (9).

(S) *Otho* made a law, forbidding his subjects to believe an *Italian* upon his oath; and decreed, that, when a cause could not be determined by evidence, it should be decided by single combat (10).

(T) According to *Gobelinus Persona*, he was but two years of age when his father died; but we have, with *Heiss*, followed the authority of *Ditmar*, *Baronius*, and other historians.

(8) *Gob. Pers. Cosmad. æt.* vi. *cap.* 49. *part.* iii. *p.* 2. *c.* 5. (9) *Annal. de l'Emp. t.* ii. *p.* 147. (10) *Mem. Hist.*

a try, ſet up a *Roman* nobleman called *Creſcentius*, who was at that time conſul, and governor of the city. But the greateſt part of the *German* princes eſpouſing the cauſe of *Otho*, who, tho' very young, had already given marks of a fine genius, delivered him from the hand of *Henry*, and conveyed him to *Weiſſemſtadt*, where he was proclaimed with the uſual ſolemnity [h]; his title being acknowledged through *Germany*, *Lombardy*, and all the other dominions of the empire, except the city of *Rome*, which had ſwerved from its duties in favour of the conſul *Creſcentius*. As for his education, it was committed to the care of the archbiſhop of *Mentz* and the biſhop of *Hildeſheim*. A. D. 984.

DURING the firſt years of his reign, *Lotharius*, king of *France*, invaded *High Lorrain*, and made himſelf maſter of *Verdun* [i], which however was, after his death, reſtored to b *Germany*. The *Sclavonians* too, aſſiſted by the *Danes*, followed the example of the *Romans*, and revolted; but *Otho* had ſcarce attained the age of fourteen, when he began to exerciſe his courage and capacity againſt theſe rebels, whom he vanquiſhed in divers expeditions, and at length wholly ſubdued. *He vanquiſhes the* Sclavonians *and* Danes. 987.

*LEWIS* V. of *France* dying about this period, the conteſt began between *Charles* duke of *Lorrain*, uncle to the defunct, and *Hugh Capet*, a nobleman of great talents and influence, who found means to render his competitor odious to his countrymen, to obtain a neutrality of the emperor, and, laſtly, to aſcend the throne of *France*, after having taken priſoner the unhappy *Charles*, who did not long ſurvive his misfortune [k]. *Conteſt in* France *between* Charles *duke of* Lorrain *and* Hugh Capet. 988.

*OTHO*, having now attained the years of diſcretion, viſited the towns upon the *Rhine*, c confirmed the privileges of the biſhops and abbots, diſplayed his liberality among the monaſteries; from thence made a progreſs into the northern provinces, and tarried ſome time at *Wildeſhuſen*, where he made ſeveral regulations for the eſtabliſhment of good order and the reformation of the people, who were ſtill in a ſtate of ſavage ignorance and barbarity [l].

THE *Danes*, under their king *Sueno*, pillaged *Lower Saxony* without oppoſition, divided their fleet into two ſquadrons, one of which entered the *Weſer*, with a view to ſend out detachments, and lay the country under contribution; while the other, anchoring before *Staden*, took the city after a faint reſiſtance, and then defeated the emperor's lieutenant, count *Thierri*, who had aſſembled the militia in order to ſtop their career: but *Sigefroi*, who had commanded in *Staden*, and made ſhift to eſcape, rallied and reinforced the imperial d troops, and attacking the enemy, who by this time were thinned by diſtempers, and incumbered in their booty, compelled them to retire on board their ſhips with the utmoſt precipitation. The other detachment met with a worſe fate; for, being bewildered in their excurſions, they forced one *Hurbert* to be their guide, and he, having led them into the midſt of a number of moraſſes, gave notice to the *Saxons*, who fell upon them with great fury, and retook the booty they had gained; ſo that *Sueno* returned to his own country with great diſcomfiture and diſgrace [m]. *War with the* Danes. 989.

IMMEDIATELY after this expedition, war broke out between him and *Eric*, king of *Sweden*, who fitted out a powerful navy; and, giving battle to the *Daniſh* fleet, obtained a complete victory, in conſequence of which he united *Denmark* to his dominions. *Otho*, unwilling to be at variance with ſuch a powerful neighbour, made him tenders of friendſhip, which were immediately embraced, and they engaged in a treaty, by which it was ſtipulated, that *German* miſſionaries ſhould be allowed to preach the goſpel in the dominions of *Eric*, and that none of the ſubjects of *Sweden*, *Denmark*, or *Norway*, ſhould, for the future, make incurſions into the territories of the empire [n]. *Treaty with* Sweden.

WHILE the emperor was employed in theſe tranſactions, *Creſcentius* neglected nothing to eſtabliſh his power in *Rome*, where he even impriſoned pope *John* XIV. becauſe he favoured *Otho*'s party; who, dying in confinement, was ſucceeded by *John* XV. This new pope was ſo perſecuted by the ſame tyrant, that he fled into *Tuſcany*, from whence he ſent legates to implore the emperor's protection. The *Romans*, remembering what they had f ſuffered under the two former *Othos* for their cruelty to their popes, were ſo terrified at this appeal, that they immediately deputed ſome citizens of the firſt rank to wait upon *John*, and intreat him to return, with the moſt ſolemn aſſurances that they would, for the future, behave to him with all due reverence and reſpect. Though *John*, confiding in theſe proteſtations, returned to *Rome*, where he was honourably received, the emperor, who knew the caballing genius of the *Romans*, ſent the empreſs *Theophania*, his mother, into *Italy*, with a body of troops commanded by *Hugh* marquis of *Brandenburg*; and ſhe, being a woman of ſpirit and diſcernment, reſtrained the *Romans* and the reſt of the *Italians* within the bounds of their duty, for the ſpace of two years; at the expiration of which ſhe ſet out for *Germany*, leaving the marquis, whom ſhe had created governor of *Florence*, to obſerve the motions of that unſteady people. In her journey to *Frankfort* ſhe was taken ill, and 990. *The empreſs* Theophania *goes to* Italy.

[h] Annal. de l'Emp. t. i. p. 151. [i] SPICEL. t. xii. p. 265. [k] NANG. ad ann. 990. [l] KRANTZ. l. xiv. Sax. Chron. 23. [m] Annal. Paderb. ad ann. 989. [n] Chron. Magdeburg.

died

died at *Nimeguen*; and, her body being tranſported to *Cologne*, was interred with great funeral pomp, at which *Otho* aſſiſted in perſon. a

993. *War with the* Slaves. AFTER this ceremony, he marched againſt the *Slaves*, who had revolted, and taken the city of *Brandenburg*; and, having expelled them from that place, obliged them to ſue for peace, which he granted upon reaſonable terms; but it was not long before they were ſpirited up to another revolt by one *Chiezo*, an outlaw, under whoſe conduct they ſurpriſed *Brandenburg*, and made themſelves maſters of ſeveral other places; which, however, were privately betrayed to the emperor by *Chiezo*, on condition that he ſhould be pardoned, and reſtored to the poſſeſſion of his effects. The *Slaves*, incenſed at his perfidy, continued the war with various ſucceſs, until, after having ſuffered divers repulſes, they again humbled themſelves before the emperor, who granted them peace, in conſideration of releaſing all their priſoners without ranſom, and ſurrendering the places which they ſtill poſſeſſed on the frontiers of the marche of *Brandenbourg* [o]. b

995. *OTHO*, having thus triumphed over the *Slaves*, repaired to *Halberſtadt*, to aſſiſt at the dedication of a new church built by biſhop *Hildebrand*; from thence he made a circuit thro' the different provinces of the empire, where he enacted new laws, and made regulations for the preſervation of order and the public peace; which being eſtabliſhed by his care and diſcretion, he aſſembled a diet at *Magdeburg*, in order to demand ſupplies of troops and money for his expedition into *Italy*, where his preſence was neceſſary to puniſh *Creſcentius* for a freſh revolt, and quell the ſeditions which had riſen in the cities of *Milan*, *Capua*, and *Beneventum*. Theſe demands were backed by the remonſtrances of the nuncios, whom pope *John* ſent thither to invite him to come with a powerful army, in order to puniſh the rebels, quiet the troubles of *Italy*, and receive the imperial crown; and his departure was, moreover, earneſtly ſollicited by *Landulphus*, archbiſhop of *Milan*, who had been expelled from his dioceſe, and come to *Magdeburg* to implore the emperor's protection. c

*OTHO*, having raiſed a conſiderable army in conſequence of the ſupplies he received from the diet, began his march for *Italy*, and inveſted *Milan*; which being ſurrendered in a few days, he entered the city in triumph, and re-eſtabliſhed the archbiſhop, by whom he was crowned king of *Lombardy*. Thence he proceeded to *Pavia*, where he celebrated the feſtival of *Eaſter*, and afterwards repaired to *Ravenna*, where, hearing of the pope's death, he cauſed *Bruno*, a relation of his own, to be elevated to the papal chair; and this *Saxon* prelate, who aſſumed the name of *Gregory* V. ſoon after his elevation crowned his patron emperor of the *Romans*, with the ſame ſolemnity and pomp which had attended the coronation of his father and grand-father [p]. d

*Otho is crowned at* Rome.

996. *He does a very ſignal piece of juſtice at* Modena. THIS ceremony being performed, the conſul *Creſcentius* pardoned by the interceſſion of the new pope, and the troubles appeaſed at *Capua* and *Beneventum*, *Otho* ſet out on his return to *Germany*; and, viſiting in his route the principal places of *Lombardy*, ſtaid ſome time at *Modena*, where he did a very ſignal piece of juſtice upon the perſon of his empreſs *Mary*, daughter of the king of *Arragon*. That princeſs, incenſed at the repulſe ſhe had met from an *Italian* count, of whom ſhe was enamoured, accuſed him to the emperor of having made an attempt upon her honour; in conſequence of which charge, he was tried, condemned, and beheaded; but, a few days after his execution, the counteſs found means to prove his innocence, and undeceive the emperor; who, being extremely ſhocked at the diſcovery of the truth, ordered the empreſs to be burned alive, and fined himſelf, for his over haſty judgment againſt the count, in a large ſum for the benefit of the widow [q] (U). e

997. THE emperor, at his return to *Germany*, found the *Slaves* in poſſeſſion of *Bernbourg*; from whence having expelled them with great ſlaughter, he repaired to *Magdeburg*, and deprived the archbiſhop *Giſelarius* of the government of that country, becauſe he allowed himſelf to be ſurpriſed by the barbarians [r]. This expedition was ſcarce finiſhed when he underſtood that *Creſcentius*, having been again elected conſul in *Rome*, had expelled pope *Gregory*, and elevated another to the papal chair under the name of *John* XVI. (X). Enraged at this inſult, the emperor returned with a powerful army to *Rome*; which having beſieged and taken, he ordered the anti-pope to be thrown from the top of the caſtle of *St. Angelo*, after his eyes had been put out, and his noſe cut off. *Creſcentius*, being alſo apprehended, was mounted upon a ſorry mule, and conducted through the city with his face towards the tail. Then being put to the torture, together with twelve of his accomplices, f

*Beſieges* Rome *and puts to death* John XVI. *and* Creſcentius.

998.

[o] DITMAR. l. iv. [p] Chron. Hildeſh. t. iii. [q] BARRE, Hiſt. d'Allemagne, t. iii. p. 506. [r] Annal. de l'Emp. t. i. p. 155.

(U) Several authors, in giving a detail of this tranſaction, introduce a miracle in favour of the deceaſed count; who, they ſay, laid injunctions on his wife to go and manifeſt his innocence to the emperor, by handling a red hot plate of iron in his preſence. She accordingly underwent this ordeal to the aſtoniſhment and conviction of *Otho*; and it was great pity ſhe had not tried the experiment before the death of her husband. This ſtory is ſuppoſed to be fabulous (11).

(X) He was biſhop of *Placentia* (12).

(11) *Annal. de l'Emp. t.* i. *p.* 155.

(12) *Ditmar.*

they

a they were all hanged in a cluſter upon the higheſt tree that could be found, as an example to the reſt, who had ſupported or connived at their rebellion [s] (Y). The two uſurpers being puniſhed in this manner, and *Gregory* reſtored, the emperor, to prevent ſuch ſeditions and revolts for the future, publiſhed a decree, importing, that the *Germans* ſhould have the ſole right and power of electing a *Roman* emperor among their own countrymen, excluſive of all other nations; and that the pope ſhould have no other authority on ſuch occaſions, than that of proclaiming the election at *Rome*, and of performing the ceremony of coronation, when the emperor ſhould think proper to go thither. This decree was ratified and confirmed by *Gregory*; and ſeveral hiſtorians affirm, that *Otho* and this pope, in order to ſecure the empire to the *German* nation, afterwards reduced the electors to the number of
b ſeven [t]. A. D. 999.

THEN he returned to *Pavia*, where he made ſeveral conſtitutions and regulations for reſtoring and eſtabliſhing the peace of *Italy*. The new pope dying in the ſecond year of his papacy, he ſupplied his place with *Gerbert*, formerly archbiſhop of *Rheims*, who took the appellation of *Sylveſter* II. and prevailed upon *Otho* to renew and confirm the privileges which had been beſtowed upon the *Roman* church by *Pepin*, *Charlemagne*, and *Lewis the Debonnaire*.

HAVING ſettled the affairs of *Italy*, he ſet out for *Germany* by the way of *Bologna*, halted at *Ratiſbon*, entered *Thuringia*, and viſited ſome towns in *Upper Saxony*; from thence he proceeded to *Poland*, which he erected into a kingdom at the ſollicitation of duke *Boleſlaus*,
c who did him homage, and agreed to hold his dominions as a fief of the empire [u] (Z). Poland *is erected into a kingdom.* 1000.

SOON after this excurſion, being informed that the *Saracens* had taken the advantage of his abſence to make an irruption into the *Campania* of *Rome*, ſurprize *Capua*, and ravage the neighbouring country, he haſtened into *Italy*, aſſembled his army at *Ravenna*, retook the city of *Capua*, expelled the barbarians, re-eſtabliſhed peace, and repaired to *Rome* with a ſmall number of troops. While he reſided in the capital, the *Tiburtines*, whom he had formerly chaſtiſed for ſedition, revolted again: ſo that he was obliged to go and beſiege the place, which ſurrendered at diſcretion. At his return, he found the gates of *Rome* ſhut againſt him; and although he was next day admitted, with a few noblemen and officers, a conſpiracy, formed by *Gregorio*, of the houſe of *Toſcanella*, had well nigh deprived him of
d his life: the *Roman* people openly rebelled againſt his authority, and it was with great difficulty he made his eſcape by the aſſiſtance of the marquis of *Tuſcany*, who had in vain attempted to effect an accommodation [x]. While he was buſied in aſſembling forces to revenge this indignity, he was poiſoned by a pair of gloves, ſent him in a preſent by the widow of *Creſcentius*, whom he is ſaid to have debauched under promiſe of marriage [y]. *Marches into* Italy. 1001. *Is poiſoned by a pair of gloves;* 1002.

THE empire loſt a great prince by the death of *Otho*, who was equally brave, reſolute, and juſt; and, after the example of his father and grand-father, remarkably liberal to the church: inſomuch that two-thirds of the eccleſiaſtical benefices in *Germany* are ſaid to have been granted by theſe three emperors. He died at *Paterno*, in the 30th year of his age, after a glorious reign of 18 years; his body was carried to *Aix-la-Chapelle*, at his own re-
e queſt, and his bowels interred at *Augsburg* [z]. *And dies at* Paterno.

## *HENRY* II.

*OTHO* being dead without iſſue, three competitors ſtarted up, ſuppoſed equally qualified to wear the imperial crown; *Henry* duke of *Bavaria*, *Herman* duke of *Suabia* and *Alſace*, and *Ekkard* marquis of *Saxony*. The firſt of theſe, being grandſon to *Otho* II. by his daughter, was, by means of his ſuperior power, elected, confirmed, and conſecrated, at *Mentz*, by the archbiſhop *Wilgiſius*, under the name of *Henry* II. and he is ſaid to have been the firſt who was raiſed to that dignity by the votes of the ſeven electors; but this
f ſucceſs he did not attain, until his competitor *Ekkard* was aſſaſſinated by the counts *de Northien*, who were *Henry*'s partizans [a]. Henry *duke of* Bavaria *is elected.*

[s] HEISS Hiſt. de l'Emp. t. i. p. 190. [t] BARRE, ut ſupra. [u] BARON. ann. t. v. p. 962. [x] DITMAR. l. iv. p. 44. [y] Hiſt. de l'Egliſe, par BENED. Prelat. [z] GOD. PERS. Coſmod. æt. vi. c. 51. Chron. Magdeb. ex Meib. p. 280. HEN. BOD. p. 487. DITMAR. Chron. [a] Annal. Sax. p. 382.

(Y) The manner of this conſul's death is variouſly related. Some authors allege he was killed by treachery; and others affirm he fell valiantly fighting in defence of the caſtle, after having ſued in vain for the emperor's forgiveneſs: we are likewiſe told, that *Otho* took his widow for his miſtreſs, and afterwards did penance for his cruelty to the antipope (13).

(Z) *Otho* is ſaid to have opened the tomb of *Charlemagne* at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, where he found the body of that emperor ſeated on a throne of gold, in his imperial robes, with a golden ſceptre in his hand, and a crown, adorned with rich jewels, upon his head (14).

Had *Charlemagne* been interred in this manner, the *Normans*, who deſtroyed *Aix-la-Chapelle* before this period, would hardly have left him ſitting upon a throne of gold.

(13) *Annal. de l'Emp. t.* i. *p.* 156. *Bar. t.* iii. *p.* 510. *Glab. l.* i. (14) *Ditmar. l.* iv. *p.* 44.

Herman *declared an enemy of the empire.* 1003.

He began his reign, by causing *Herman* duke of *Suabia* to be declared an enemy to the empire, in an assembly at *Mentz*; and, in consequence of that declaration, he ravaged his dominions with the forces of *Germany* raised for that purpose: while his rival, resolving to support his pretensions by force of arms, and being furnished with troops by the bishops of *Constance* and *Coire*, advanced into *Alsace*, and took by assault the city of *Strasburg*; which, though part of his own dominions, had declared against his interest. He likewise proposed to decide the contest by single combat with *Henry*, who accepted the challenge; but his courage failed him, and he was in a little time obliged to yield to the superior fortune of his adversary [b]. a

The new emperor, having laid *Suabia* under contribution, marched into *Saxony*; and at *Mersburg* received the oath of fidelity from duke *Bernard*, the archbishops of *Magdeburg* and *Bremen*, the counts palatine, *Boleslaus*, king of *Poland*, and the deputies of the *Slaves*, who inhabited *Pomerania*. b

Being thus acknowleged through all the dominions and fiefs of the empire, he in compliance with the repeated request of his nobles, married *Cunegunda*, daughter of the first count of *Luxembourg*, and their nuptials were celebrated at *Paderborn* with great magnificence. Then he made a circuit among the provinces, where he exercised the virtues of equity and benevolence, deciding vexatious processes, restoring the peace of families, and re-establishing union among the nobility, which were divided by feud or faction. After having taken these wise steps for the advantage of his country, he repaired to *Aix-la-Chapelle*, where he was crowned a second time for the satisfaction of several noblemen, and, in particular of *Herbert* archbishop of *Cologne*, who alleged, that the first coronation had not been performed with due formality. c

Henry *is crowned again at* Aix-la-Chapelle.

Herman *submits.*

Mean while *Herman*, tho' he made shift to surprise *Brisac*, and gained some other petty advantages, found great difficulty in keeping his partizans together; at length, despairing of being able to cope with the power and authority of *Henry*, he made him a tender of his submission, by the canal of his friends. This being accepted, he came in person to *Bruchsal*, and on his knees asked pardon of the emperor, who received him courteously, and granted him every thing he desired, on condition that he should repair the damage he had done to *Strasburg* [c].

Notwithstanding this accommodation, he renewed his intrigues, in conjunction with *Theodoric* duke of *Lorrain*, and publicly committed cruel outrages against some of the emperor's adherents in that duchy; so that *Henry*, in order to put a stop to these disorders, assembled a diet of the *Lorrain* noblemen at *Thionville*; where it was resolved to raze the castle of *Mulsberg* on the *Rhine*, and other precautions were taken to interrupt the junction and correspondence of two such powerful opposers. d

*Commotions in* Italy.

In the midst of these deliberations, the emperor was informed of the commotions by which *Italy* was agitated. The people of *Lombardy*, determined to shake off the *German* yoke, had chosen *Hardouin* marquis of *Ivrea* king of *Italy*; but this election was declared null and void by *Arnold* archbishop of *Milan*, who intended that no king of *Lombardy* should be chosen without his consent; and, in an assembly of bishops and abbots, decreed the crown to *Henry*, to whom he instantly sent deputies with an account of the transaction, conjuring him to come without delay, and deliver the *Italians* from the tyranny of the usurper. In consequence of these sollicitations, *Henry* sent a body of troops, under the command of *Otho* duke of *Carinthia*; but *Hardouin*, having secured the passes of the *Alps*, attacked them with 15,000 men, in a confined place, where they could not be extended or drawn up in line of battle; and, after a very obstinate engagement, obtained a complete victory [d]. e

*Conquests of the king of* Poland. A. D. 1004.

The emperor, tho' very much mortified at this misfortune, could not quit *Germany*, where he was detained by fresh disturbances. *Boleslaus* duke of *Bohemia* being a weak and worthless prince, the king of *Poland* resolved to seize this favourable conjuncture of retrieving *Cracovia*, of which his dominions had been dismembred by the father of *Boleslaus*. With this view he besieged and took the town by assault: then pillaged *Silesia*, and penetrated to the heart of *Moravia*, destroying the whole country with fire and sword. He afterwards invaded *Lusatia*, and made himself master of *Meissen*; while *Boleslaus*, instead of taking measures to oppose his progress, wallowed in riot and debauchery, and committed such acts of oppression, that his subjects revolted. They chose in his room *Wlodowic*, a prince of the ducal house of *Bohemia*, who actually received the investiture of the duchy from the emperor; but, he dying soon after his election, the *Bohemians* supplied his place with *Jaroslaus*, brother of *Boleslaus*, without the consent or approbation of the *Polish* king, who was so much incensed at their presumption, that he re-established the banished duke by force of arms. This worthless prince, being now again in quiet possession of his dominions, invited his principal noblemen to a banquet, where they were cruelly murdered: his subjects, exasperated f g

[b] Vita Henrici auct. Adelb. [c] Guillim. de Epis. Argent. p. 50. [d] Sigon. de Regn. Ital.

a aſperated at this act of barbarity, complained to the king of *Poland*; who, on pretence of adjuſting the difference between him and his people, propoſed a conference, in the midſt of which, all the duke's attendants were aſſaſſinated, his own eyes were put out, and he was ſent priſoner to the frontiers of *Poland*, while the king repaired to *Prague*, where he was joyfully received by the *Bohemians*, as their deliverer and protector.

ALTHO' *Henry* was not a little chagrined at theſe revolutions, he did not pretend to treat the king of *Poland* as an uſurper; but demanded that he would do him homage for *Bohemia*, and the other conqueſts he had made of the fiefs of the empire. To this demand he ſent no definitive anſwer. The emperor being informed that he had entered into a ſecret aſſociation againſt him, with *Hezelo de Scheweinfurt*, marquis of *Franconia*, *Erneſt*, duke of b *Suabia*, and *Henry*'s own brother, *Bruno*, biſhop of *Augsburg*, he convoked a diet at *Merſbourg*, and, in conſequence of the deliberations of that aſſembly, raiſed an army of *Bavarians*, *Lorrainers*, and *Franks*, with which he entered *Franconia*, took the town of *Martclau*, and other ſtrong places, which were diſmantled, compelled *Hezelo* to fly for protection to the *Poliſh* king, and ordered *Erneſt*, who was taken priſoner in the courſe of the campaign, to be beheaded [c].

*An aſſociation againſt* Henry

THESE diſturbances being quelled, *Henry* ordered the *Saxon* and *Thuringian* troops to march againſt the *Slaves* of *Holſtein*, who had revolted at the inſtigation of the king of *Poland*, pillaged the country between the *Oder* and the *Elbe*, and threatened *Saxony* with fire and ſword; while their allies, the *Poliſh* troops, made frequent irruptions into *Bavaria*. c The emperor having repelled theſe barbarians, ravaged *Holſtein*, ſecured the frontiers with proper garriſons, and, at his return to *Merſbourg*, was reconciled to his brother *Bruno*; at the ſame time he pardoned *Hezelo*, at the interceſſion of the archbiſhop of *Mentz*, and the duke of *Saxony*; but, in order to prevent the bad conſequences of ſuch a turbulent genius, he ordered him to be confined in the citadel of *Givinkenſteim*, under the care of the archbiſhop of *Magdeburg* [f].

*The* Slaves *revolt*.

IN the courſe of this year, *Stephen*, duke of *Hungary*, who had married the emperor's ſiſter *Giſella*, and converted a great part of his ſubjects to the Chriſtian religion, received from pope *John* XIX. the title of king and apoſtle; and his dominions were divided into ten biſhoprics, of which *Strigonia* was appointed metropolitan, though, as yet, the idolaters of d that country were much more numerous than the Chriſtians.

*HENRY*, being ſtrongly ſollicited by the archbiſhop of *Milan* to march againſt *Hardouin*, ſet out for *Italy* by the way of *Bavaria*, where he had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing *Henry* of *Luxemburg*, his brother-in-law, elected duke by the ſtates or parliament of that province: then, leaving his wife *Cunegunda* to the care of the archbiſhop of *Magdeburg*, he paſſed the *Alps*, and marched towards *Verona*. *Hardouin* retired at his approach, while he proceeding to *Pavia*, was there crowned king of *Lombardy* by the archbiſhop of *Milan*; but *Hardouin* having ſome partizans in the town, they inflamed the populace to ſuch a degree with artful inſinuations, that the whole city was involved in tumult. One multitude ran to the palace, in order to deſtroy the emperor, whom they loudly reviled as a tyrant and uſurper; while another crowd ſecured the gates againſt the imperial troops, which were encamped without the walls. The *Germans*, who were within the city, aſſembled for the defence of their ſovereign, repulſed the ſeditious *Pavians* from the palace, while the ſoldiers in the camp, underſtanding the nature of the commotion, ſcaled the walls in great numbers, and committed a terrible ſlaughter in the ſtreets, until the emperor commanded them to deſiſt, and retired to the fortreſs of *St. Peter*. Thither the principal inhabitants repaired in a body, to implore his clemency, and lay the blame of the ſedition on a few partizans of *Hardouin*, who had practiſed upon the ignorance of the vulgar: and he generouſly accepted of their apology, obſerving, that mercy was his favourite virtue, and that he would much rather find their obedience the reſult of affection, than the conſequence of fear [g].

A. D. 1005. Henry *paſſes the* Alps, *and is crowned at* Pavia.

HAVING quelled the commotion, and received the ſubmiſſion of the other towns of *Lombardy* by their deputies, he repaired to *Milan*, where he found the inhabitants quiet, and in appearance devoted to his ſervice; and from thence he returned to *Germany*, by the country of the *Griſons*, puniſhing delinquents, and enacting ſalutary laws and regulations in the countries through which he paſſed. In his progreſs through the provinces, he convened an aſſembly of biſhops and nobility at *Dortmund* in *Weſtphalia*, for the reformation of abuſes both in church and ſtate; and acquired ſuch a character of generoſity, juſtice, and moderation, that people came from all the neighbouring nations to ſettle in the empire. As *Boleſlaus*, king of *Poland*, ſtill continued in poſſeſſion of *Bohemia*, and ſet *Henry* at defiance, the emperor having declared war againſt that prince, by the advice of an aſſembly convoked at *Mersbourg*, marched againſt the uſurper, whom he expelled from that duchy, and entered *Prague* in triumph, where he eſtabliſhed *Jaromir*, brother of their former duke *Boleſlaus*;

*He returns to* Germany;

*eſtabliſhes* Jaromir *in* Prague;

[c] BARRE, t. iii. p. 546. [f] Annal. Sax. p. 639. [g] BARRE. ubi ſupra.



and

and gave orders for releasing *Hezelo*, marquis of *Franconia*, at the desire of a minister, who solicited his liberty in a pathetic address from the pulpit. Then he assembled his nobles at *Magdeburg*, where it was resolved to prosecute the war, with the utmost vigour, against the king of *Poland*, who continued to make incursions as far as the river *Sala* in *Misnia*; and, in consequence of that resolution, he passed the *Elbe* with an army of *Saxons*. After a fatiguing march, he found the enemy encamped between the rivers *Tober* and *Oder*, and crossing the first of these in the night, fell upon them with such fury, that they were intirely defeated [h]. *Boleslaus* being no longer able to keep the field, sued for peace; which being granted, he returned to *Saxony*, and severely punished some *Slaves*, who had interrupted the public peace in his absence. a

*pursues the* Poles *into their own country.*

A. D. 1006.

It was now that he put in execution the scheme he had formed of erecting *Bamberg* into a bishopric; which was confirmed by the pope, on condition that the bishop should hold it of the holy see, and pay an yearly acknowledgement of an hundred silver marks, and an horse completely caparisoned: but the bishop of *Wurtsburg* opposing the erection, as an expedient that would dismember his diocese, *Henry* assembled a council at *Frankfort* upon the *Main*, where he prostrated himself before the bishops and prelates, who, to the number of thirty-five, subscribed the confirmation of his holiness [i]. b

*Council at* Franckfort.

A. D. 1007. *The* Poles *invade* Prussia.

*BOLESLAUS*, weary of the peace, endeavoured, by false insinuations, to decoy *Stephen*, king of *Hungary*, into an alliance against the emperor; but that project miscarrying, he fell upon the *Prussians*, or *Borussians*, a savage people, who migrating from the source of the *Tanais*, had settled in the deserts between *Poland* and the *Baltic*, where they lived in the utmost barbarity, feeding on horse-flesh, and worshipping serpents; yet they must have possessed something worth having, as the *Poles* found their account in plundering the country. c

About this period, *Otho*, duke of the *Low Lorrain*, and last known descendant of *Charlemagne*, being dead, *Henry* bestowed the duchy upon *Godfrey*, count of the *Ardennes*. This donation gave umbrage to *Albert*, count of *Namur*, and *Lambert*, brother of the count of *Mons*, who had married sisters of the late duke, and were now patronized by the king of *France*, who wanted to revive his pretensions upon *Lorrain*. They were likewise supported by *Baldwin*, count of *Flanders*, who began hostilities in their favour, and took *Valenciennes*, and other places upon the *Scheld*, belonging to *Low Lorrain*. *Henry*, incensed at these outrages, assembled an army, and marched into *Flanders*, where he made a fruitless attempt upon *Ghent*; but he ravaged the country, and carried off a number of the nobility; so that *Baldwin* was fain to submit, and was pardoned on condition that he would restore *Valenciennes*, defray the expences of the war, and give hostages for his future fidelity [k]. d

1008.

*Troubles of* High *and* Low Lorrain.

At the same time *High Lorrain* was involved in trouble and confusion, on account of the bishopric of *Metz*, which was usurped by *Theodoric*, brother of the empress *Cunegunda*; while another brother, called *Adalberon*, ambitious of obtaining the archbishopric of *Triers*, opposed *Megingaude*, who was nominated to that see by the emperor. But these usurpers were furnished with troops by *Frederic*, count *de Luxemburg*, and chiefly supported by their own brother, *Henry* duke of *Bavaria*, who was, for his rebellious behaviour, put to the ban of the empire. e

A. D. 1010. *Commotions in* Saxony.

While the emperor was employed in appeasing the troubles of *Lorrain*, *Saxony* was violently agitated by new commotions, excited by a quarrel between *Herman*, son of *Ekkard*, count of *Thuringia*, and *Guncelin*, marquis of *Misnia*, which last, in an assembly of the *Saxon* noblemen, being convicted of having begun the hostilities, and of having engaged in secret connexions with *Boleslaus*, king of *Poland*, the declared enemy of the empire, *Henry* divested him of his dominions, which were given to his rival, and committed him as a prisoner to the care of *Arnold*, bishop of *Halberstadt*. His brother *Bruno* promised to deliver the town of *Meisen* to *Boleslaus*, who sent his troops thither for that purpose; but they were repulsed by the garrison, whom their commander could not corrupt, and next day *Herman* entered, and took possession [l]. f

1011. *The imperial troops ravage* Silesia.

The emperor, resolving to chastise *Boleslaus* for his clandestine practices, sent an army against him, under the command of *Jaromir*, duke of *Bohemia*, who advanced into *Silesia*, besieged *Glogaw*, and ravaged the open country; while *Henry* fortified *Lebus*, on the frontiers of *Brandenburg* and *Poland*, by which means he was master of the *Oder*, and in a condition to hinder *Boleslaus* from making irruptions into *Lusatia* and *Brandenburg*.

Then he assembled a diet at *Coblentz*, in order to do justice upon the rebellious bishops of *Metz* and *Triers*, and their brother the duke of *Bavaria*, who some time after came in person to *Aix-la-Chapelle*, where they threw themselves at his feet, implored his clemency, and were taken into favour [m].

[h] Annal. Boic. p. 375. [i] Concil. tom. ix. p. 784. [k] Annal. Flandric. l. ii. [l] Chron. Sax. p. 416. [m] Chron. Sax. apud Leibnitz, ad ann. 1012.

The

a THE emperor, fatigued with theſe inceſſant troubles, cloyed with ſucceſs, ſick of human grandeur, and charmed with the tranquillity of a monkiſh life, entertained thoughts of abdicating the empire, and becoming a canon of *Strasbourg:* but theſe ſentiments were combated by the princes of the empire, who repreſented the neceſſity of his continuing upon the throne for the common good of *Germany*, in ſuch eager remonſtrances, that he ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded, and contented himſelf with founding a rich prebend, the poſſeſſor of which was called *King of the Choir*. By this time *Boleſlaus* had ſurpriſed and deſtroyed the town of *Lebus*; ſo that *Henry* was obliged to march againſt him; but the *Pole*, leaving part of his troops with his ſon *Maceſlaus*, whom the emperor defeated, retired with the reſt to make himſelf maſter of *Bohemia*, from whence *Jaromir* had been expelled by his ſubjects, b on account of his cruelty and oppreſſive reign. Accordingly the *Pole* pillaged the country, and beſieged *Prague*, which ſurrendered to his arms; while *Jaromir* fled for protection to *Henry*, by whoſe aſſiſtance *Othalric*, the ſon of *Jaromir*, was put in poſſeſſion of the duchy, at the deſire of the *Bohemians*, who deteſted the father, whom the emperor ſent into exile at *Utrecht*. As for *Boleſlaus*, having intereſted himſelf in a quarrel between the duke of *Ruſſia* and his ſon, he reſolved to ſupport the latter by force of arms; but being afraid of leaving his kingdom unfurniſhed while at variance with the emperor, he ſollicited *Henry* for peace, which was granted, after he had done homage for his dominions [n].

Henry *wants to abdicate his throne.* A. D. 1012.

Othalric *is created duke of* Bohemia.

Boleſlaus *ſues for peace.* A. D. 1013.

DURING theſe tranſactions, the *Slaves* revolted, and ravaged the northern banks of the *Oder* with fire and ſword, under their prince *Meſtiwoi*, who had been affronted by *Theodoric*, c marquis of *Eaſtern Saxony*; but *Henry* was obliged to leave the care of this war to the diet convened at *Gruningen*, becauſe his own preſence was become neceſſary in *Italy*, in order to repreſs the inſolence of *Hardouin*, who had re-aſſumed the authority in his abſence, and reigned without controul. He therefore aſſembled an army, repaſſed the *Alps* of the *Tyrol*, defeated *Hardouin* on the frontiers of the *Veroneſe*, and proceeding to *Rome*, was crowned, with his wife *Cunegunda*, by pope *Benedict* VIII. who aſked him on the ſteps of *St. Peter's*, *If he would always preſerve his fidelity to him and his ſucceſſors*; and was anſwered in the affirmative [o].

Henry *is crowned at* Rome. A. D. 1014.

IMMEDIATELY after this ceremony, he founded a biſhopric at *Bobio*, where St. *Columban* died, made ſome regulations at *Pavia*, and having appeaſed the troubles of *Lombardy*, he d ſet out on his return to *Germany*. In paſſing through *Burgundy*, he viſited the abbey of *Clugni*, where he was received as an aſſociate, and afterwards deſired he might be entered as a monk in the abbey of St. *Vall* at *Verdun*; upon which occaſion the abbot received him as a brother, on condition he ſhould obey him in all things, and then very prudently commanded him to continue at the helm of the government.

*Returns to* Germany.

IN obedience to this order, he determined to bear the toils of empire. He quelled ſome diſturbances in *Suabia*, and afterwards convoked a diet at *Mersburg*, where *Boleſlaus*, being accuſed of having violated the treaty, and favoured the revolt of *Hardouin*, was ſummoned to appear before the ſtates of the empire. Inſtead of obeying this call, the king of *Poland* began to levy troops, and endeavoured to engage the duke of *Bohemia* in his intereſt; e and the emperor, paſſing the *Elbe* with an army, attacked and defeated the ſon of *Boleſlaus*. This war continued for ſome time with various ſucceſs, and at length was terminated by a treaty of peace, concluded at *Bautzen*, at the earneſt ſollicitation of *Boleſlaus*, who obliged himſelf to pay an annual tribute to the emperor for *Poland* and *Moravia*.

A. D. 1015.

1017. *The king of* Poland *violates the treaty, and again ſues for peace.*

AFTER the ratification of this treaty, *Henry* repaired to *Baſil*, where he was viſited by *Rodolphus* III. king of *Transjurane Burgundy*, who being inſulted by his own ſubjects, on account of his effeminacy, came to implore the emperor's protection, and even ceded to him all his dominions. In conſequence of this deed, *Henry* made a progreſs through the kingdom which he had thus obtained; but the people were ſo exaſperated at the condeſcenſion of *Rodolphus*, that he was extremely ill received, and had the mortification to be refuſed ad- f mittance into ſeveral towns; ſo that, being provoked at theſe inſults, he permitted his troops to ravage the country, and ſet the villages on fire. His vengeance was afterwards completed by *Werner*, biſhop of *Strasbourg*, who, with a body of imperial troops, advanced as far as *Geneva*, againſt the noblemen who had revolted, over whom he obtained a complete victory [p]. While the biſhop was thus employed, *Henry* marched into *Lower Saxony* againſt duke *Bernard*, who harraſſed that province with his tyranny and exactions; but finding himſelf unable to cope with the emperor, he ſubmitted to his power and correction, and gave ſureties for his future behaviour. Having quieted *Saxony*, he repaired to *Frankfort* upon the *Main*, in the utmoſt tribulation for the calumnies which began to be circulated againſt the em-

1018. Rodolphus III. *king of* Transjurane Burgundy, *implores the emperor's protection.*

*The empreſs* Cunegunda

[n] BARRE, tom. iii. p. 582. [o] MURATOR. anecd. t. ii. p. 204. [p] HERMAN. CONTRACT. ad ann. 1018.

*passes the fiery ordeal.*

empreſs *Cunegunda*, who, conſcious of her innocence, is ſaid to have demanded the trial, and to have undergone the fiery ordeal unhurt [q] (A). a

*Commotions in* Italy. A. D. 1019.

ALTHOUGH the towns of *Lombardy* enjoyed the moſt perfect tranquillity under the emperor's lieutenants, *Sicily*, *Apulia*, and *Calabria* were ſtill expoſed to the invaſions of the *Saracens*, who at length fell upon *Tuſcany*, took *Euna*, and expelled the biſhop; but by the diligence of the pope, who levied forces by land, and armed barks to cut off their retreat, they were defeated and cut in pieces, and their princeſs, who was taken priſoner, afterwards beheaded, for inſulting his holineſs. But the occaſional invaſions of thoſe pirates were not of ſuch conſequence to *Italy* as the troubles occaſioned by the dominion of the *Greeks*, who ſtill poſſeſſed part of *Apulia* and *Calabria*, which were governed by an officer called *Catapan*, appointed by the emperors of *Conſtantinople*. The people, harraſſed by the exactions of this lieutenant, took to their arms, under the command of *Mello*, prince of *Bari*, with a view to expel the *Greeks*; who having received a ſtrong reinforcement from *Conſtantinople*, threatened the revolters with death and deſtruction. *Mello*, finding himſelf incapable of oppoſing ſuch a formidable power, had recourſe to the aſſiſtance of the *Normans*, who now began to appear in this part of the world, and who ſerved him ſo effectually, that he defeated the *Greeks* in a pitched battle; but theſe being again reinforced, were victors in their turn; ſo that *Mello*, and even pope *Benedict*, fled to *Germany*, in order to implore the protection of the emperor, who then reſided at *Bamberg* [r]. b

*The pope repairs to* Bamberg.

*HENRY* II. tho' extremely well diſpoſed to ſuccour *Italy*, was for ſome time detained by certain feuds, which had broke out between the princes of the empire: but, in the mean time, at the deſire of his holineſs, he, by a freſh edict, confirmed the laws which he had formerly enacted at *Pavia*, and convoked an aſſembly at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, to adjuſt the meaſures for the expedition (B). c

Henry *marches into* Italy.

ALL the troubles of *Germany* being appeaſed, and the neceſſary preparations made for the occaſion, he ſet out for *Italy*, marching along the coaſt of the *Adriatic*; and ſent a detachment of eleven thouſand men, under the command of *Poppo*, archbiſhop of *Triers*, who penetrated into the country of the *Marſes*, now called *Abruzzo*; while *Pelegrin* of *Cologne* marched directly to *Rome*, to ſecure the perſons of *Pandolphus*, prince of *Capua*, and *Athenulphus*, abA. D. 1021. bot of *Monte Caſſino*, who had joined the *Greeks* in the pope's abſence. The abbot, hearing of their approach, embarked at *Otranto* for *Conſtantinople*, and periſhed by ſhipwreck; and *Pandolphus* ſurrendering himſelf, was brought to the emperor's camp, tried, condemned, and pardoned, at the interceſſion of *Pelegrin*. *Henry* was then employed in beſieging the town of *Troy* in *Apulia*, which ſurrendered at diſcretion, after having been reduced to extremity. He afterwards reconquered all the places which the *Greeks* had taken in his abſence, ſubdued the provinces of *Calabria* and *Apulia*, which were obliged to give hoſtages for their fidelity, beſtowed the principality of *Capua* on the count *de Feana*, furniſhed the nephews of *Mello* with troops, to drive the *Greeks* from *Bari*, gratified his own followers with conſiderable rewards, appointed a new abbot of *Monte Caſſino*, and, his army being conſiderably diminiſhed by ſickneſs, returned to *Germany*, leaving *Italy* to the enjoyment of that peace which he had eſtabliſhed [s]. d

*He reduces* Apulia *and* Calabria, *and returns to* Germany. 1023.

ALTHOUGH *Henry*'s reign had been generally proſperous, the inceſſant troubles of *Germany* had kept him in ſuch continual agitation, that, till this period, he never could enjoy that tranquillity which ſeems to have been the conſtant object of his wiſh. But now that he had appeaſed all the diſturbances in his dominions, he reſolved to reap the fruits of his labours in quiet; and being deſirous of living on an amicable footing with his neighbours, he had an interview with *Robert*, king of *France*, in which thoſe two princes contracted a particular friendſhip for each other, and concerted meaſures for reforming the abuſes which had crept into their dominions. This conference, at that time called the meeting of the two ſaints, was the laſt remarkable tranſaction of *Henry*'s life; for ſoon after his return, he died at *Grone* in the month of *July*, after a proſperous reign of twenty-two years [t] (C). He f e

*Has an interview with* Robert *king of* France.

A. D. 1024.

[q] BARRE, tom. iii. p. 613. [r] Annal. de l'Empire, t. ii. p. 169. [s] GIABER, l. iii. c. 1. Chron. Caſſin. c. 42. [t] BARRE, tom. iii. p. 627. HEN. BOD. SYNTAG. ex Meibom. p. 499. GOB. PERS. Goſmod. æt. vi. cap. 52. p. 229. HEISS. l. ii. c. 6. MACH. Hiſt. Fir. l. i.

(A) This year is remarkable for the death of *Ditmar*, biſhop of *Merſbourg*, the famous hiſtorian, who was a *Saxon* nobleman of the firſt rank (1)

(B) Theſe laws, enacted or confirmed, plainly prove, that *Henry* was at this period ſovereign of *Rome* and *Italy*, and that the pope poſſeſſed nothing but by grant from the emperor. The ſovereignty which the biſhops of *Rome* afterwards acquired, was owing to the diviſions of the empire, of which they took the advantage to eſtabliſh their own authority.

(C) Finding his end approaching, he ſent for the parents of the empreſs, and, in preſence of many biſhops and abbots, addreſſed himſelf to them in theſe words: *I reſtore your daughter a virgin, as I received her from your hands.* A very ſtrange declaration from the mouth of an husband; but, it ſeems, both had made a vow of chaſtity, which, by the bye, was extremely ridiculous (2).

(1) *Vit. Ditmar. par Reineccium, p.* 120.

(2) *Annal. de l'Empire, t.* i. *p.* 170.

was

a was ſurnamed *the Lame*, *the Holy*, and *the Hungarian Apoſtle*, having derived the firſt of theſe appellations from an impediment in walking, and the other two from his devotion and liberality to the church (D).

(D) *Henry*'s donations to the church (ſome of them at leaſt) ſeem to have been extorted from him, by the power and influence of the clergy: for *Meibomius* tells us, that when the biſhop of *Paderborn* pronounced a benediction upon him in public, for his generoſity to the church, the emperor turned his head on one ſide, and in a low voice curſed him for having extorted, by dint of importunity, ſo many grants to the detriment of his other ſubjects (2).

(2) *Meib. Reſt. Apol. Otton.* IV.

b

## CHAP. III.

### *Being a Detail of the* German *Affairs, continued to the Death of* Henry V.

### *CONRAD* II. ſurnamed *the Salick.*

GREAT diſputes enſued upon the death of *Henry* of *Bavaria*, about the nomination of a ſucceſſor to the empire; at length the princes and ſtates aſſembling in the open fields between the cities of *Mentz* and *Worms*, elected *Conrad*, duke of *Franconia*, ſurnamed c *the Salick*, becauſe he was born on the banks of the river *Sala* (E). The chief care of this new emperor was employed in re-eſtabliſhing juſtice, chaſtiſing vice, and rewarding virtue.

Conrad II. *ſurnamed* the Salick, *choſen emperor.*

THE *Lombards* revolting in the third year of his reign, he marched into *Italy*, and having reduced the rebels by force of arms, went to *Rome*, where on *Eaſter-day* he was conſecrated, and crowned emperor by pope *John* XX. with great ſolemnity, being accompanied by *Canute* king of *Denmark* and *England*, and *Rodolphus* III. king of *Tranſjurane Burgundy* [u]. He had not been many days at *Rome*, when he was obliged to return into *Germany*. on account of ſome inſurrections; but before he attempted to quell them, he took care that his ſon *Henry*, at that time about twelve years of age, ſhould be declared his ſucceſſor, and ſolemnly crowned at *Aix-la-Chapelle*. Then he took the field againſt the authors of the re- d bellion, who were *Erneſt*, duke of *Suabia*, *Albert*, duke of *Carinthia*, and his own couſin *Conradin*, duke of *Worms*. Having defeated them in ſeveral engagements, in one of which *Erneſt* was ſlain, after having been put to the ban of the empire (F), he made the reſt priſoners, and brought them to a tryal before a general aſſembly of all the princes and members of the empire, who, by a ſolemn decree, deprived them of their dominions.

A. D. 1027.

*Cauſes his ſon* Henry *to be crowned at* Aix-la-Chapelle.

THIS war being happily concluded, he turned his arms againſt *Miſico*, king of *Poland*, who had, without his conſent, aſſumed the name and quality of king, and by ſevere uſage compelled his own brother *Otho* to fly into *Germany*, and implore the emperor's protection. *Henry* complied with his requeſt, and put him at the head of an army, which he himſelf afterwards reinforced in perſon: then marching againſt *Miſico*, they drove him to ſuch ex- e tremity, that he was fain to take ſhelter with *Othalric*, duke of *Bohemia*. This prince, in defiance of all the rights of hoſpitality, offered to deliver up his gueſt to the emperor, who rejected the propoſal with diſdain, and conveyed the letter to *Miſico*, whom he adviſed to chooſe another aſylum. The unfortunate prince, ſenſibly touched with this inſtance of generoſity, repaired to the camp of the emperor, laid aſide his robes and enſigns of royalty, threw himſelf at his feet, and ſurrendered at diſcretion. *Henry* accepted of his ſubmiſſion, and reſtored his dominions, on the ſame terms on which his father *Boleſlaus* had poſſeſſed them; while *Othalric*, ſtruck with his magnanimity, laid down his arms and ſued for peace [x].

*Marches againſt* Miſico, *king of* Poland, *who ſurrenders at diſcretion.*

A. D. 1030.

As for *Otho*, he was reconciled to his brother, and honoured with the title of duke; but f being afterwards aſſaſſinated, the emperor, who ſuſpected *Miſico* of the murder, divided *Poland* into three provinces, one of which he left in the king's poſſeſſion, and the other two were put under the care of *Poliſh* governors, who were attached to the intereſts of the empire. This diviſion was the ſource of new revolutions that happened to *Poland*; for the governors, taking advantage of *Miſico*'s weakneſs and want of popularity, began to act as ſovereigns, and at length declared themſelves independent; ſo that *Sileſia* was diſmembered from the *Poliſh* dominions, and *Moravia* was retrieved by *Othalric*, duke of *Bohemia*.

Poland *is diſmembered.*

1032.

[u] BARRE, t. iii. p. 643. SIGON. l. viii. p. 194. [x] HEISS, l. ii.

(E) At this election, beſides a great many eccleſiaſtic princes, were preſent, *Benno*, duke of *Saxony*, *Albert*, duke of *Auſtria*, *Hetzel*, duke of *Bavaria*, *Erneſt*, duke of *Suabia*, *Frederic*, duke of *Lorrain*, *Goſilio*, duke of *Holland* and *Zealand*, *Enno*, duke of *Franconia*, and *Ulric*, duke of *Bohemia* (3).

(F) *Ban* originally ſignified banner, afterwards an edict, and, laſtly, a declaration of outlawry, the form of which was this: *We declare thy wife a widow, thy children orphans, and ſend thee, in the name of the devil, to the four corners of the earth.*

(3) *Heiſs, l.* ii. *c.* 7.

BUT

BUT this prince, notwithstanding such an accession to his dominions, had well nigh been ruined by the indiscretion of his son *Brztislaus*, who had carried off and married *Judith*, the daughter of count *Albert Otho*, surnamed *the Sincere*. The father, exasperated at this outrage, complained in a most pathetic manner to the emperor, who forthwith entered *Bohemia* with an army, to take vengeance upon the ravisher; and an obstinate battle would have ensued, had not *Judith*, like one of the *Sabine* women, interposed between the two hosts, and by her charms and intreaties effected a peace, which was concluded in the tent of *Conrad*, at whose feet *Brztislaus* threw himself, and was immediately forgiven [y]. a

*War in* Bohemia.

THIS treaty being concluded, he marched into *Saxony* against the *Lutizians*, a people inhabiting the duchy of *Mecklenbourg*, who lived in pagan ignorance, and made incursions into the territories of the empire. As they had committed flagrant outrages in *Saxony*, he pursued them to their own country, which he laid waste with fire and sword; put a great number of them to death, in revenge for the sacrilege and barbarities they had been guilty of, and imposed a considerable tribute upon their nation [z]. b

*Incursions of the* Lutizians.

THIS war was succeeded by another with *Stephen*, king of *Hungary*, who having demanded the duchy of *Bavaria* in right of his wife, sister and heiress of *Henry* II. and met with a refusal from *Conrad*, attempted to do himself justice by force of arms. The emperor, without waiting for an invasion, entered *Hungary* with a powerful army, desolating the country with fire and sword; and *Stephen* finding himself unable to withstand him, made his submission, and subscribed to the terms of peace which *Conrad* was pleased to impose: nor was he less fortunate in the termination of his difference with *Eudes*, count of *Champagne*. *Rodolphus*, king of *Transjurane Burgundy*, had left *Conrad* his heir, in consideration of his having married *Gisela* his younger sister: but *Eudes*, count of *Champagne*, and son of *Bertha*, who was the elder sister of *Rodolphus*, resolved to have his share in the succession; and with that view maintained a bloody war against the emperor, who at length gained a battle near *Bar-le-duc*, in which the count was slain [a]. c

*His expedition against* Stephen, *king of* Hungary, *and* Eudes, *count of* Champagne

A. D. 1034.

BY his death *Conrad* obtained peaceable possession of all *Transjurane Burgundy*, and at *Soleurre* held an assembly of the bishops and noblemen, who took the oath of allegiance, and acknowleged his son *Henry* III. as his successor in that kingdom (G).

WHILE the emperor was employed in taking possession of this fair inheritance, *Micico*, king of *Poland*, died, and his son *Casimir* being too young to manage the reins of government, his mother *Ricliza* assumed the regency. She governed with such indiscretion, that the subjects revolted, and she and her son were obliged to fly to *Magdeburg* in *Lower Saxony*, with all the jewels and treasure which had been amassed by the two preceding kings. d

*Rebellion in* Poland, *which is invaded by the duke of* Bohemia.

*BRZTISLAUS*, duke of *Bohemia*, profiting by these intestine disturbances, entered *Poland*, ravaged the country, made himself master of *Breslau*, *Posna*, *Uladislaw*, and even of the capital *Gesna*, from which he carried off an immense booty.

*CONRAD*, who had received queen *Ricliza* with great hospitality, pretended to dispose of the treasure which his vassal, the duke of *Bohemia*, had got; and his demand being rejected, he advanced into *Bohemia* with a body of troops, at sight of which *Brztislaus* submitted. As for young *Casimir*, he took the habit of a monk at *Cluny*; but the *Poles*, tired of living in anarchy, sent deputies to the pope, who granted a dispensation; in consequence of which he was released of his vows, and ascended the throne of his ancestors [b]. e

A. D. 1335.

HAVING thus adjusted his affairs on this side the *Alps*, and seen his son *Henry* married to *Gonilda*, daughter of *Canute*, king of *England*, he was recalled into *Italy*, by a new revolt of several cities and noblemen, headed by *Herbert*, bishop of *Milan*, whom he had loaded with favours. His march was so sudden and unexpected, that *Milan* was in a manner retaken by surprize, and the bishop falling into his hands, was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. But, besides this rebellion, he had another errand into *Italy*, which was to comply with a decree of the electors, importing, that every emperor should go and be crowned at *Milan* and *Modena*, in order to make a distinction between the kingdoms of *Lombardy* and *Italy*. f

*The bishop of* Milan *revolts.* A. D. 1038.

AFTER all these expeditions he repaired to *Rome*, where he received the benediction of pope *Benedict* IX. who had succeeded *John* XXI. Then he returned into *Germany*, where he was seized with the gout in his legs, and died suddenly at *Utrecht*, in the 15th year of his reign, after having approved himself a generous, just, able, and magnanimous

*Is seized with the gout, and dies at* Utrecht.

[y] Epitom. rer. Bohem. t. iii. c. i. [z] HELMOLD. in Chron. Slav. l. i. c. xviii. [a] SIGEBERT, ad ann. 1033.
[b] DU GLASS. Hist. Polon. n. 191.

(G) On the death of *Rodolphus* ended the three last kingdoms of *Burgundy*, after having lasted 177 years after the foundation of the first, which was that of *Provence*, formed by the emperor *Lotharius*, in favour of his third son *Charles*. To this succeeded the kingdom of *Transjurane Burgundy*, erected in 888 by *Rodolphus* I. and both these were comprehended in that of *Arles*, which began in 930, by virtue of a treaty made between *Hugh*, king of *Italy* and *Provence*, and *Rodolphus* II. (1).

(1) *Barre, tom.* iii. *p.* 665.

a prince (H). His body was depoſited in the cathedral church of *Spire*, which he himſelf had built, together with a ſuperb palace for his ordinary reſidence [c].

## *HENRY* III.

*HENRY* III. ſurnamed *the Black*, ſon of *Conrad* and *Giſella* of *Suabia*, was elected in conſequence of his father's recommendation, and crowned at *Aix-la-Chapelle* by *Philigrino*, archbiſhop of *Cologn*. *Is ſucceeded by his ſon* Henry III. A. D. 1040.

*BRZTISLAUS*, duke of *Bohemia*, refuſing to pay him the tribute which was due, he invaded his dominions, and obliged him to ſubmit. Then he turned his arms againſt *Ovo*, b who had uſurped the crown of *Hungary*, and having driven him out of the kingdom, reſtored it to *Peter*, from whom it had been unjuſtly taken: but finding him extremely odious to his ſubjects, who declared they would rather die than yield obedience to ſuch a cruel tyrant, he beſtowed the crown upon a nephew of king *Stephen*, who had retired to the court of *Bohemia*. This young prince was likewiſe expelled by the people, who were ſtrongly attached to *Ovo*, and who, not contented with his expulſion, entered *Auſtria* and *Bavaria*, pillaging and deſtroying the whole country. *who reduces* Brztiſlaus *and* Ovo. 1043.

THE emperor, incenſed at their preſumption, marched into *Hungary* with a conſiderable army; and *Ovo* being unable to withſtand his power, ſued for peace, which he obtained on the following conditions: that he ſhould pay forty talents of gold to the empire, indemnify c *Auſtria* and *Bavaria*, for the damage they had ſuſtained by the irruption of the *Hungarians*, and releaſe all the priſoners [d]. Next year, however, *Henry* received ſuch complaints of *Ovo*'s cruelty and rapacity, that he again entered *Hungary*, defeated him in a pitched battle on the river *Raab*, took poſſeſſion of *Alba Regalis*, where he was acknowleged as ſovereign of the kingdom by the ſtates, aſſembled for that purpoſe, and afterwards reconciled them to their old prince *Peter*, who being re-eſtabliſhed in his kingdom, did homage for it to the emperor. As for *Ovo*, he endeavoured to excite freſh commotions after *Henry*'s departure; but being abandoned by his adherents, he retired to *Tranſylvania*, where he was apprehended and brought to *Peter*, who, by the advice of his noblemen, condemned him to be beheaded.

d *ROME* had been ſome time diſtracted by different factions, particularly thoſe of the counts of *Tuſculum* and the *Ptolemei*; the firſt of which had thruſt *Benedict* IX. into the papacy, who having continued ſome time in the chair, was depoſed by the *Ptolemei* and the people, who had ſubſtituted in his place *Silveſter* III. but, in three months, this antipope was depoſed in his turn by the *Tuſculi*, and his rival re-eſtabliſhed. *Benedict*, however, finding himſelf univerſally hated, voluntarily reſigned in favour of *John*, archprieſt of the *Roman* church; and ſoon after, repenting of his reſignation, wanted ro reaſſume his former dignity. Theſe three popes, ſupported by their ſeveral partizans, maintained themſelves, each upon a different branch of the revenues belonging to the holy ſee, one reſiding at *St. Peter*'s, another at *Santa Maria major*, and the third in the palace of the *Lateran*, and all of them living in the moſt profligate and ſcandae lous manner. During this triumvirate, a certain prieſt called *Gratian*, partly by artifice, and partly by preſents, prevailed upon all three to renounce their pretenſions to the papacy; and the *Romans*, out of gratitude to the man who had delivered the church from ſuch a terrible ſchiſm, choſe him pope, under the name of *Gregory* VI [e].

THE emperor taking umbrage at this election, in which he had not been conſulted, marched with an army into *Italy*, was crowned at *Milan* by the archbiſhop; then repaired to *Placentia*, where he was viſited by pope *Gregory* VI. and afterwards convened a council at *Sutri*, in which the reſignation of the three popes was confirmed, *Gregory* VI. depoſed, and by conſent of the *Romans* as well as *Germans*, the papal chair was filled with *Heidiger*, biſhop of *Bamberg*, who aſſumed the name of *Clement* II. and afterwards put the imperial crowns f on the heads of *Henry*, and *Agnes*, his empreſs (I). *Quiets the troubles of* Rome, *which had been diſtracted by the factions of theſe pretenders to the papacy.* A. D. 1046.

THIS ceremony being performed, and the *Romans* having ſworn they would never for the future chooſe a pope without having ſent previous notice to the reigning emperor, *Henry* went to viſit the monaſtery of *Monte Caſſino*, which received valuable marks of his favour: from thence he proceeded to *Capua*, where he was viſited by the *Norman* princes, whom he confirmed in the poſſeſſion of *Apulia* and *Calabria*, which they had conquered from

[c] GOB. PERS. Coſmod. æt. vi. GLAB. RODULPH. lib. iv. HEN. BOD. Synteg. ex Meib. p. 500. [d] ADLZ. Annal. Boi. gent. p. 411. [e] OTHON. FRISINGEN. l. ii. c. xxxii.

(H) All thoſe who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in his ſervice received marks of his generoſity: among others, a gentleman who had the misfortune to loſe a leg, was gratified with as many pieces of gold as one of his boots would contain, which the emperor told him were given to defray the expence of his cure (1).

(I) *Agnes* was daughter of *William*, duke of *Poitou* (2).

(1) *Heiſs, liv.* ii. *c.* viii. (2) *Glab.*

the *Greeks*: but when he expreſſed a deſire of ſeeing *Beneventum*, he was refuſed admittance; a
nor could he at that time puniſh the inhabitants for the inſult, as he had already ſent the beſt part of his troops to *Germany* with the empreſs. However, he prevailed upon the pope, who was along with him, to excommunicate the *Beneventines*, and beſtowed the city and its dependencies, as fiefs of the empire, upon the *Norman* princes, in caſe they ſhould ſubdue them by force of arms *.

Scarce was he returned to *Germany* from this expedition, when he received the news of *Clement*'s death; and ſoon after was informed, that a certain biſhop of *Bavaria*, called *Stephen*, had intruded himſelf into the chair, under the name of *Damaſus* II. who was alſo dead, in twenty-three days after his elevation. He learned at the ſame time, that the *Romans*, imagining he would leave to them the care of chooſing another pope, had diſpatched ambaſ- b
ſadors to him for that purpoſe; but, being reſolved to preſerve his right, he, without waiting for their arrival, nominated one *Bruno*, a *German* biſhop, who immediately aſſumed the veſtments of the ſovereign pontiff. This new pope, who was a modeſt man, and did not much reliſh the dignity that had been conferred on him, was, on his journey to *Rome*, perſuaded by one *Hildebrand* (I), a monk belonging to the abbey of *Cluny*, that he ought not to wear his pontificals until he ſhould be elected at *Rome*, the emperor alone having no right to create a pope. Accordingly *Bruno* went thither as a private man, being accompanied by this ſame *Hildebrand*, who had art and influence enough to raiſe underhand an oppoſition againſt him at firſt, and afterwards to diſpoſe the *Romans* to favour his election, that he himſelf might have the ſole merit of having raiſed him to the papal chair. This ſcheme c
ſucceeded to his wiſh: *Bruno*, who took the name of *Leo* IX. believing himſelf indebted to *Hildebrand* for his exaltation, favoured him with his confidence and affection; and thus began the intrigues of that famous monk, who managed the *Romans* with ſuch addreſs, that afterwards, upon the death of *Leo*, they, at his inſtigation, choſe another pope of their own accord, with a view to detach the right of nomination from the emperor. The perſon he propoſed was *Gebehard*, biſhop of *Eichſtet*, who took the appellation of *Victor* II. and *Hildebrand*, foreſeeing that *Henry* would be offended at their preſumption, went to him in perſon as their deputy, when, by his inſinuation and addreſs, he prevailed upon him to confirm what they had done [f]. Perhaps he would not have found this taſk ſo eaſy, had not *Henry* been involved in a quarrel with the *Hungarians*, who had again rebelled againſt *Peter*, and d
ſet upon the throne his kinſman *Andrew*, after he had defeated the other, put out his eyes, and ſent him to priſon, where he died. For theſe reaſons the emperor ſent an army againſt him; and after having worſted him in ſeveral engagements, compelled him to ſue for peace. This treaty, however, was violated by the uſurper, who inſulted *Henry*'s ambaſſadors, and, by a ſudden irruption, ravaged the whole duchy of *Bavaria*; upon which the emperor took the field again, defeated him in a bloody battle, deprived him of a great part of his dominions, and obliged him to accept of peace, on condition that he ſhould pay a large yearly tribute in money, and furniſh him with a certain number of fighting men (K).

*Nominates* Bruno *to the popedom.* A. D. 1048.

*Is prevailed upon to confirm the election of pope* Victor II. *choſen without his privity.* A. D. 1054.

*Subdues* Hungary.

*The duke of* Bavaria *is diveſted of his dominions.*

At this period *Bavaria* was agitated by freſh troubles. *Conrad*, the young duke, governed his ſubjects with ſuch tyranny and violence, that *Gebehard*, biſhop of *Ratisbon*, made repre- e
ſentations to him on the ſubject of his miſconduct; and the duke, being incenſed at the freedom of his remonſtrances, pillaged and ſet on fire the town of *Packſtein*, which was under the prelate's juriſdiction. *Gebehard* complained of this outrage to the emperor, who ſummoned *Conrad* to appear at *Mersbourg*, and anſwer to the charge; and he, being found guilty, was diveſted of his dominions, which were given to the emperor's ſon *Henry*, who, in an aſſembly held at *Tribur*, in the dioceſe of *Mentz*, was about this time declared king of the *Romans*, and future emperor, tho' no more than three years of age.

*CONRAD*, expelled from his dominions, took ſhelter with the king of *Hungary*; and, being furniſhed with ſome troops, marched into *Carinthia*, where joining ſome malecontent noblemen, who were diſquieted at the emperor's deciſion, he made himſelf maſter of the f

* Hiſt. de Conquetes des Normans, p. 32. [f] Leo Oſtienſ. l. ii. c. 9.

(I) *Hildebrand* is ſaid to have been a carpenter's ſon, who, in amuſing himſelf with little pieces of wood, formed, by ſupernatural inſtinct, theſe words, *Dominabor a mari uſque ad mare*; which being perceived by a prieſt, he looked upon the child as a choſen veſſel, and perſuaded his father to beſtow learning upon him. He was afterwards employed as a ſcribe or ſecretary by the emperor, before whom he appeared in a dream, having two horns that reached up to heaven, with which he overturned his ſon *Henry* in the mud. The father, ſhocked at this apparition, ſent *Hildebrand* to priſon, from whence he was releaſed by the interceſſion of the empreſs, and afterwards became a monk (1).

(K) *Heiſs*, from we know not what authority, ſays *Henry* was unſucceſsful in this war, and obliged to abandon the crown of *Hungary* to the uſurper *Andrew*: but we have followed the *Saxon* chronicles in this particular, which are not contradicted by any other hiſtory of credit, that hath fallen into our hands.

(1) *Gob. Perſ. Coſmodi æt.* vi.

greateſt

a greateſt part of that province; but he was ſoon reduced by the forces of the emperor, who compelled him to retreat again into *Hungary*.

THE revolt of *Conrad* was ſucceeded by the war of *Flanders*, kindled by count *Baldwin*, who ſeized the county of *Hainault*, invaded *Lorrain*, and plundered *Triers*, and other towns, ſituated upon the *Moſelle*. The emperor, being impowered by the diet at *Aix-la-Chapelle* to retort theſe violences, marched into *Flanders*, and laid the whole country under contribution. In conſequence of this diverſion, *Baldwin* quitted *Lorrain*, to defend his own territories; and being ſupported by the king of *France*, he protracted the war to the third campaign, when peace was reſtored to *Flanders* [g]. *War of* Flanders. A. D. 1055.

THE emperor, having taken proper meaſures for the proſecution of this war, followed
b pope *Victor* into *Italy*, and aſſiſted at a council in *Florence*, where he complained that *Ferdinand*, ſovereign of *Caſtile*, *Leon*, *Galicia*, *Portugal*, and *Gaſcony*, had aſſumed the title of emperor, and refuſed to do him homage for part of his dominions which he held of the empire. In conſequence of theſe complaints, the pope ſent ambaſſadors to *Ferdinand*, who, inſtead of complying with his deſire of laying aſide the title of emperor, and doing homage to *Henry*, raiſed a conſiderable army, which paſſed the *Pyrenees*, under the command of the celebrated *Rodrigo*, ſurnamed *the Cid*, and penetrated as far as *Thouloufe*, where the difference was compromiſed by commiſſaries, appointed to inveſtigate the pretenſions of both. The king of *Caſtile* reſigned the title of emperor, and *Henry* relinquiſhed his right of ſuperiority to the provinces in queſtion [h]. *The emperor repairs to* Italy

c *HENRY*'s ſiſter, *Beatrice*, widow of *Boniface*, marquis of *Etruria*, married *Godfrey*, a *German* nobleman, and agreed that her daughter *Mathilda*, when marriageable, ſhould eſpouſe her huſband's ſon by a former venter. This match, concluded without the conſent or knowledge of the emperor, gave ſuch umbrage to that prince, that he reſolved to expel *Godfrey* by force of arms from the dominions of *Tuſcany*; and this laſt, finding himſelf unable to cope with ſuch an antagoniſt, fled to *Baldwin*, count of *Flanders*; while his wife, going to juſtify herſelf to the emperor, was arreſted upon the road, and ſent priſoner into *Germany*.

*HENRY*, having made a progreſs through the different provinces of *Italy*, concluded an alliance with *Contarini*, duke of *Venice*; and repaſſing the *Alps*, marched into *Bavaria*, re-
d duced a rebellion which had been raiſed by the noblemen of that country in favour of *Conrad*, who was lately dead, and ſummoned his own uncle *Gebehard*, biſhop of *Ratisbon*, to the diet, where he was convicted of treaſon, and condemned to perpetual impriſonment; from which, however, he was ſoon releaſed.

GREAT part of *Europe* being afflicted with a cruel famine, *Henry* eaſed the ſuffering provinces of their taxes, and ordered corn to be imported from other countries for their relief: but hunger was not the only misfortune his people derived from this calamity. The *Sclaves* of *Luſatia*, famiſhed in their own country, made an irruption into *Saxony*, where they obtained a complete victory over the imperial general; and having pillaged the whole province without reſiſtance, returned with a conſiderable booty; a misfortune which, being
e aggravated by ſeveral public calamities, ſuch as earthquakes, famine, and plague, made a very deep impreſſion upon his mind, overwhelming him with chagrin, and, in all probability, abridging the term of his life. *The* Sclaves *make an irruption into* Saxony. A. D. 1056.

ABOUT this time he convoked a diet at *Goſlar*, where pope *Victor* II. was preſent, and recommending his ſon, who was about five years of age, to their good offices, they received him as king of the *Romans*, and his father's ſucceſſor in the empire [i]. *His ſon declared king of the* Romans.

IN a few days after this important point was ſettled to his ſatisfaction, he fell ſick, and died at *Burfelt* in *Saxony*, in the 39th year of his age, and 16th of his reign. His body was carried to *Spire*, and magnificently depoſited in the cathedral, whither it was attended by a great number of perſons of the firſt quality (L). *Dies at* Burfelt. A. D. 1056.

[g] SIGEBERT. ad ann. 1054. [h] ORDERIC VITALIS, l. iv. [i] GLAB. RAD. l. v. GOB. PERS. æt. vi. BERNARD. Cor. BARON. Chron. Magdeb. Bremenſ. Annal. Paderborn. p. 547.

(L) *Henry* III. was firſt married to *Gonilda*, or *Cunegonda*, daughter of *Canute*, king of *England* and *Denmark*, and, after her death to *Agnes*, by whom he had *Henry* IV. *Conrad*, who died in his infancy, *Sophia*, married to *Solomon*, king of *Hungary*, *Mathilda*, wife to *Rodolphus*, count *de Rhinfeld*, duke of *Suabia*, and *Itho*, married to *Leopold* IV. marquis of *Auſtria* (1).

(1) *Barre, tom.* iv. *p.* 61.

*HENRY*

## *HENRY* IV.

Henry IV. *succeeds to the imperial crown.*

*HENRY* IV. furnamed *the Great*, ſucceeded his father when he was no more than five years of age, his education being committed to the care of his mother the empreſs, who diſcharged that truſt with equal diligence and capacity. He was acknowledged emperor at a diet of the princes convoked at *Cologn*, where, by the mediation of pope *Victor* II. who was preſent at this aſſembly, *Baldwin*, count of *Flanders*, and *Godfrey*, marquis of *Etruria*, were reconciled to the empreſs. a

DURING the firſt years of this reign, *Germany* was harraſſed by inteſtine troubles, occaſioned by the quarrels and feuds of private noblemen. The duchy of *Suabia* being vacant by the death of *Otho de Schweenfurt*, the regent beſtowed it upon *Rodolphus de Rheinfeld*, altho' the late emperor had promiſed to confer it upon count *Berthold*, who loudly complained of this unjuſt preference, and intereſted his friends in his reſentment againſt the empreſs queen mother. The duke of *Bohemia* was attacked by the king of *Poland*, who renounced his dependence on the empire: even the *Hungarians*, who had been ſo formidable to *Germany*, were obliged to demand ſuccour againſt the *Poles*, and, notwithſtanding a reinforcement of imperialiſts, were defeated; ſo that thus king *Andrew*, with his queen, fled for refuge to *Ratisbon*. b

*State of the empire.*

THOSE wars were not the effects of political views, but generally produced from the effects of petty cauſes of reſentment; inſomuch that *Thierri*, count of *Holland*, took the field againſt the biſhops of *Cologn* and *Liege*, becauſe he had been perſonally inſulted at *Liege*, for having ſlain by accident a brother of the archbiſhop of *Cologn* in a tournament [k].

As for the other nations of *Europe*, they had no connection with the affairs of *Germany*; nor was the empire embroiled in any external war: ſo that thoſe troubleſome ſpirits, which might have been evaporated in defence of the community, were now employed in fomenting diviſions at home, and it was not without great difficulty that the regent maintained her authority. c

*The empreſs dowager is deprived of the regency.*

AT length the dukes of *Saxony* and *Bavaria*, uncles of the young emperor, together with the archbiſhop of *Cologn*, and other princes, carried him off by ſtratagem from his mother, who was taxed with having ſacrificed the welfare of the nation to the will of the biſhop of *Augsburg*, her miniſter, and ſuppoſed gallant; and ſhe, being thus diveſted of the regency, fled to *Rome*, where ſhe took the veil [l]. As for the emperor, he was put under the tuition of the archbiſhops of *Cologn* and *Bremen*; and theſe two prelates were very aſſiduous in this employment, which, however, each exerciſed in a very different manner. *Hano*, the archbiſhop of *Cologn*, endeavoured to inſpire him with the love of learning, and to ſeaſon his mind with the principles of virtue; but *Albert*, his collegue, in order to acquire an influence over his paſſions, and render himſelf neceſſary to him in his affairs, indulged him in all his pleaſures, and gave full ſcope to the licence of youth; during which he contracted bad habits, which he could not afterwards reſtrain [m]. d

A. D. 1062.

WHILE he remained under the tutorage of his mother, *Alexander* II. had been raiſed to the papal chair, without the privity or conſent of the emperor, in conſequence of a decree of council, called by the ſole authority of *Nicholas* his predeceſſor, in which it was ordained, that, for the future, the popes ſhould be elected by the curates (now called cardinals) of *Rome*. The queen regent, in order to maintain the right of the imperial crown, convoked a diet, in which *Alexander* was depoſed, and another pope elected, under the name of *Honorius* II. This ſchiſm gave riſe to new troubles in *Germany*, as well as in *Italy*, where *Alexander* was ſupported by *Godfrey* of *Lorrain*, who had married *Mathilda*, heireſs of *Tuſcany*, and by that match became one of the moſt powerful of the *Italian* princes [n]. e

A. D. 1072. Henry *takes the reins of government in his own hands.*

THE emperor, at the age of twenty-two, began his adminiſtration by reſtraining the thefts, robberies, and extortions, which his ſubjects of the duchy of *Saxony* exerciſed upon ſtrangers, as well as upon one another, in contempt of his authority, and to the prejudice of the public peace. With a few to facilitate this reformation, he took up his reſidence among them at *Goſlar*, and ordered ſeveral caſtles to be built and garriſoned, as a check upon the delinquents, and to protect the innocent from inſolence and rapine. But as theſe forts could not be raiſed without impoſing taxes upon the ſubject, the rich among the clergy, as well as laity, began to murmur, and traverſe his deſign, on pretence of defending their liberty, which, they affirmed, he intended to invade. They were beſides irritated againſt him on account of his debauches, and encouraged to rebellion by pope *Alexander* II. who, at the earneſt ſollicitation of *Hildebrand*, his confident and ſucceſſor, actually ſummoned the emperor to appear at *Rome*, to give an account of his looſe life, and anſwer to the charge of having expoſed the inveſtiture of benefices to ſale [o]. f

[k] Chronique de Hollande, &c. p. 150. [l] Annal. de l'Emp. t. i. p. 185. [m] Chron. Magdeb. Brem. ex Meib. p. 288. [n] OTHON. FRISING. l. vi. c. 44. [o] Annal. de l'Emp. t. i. p. 183.

THE

a THE emperor having rejected this citation with diſdain, the ſtates of *Saxony* engaged in an aſſociation, under the pretext of defending their liberties, and were ſo bold as to preſent him with a memorial, containing the following demands: that he ſhould order his new forts and caſtles in *Saxony* and *Thuringia* to be demoliſhed; that he ſhould reſtore to the owners the lands and moveables which he had unjuſtly and forcibly taken away; that he ſhould reinſtate *Otho* duke of *Saxony* in the duchy of *Bavaria*, from which he had been expelled (M); that he ſhould confirm to the *Saxons* their antient laws and immunities; that he ſhould not always reſide in one place, but make a progreſs through different parts of his dominions, to do juſtice every-where, and provide for the neceſſities of the church, the widow, and the orphan; that he ſhould diſmiſs the evil counſellors, and govern by the advice of the ſtates
b and princes, whoſe intereſt was inſeparably connected with the proſperity of the empire; and that he ſhould diſmiſs his concubine, and cohabit with his queen (N). They concluded with aſſuring him, he ſhould be reſpected, obeyed, and ſupported with their lives and fortunes, provided he would comply with theſe requeſts; but, ſhould he perſiſt in his deſign to oppreſs them, they were reſolved to defend themſelves againſt violence and deſpotic power [p].

*Is ſummoned by the pope, and controuled by the ſtates of* Saxony;

To this remonſtrance the emperor anſwered with great coolneſs, that he would take an opportunity of convoking the diet, which ſhould deliberate and decide upon the ſubject of their complaints. This reply was ſo diſagreeable to the *Saxons*, who were not at all diſpoſed to refer themſelves to ſuch a tribunal, that they forthwith levied a ſtrong body of forces, with
c which they inveſted *Goſlar*; from whence *Henry* retired in the night, in order to aſſemble the other ſtates and princes of the empire, who readily aſſiſted him with their troops in this emergency (O). Notwithſtanding theſe ſuccours, which were conſiderable, he ſent a deputation to the *Saxons*, with propoſals of peace; which, while the ſtates aſſembled at *Wurtzburg*, were negotiated at *Gerſtingen*, upon certain conditions which he promiſed to fulfil.

*who beſiege* Goſlar. A. D. 1073.

THO' he was, on this occaſion, very much indebted to the good advice and offices of the princes of the empire, he neglected them in points which were no leſs important, and allowed himſelf to be ſwayed by the evil counſels of ſome particular perſons, who had inſinuated themſelves into his favour. He was a young prince of violent paſſions, which often hurried him into indiſcretions, to the prejudice of his moral character; particularly, his
d incontinence was ſo great, that he ſeldom or never ſet eyes upon a beautiful young woman, without endeavouring to ſacrifice her virtue to his appetite. The vigilance of his wife being an obſtruction to his amours, he conceived an unjuſt antipathy to that unfortunate princeſs, and even engaged one of his courtiers to undermine her chaſtity, that he might have a pretence for obtaining a divorce; but her conduct was ſo blameleſs and diſcreet, that his deſign miſcarried, and he in vain ſollicited the pope to diſſolve the marriage, which, he ſaid, had never been conſummated [q].

THIS miſconduct gave ſuch umbrage, that he was abandoned by his beſt friends, and
e moſt powerful adherents, even before the diſſolution of the aſſembly which he had convened, and which he diſmiſſed ſoon after the concluſion of the treaty with the *Saxons*, betaking himſelf to *Nuremberg*, where he propoſed to reſide. Here he underſtood, that one of his domeſtics, called *Reginger*, had deſerted from his ſervice, and informed the dukes of *Suabia* and *Carinthia*, that the emperor had tampered with him to aſſaſſinate theſe two noblemen. This report was of infinite prejudice to the emperor, who, finding himſelf forſaken by almoſt all his friends, in conſequence of this malicious calumny, offered to prove his innocence by ſingle combat upon the body of *Rodolphus*, duke of *Suabia*; who thought proper to refuſe the challenge, or at leaſt to refer it to the deciſion of the princes of the empire (P). Even this condeſcenſion was of no effect in his juſtification, and he found himſelf ſo perſecuted by his enemies, that he fled for refuge to *Worms*, where he was hoſpitably received by the

Henry *is deſerted by his friends, on account of his miſconduct;*

*ſends a challenge to the duke of* Suabia;

*retires to* Worms.

[p] Chron. Magdeb. ex Meib. p. 296. HEISS, Hiſt. de l'Emp. l. xi. c. 9. [q] ADZER. p. 444.

(M) This *Otho* had been accuſed of a deſign againſt the emperor's life, and, by a decree of the diet, ordered to appear at *Goſlar*, to maintain his innocence againſt the accuſer in ſingle combat; but he declined the duel, alledging, that his antagoniſt was his inferior in birth and quality (1).

The author of the *Chronic. Magdeburgenſ.* affirms, that *Otho* was diſſuaded from the combat by his friends, upon information that he was doomed to loſe his life at *Goſlar*, whatever might be the iſſue of the duel.

(N) He married *Bertha*, daughter of *Otho*, marquis of *Italy* (2).

(O) The aſſociation againſt *Henry* conſiſted of *Werner*, archbiſhop of *Magdebourg*, *Burchar*, biſhop of *Halberſtat*, *Henry*, biſhop of *Hildeſheim*, *Werner*, biſhop of *Merſburg*, *Heilberg*, biſhop of *Minden*, *James*, biſhop of *Paderborn*, *Frederic*, biſhop of *Mimmegardefurt*, *Benno*, biſhop of *Miſnia*, *Otho*, duke of *Saxony*, the marquiſes of *Thuringia*, *Uko*, and *Dedo*, *Frederic*, count palatine of *Saxony*, with ſeveral counts and other noblemen (3).

(P) At the ſame time a gallant cavalier, named *Coſheim*, begged permiſſion to fight with *Reginger*; but *Rodolphus* interpoſed, and prevented the combat.

(1) *Heiſs. l.* xi. *c.* 9. (2) *Chron. Hildeburg. ex Meib. p.* 452. (3) *Heiſs. l.* xi. *c.* 9.

inhabitants, notwithstanding the ill offices of the bishop, who had used all his influence in persuading them to shut their gates against this unfortunate prince [r]. a

*He finds means to appease the princes, and acknowleges his faults.*

While he remained in this city, the princes of the empire assembling at *Mentz*, in order to deliberate upon the means of depriving him of his crown, and of chusing another emperor in his place, he found means, by secret negociations, to prevail upon some of them to favour him with a conference at *Oppenheim*. There he intreated them to excuse the irregularities of his youth, protested that he would for the future behave in a manner suitable to the dignity they had conferred upon him; and, in order to manifest his abhorrence of the crime which was laid to his charge, insisted upon fighting with *Reginger* himself. The proposal was accepted, and a day appointed for the combat; but in the mean time his antagonist disappeared, the princes were appeased, and *Henry* enjoyed some repose [s] (Q). b

*The* Saxons *rebel again; but are defeated by* Henry, *who grants them a peace.*

The *Saxons*, however, again revolted, and the emperor, assisted by the princes, raised an army of sixty thousand men, with which he entered *Saxony*, ravaging the country, and abandoning the towns to the pillage of his troops. Notwithstanding these advantages, he, at the intercession of some princes of the empire, granted a favourable peace to the rebels, disbanded his troops, and even trusted his person to the *Saxons*, who conducted him in triumph to *Goslar*, after having obtained in this treaty almost every thing they demanded in their former remonstrance. One of the articles of this peace was the demolition of his castles in *Saxony*, in the execution of which the peasants not only razed the superb seat of *Harlesberg* to the ground, but also plundered the church belonging to it, destroyed the tombs, and violated the ashes of the dead. The emperor, who was then at *Worms*, being informed of these abuses, took the opportunity of laying his complaints before several princes, who were assembled at *Bamberg* for the celebration of *Easter*, when the archbishop of *Mentz*, in the name of the ecclesiastics, as well as of *Rodolphus* duke of *Suabia*, *Berthold* duke of *Carinthia*, and other secular princes, declared, that, God being offended, and the empire treated with indignity by the authors of that sedition, they were ready to assist him in raising forces to reduce and chastise the rebels. He accordingly began to levy troops, and sent a formal declaration of war to the states of *Saxony* assembled at *Goslar*. c

Henry *declares war against the states of* Saxony.

A. D. 1075.

*Having defeated them, he makes himself master of their country;*

Preparations were made on both sides for the war, the *Saxon* army being commanded by *Otho* duke of *Bavaria*, who had been proscribed; and the imperial troops by *Henry* in person, who gave battle to the rebels, and totally defeated them in a bloody engagement; after which he made himself master of all *Saxony*, and dismissed his troops, on condition that they should re-assemble at *Gerstingen* at a certain day, in order to put the finishing stroke to the war. Mean while he himself returned to *Worms*. d

*and grants a peace.*

During this interval, the *Saxons* endeavoured at an accommodation; which was effected in the next campaign, while both armies were in the field. The chiefs of the rebellion asked pardon of the emperor in public, and begged to be re-admitted into his favour: their submission was accepted, both armies disbanded, and *Henry* returned to the city of *Worms* [t].

But he was not long suffered to enjoy the tranquility which was thus restored, being exposed to another storm from *Italy*, which was attended with much more dangerous consequences. Cardinal *Hildebrand*, upon the death of *Alexander* II. had been elected pope by the name of *Gregory* VII. without the authority or knowlege of the emperor; who, hearing of this transaction, had convoked a diet at *Mentz*, and, by the advice of that assembly, sent an ambassador to *Rome*, to complain of this encroachment upon his right, and to insist upon *Hildebrand*'s being deposed, unless he would sollicit the emperor's confirmation. The pope, finding it his interest to temporize, had received the ambassador with great civility, protesting that the papacy had been forced upon him by the people; but that he had no intention to accept of the honour, without the approbation of the emperor and princes of the diet, having delayed the ceremony of his confirmation, until he should have obtained that sanction. e

Hildebrand *is chosen pope without the knowlege of* Henry.

*HENRY*, satisfied with these excuses, had confirmed his election; so that seeing himself firmly established in the chair, and universally acknowleged as pope, he began his pontificate with a number of excommunications levelled against the *German* princes, ecclesiastic as well as secular; in particular against the archbishops of *Saltzburg* and *Bremen*, and the bishops of *Bamberg*, *Spire*, and *Strasbourg*; because they were either married, or publicly kept concubines [u]. He moreover excommunicated every ecclesiastic, who should receive his investiture from a laic, together with the laic by whom it should be conferred. This, however, was no more than an experiment, to try the thunder of the holy see; which he intended to launch against the emperor himself. For this purpose, he had sent four legates into *Germany* to hold a council, the convocation of which was opposed and prevented by f

[r] Heiss, ubi supra. [s] Lamb. Schaf. ad an. 1073. [t] Heiss, Hist. de l'Emp. [u] Barre, t. iv. p. 224.

(Q) He is said to have been carried off by the devil; a very lucky interposition for *Henry*, who (as *Heiss* justly observes) had consulted his courage more than his dignity in this proposal.

the

a the b ishops, and their representatives had orders to treat the emperor as an excommunicated person, until he should clear himself from the charge of simony, of which he had been accused before the preceding pope. Nay, to such a degree of animosity was he incensed against *Henry*, that he employed emissaries among the *Saxons*, who, by their insinuations, were prevailed upon to send ambassadors to *Rome*, to complain of the injury they had suffered in the last treaty with the emperor, and to beg that the pope would depose him on account of his immorality and misconduct.

ALTHOUGH *Henry* had dispersed the league that was formed against him, and restored peace to the empire, he dreaded new revolutions from the intrigues and resentment of the court of *Rome*; which, in order to avert, he wrote a very submissive letter to the pope, b accusing himself of simony and debauchery, and craving the forgiveness of his holiness; who, after having rebuked him for his crimes, commended him for his candour, and absolved him in consequence of his penitence and contrition x. *Henry is reconciled to the pope.*

HE afterwards proposed a crusade, in order to deliver the holy sepulchre from the hands of the infidels, offering to head the Christians in person, and desiring *Henry* to serve as a volunteer under his command: a project so wild and extravagant, that nothing but the enthusiasm of the times can exempt the memory of the proposer from the imputation of frenzy and delirium.

BUT this harmony subsisting between *Gregory* and the emperor was soon interrupted by the disturbances between *Hungary*, where *Solomon* had been deposed by his brother *Geysa*, c and fled for refuge to *Henry*, by whom he was protected, after having done homage to him for his dominions. *Gregory*, who favoured *Geysa*, exclaimed against this act of submission, and wrote a letter to *Solomon*, giving him to understand, that the kingdom of *Hungary* belonged to the *Roman* church, and demanding that he would acknowlege its dependence on the holy see, and not upon the king of *Germany*. *Disturbances in* Hungary.

*GREGORY* having thus laid the train, sent new legates to the diet of *Goslar*; which was assembled on account of the *German* princes, who had been taken prisoners in the last battle; and there, being seconded by the nuncio, they complained, that the emperor still continued to bestow (R) investitures, without having published the decrees of the last council against these investitures, as well as against simony, and the incontinence of the clergy. d Then they demanded that the princes, who were prisoners, should be set at liberty; that the archbishops and bishops, who were excommunicated should be deprived of their dignity and estates; and that the emperor should appear at *Rome*, on the first *Sunday* of *Lent*, to answer to the crimes laid to his charge; adding that, if he should fail to yield due obedience to the church, he must expect to be excommunicated and dethroned. *The emperor threatened.*

*HENRY*, incensed at this presumptuous declaration from the pope, whom he considered as his vassal, dismissed the legates with very little ceremony, and called an assembly of all the dignified ecclesiastics at *Worms*; where, after due deliberation, they concluded, that *Gregory*, having usurped the chair of St. *Peter* by indirect means, infected the church of God with a great number of novelties and abuses, and deviated from his duty to his sovereign e in several scandalous attempts, the emperor, by his supreme authority, derived from his predecessors, ought to divest the pope of his dignity, and appoint another in his place. *He deposes* Hildebrand;

IN consequence of this resolution, *Henry* sent an ambassador to *Rome*, with a formal deprivation of *Gregory*; who, in his turn, convoked a council, at which were present 110 bishops, who unanimously agreed, that the pope had just cause to depose *Henry*, to dissolve the oath of allegiance which the princes and members of the empire had taken in his favour, and to prohibit them from holding any correspondence with him on pain of excommunication, which was immediately fulminated against the emperor and all his adherents y. *and is excommunicated.*

HE knew that this step would be attended with civil wars: he interested the *German* bishops in his party: the prelates gained over the noblemen: *Henry*'s old enemies, the *Saxf ons*, seized this pretext of declaring against him; and even *Guelfe*, to whom he had given the duchy of *Bavaria*, supporteed the malecontents with that wealth which he owed to the emperor's bounty: at last, those very princes and bishops, who had joined in deposing *Gregory*, gave up their emperor to be tried by the pope, and his holiness was sollicited to come to *Augsburg* for that purpose.

BY this severe sentence, which filled a great part of Christendom with troubles and divisions, and involved *Germany* in long and bloody wars, the emperor was reduced to such extremity, that he set out for *Italy* in the middle of winter, with his wife and son *Conrad*,

x Aquila Franca, l. i. p. 176. Annal. de l'Emp. t. i. p. 192. y GOD. PERS. Cosm. æt. vi. Chron. Magdeburg. HEISS, Hist. de l'Emp. l. ii.

(R) *Henry* IV. enjoyed in common with almost all other princes, the right of nominating bishops and abbots, and of investing them by the cross and the ring; and tho' he had abused this power, by setting benefices to sale, surely the pope had no right to release his subjects from their oath of allegiance.

(1) *Annal. de l'Emp. t. i. p.* 195.

an infant, in order to humble himself before the pope, who was then at *Canosa*, a place belonging to *Godfrey* and *Mathilda* (S), of whom mention hath already been made. a

*The barbarous treatment he received from the pope.*

AFTER a journey attended with great fatigue and inconvenience, *Henry* alone was admitted within the outer gate, and given to understand, that he had no favour to expect until he should have fasted three days, standing from morning to evening bare-footed among the snow, and then asked pardon of the pope for the offences he had committed. This penance was literally performed; and on the fourth day, being the twenty-fifth of *January*, he was forgiven, and received absolution.

THIS extraordinary accommodation gave great disgust to the princes of *Italy*, who never could forgive the insolence of the pope, nor the abject humility of the emperor. *Henry* himself was ashamed of his own meanness, which, however, he excused as well as he could to the *Italian* cities and states, by representing the cruel necessity to which he had been reduced; and, in order to shew how sensible he was of the outrage he had suffered, he soon after declared himself the pope's mortal enemy [z]. b

Henry *is deposed*; A. D. 1077. Rodolphus *elected emperor*

*GREGORY*'s revenge being thus re-inflamed, he exerted himself in embroiling the affairs of *Germany*, and succeeded so well in his endeavours, that the princes of the empire, under pretext of being discharged from their allegiance to *Henry*, by the pope's excommunication, deprived that prince of the sovereign dignity, and in his place elected *Rodolphus* duke of *Suabia*, whom they solemnly crowned at *Mentz* [a].

Henry *defeats his rival* Rodolphus.

THE emperor, apprized of this deposition, set out from *Italy* with all imaginable dispatch, and taking the field with what troops he could assemble, attacked *Rodolphus*, whom he defeated in a battle fought near *Wurtzburg*, from which the duke narrowly escaped with his life. Next year, however, he was in a condition to take the field again, and another engagement ensued, in which, after an obstinate dispute, the emperor was a second time victorious, and his adversary intirely overthrown; so that *Henry* reduced the whole duchy of *Suabia*, from which he expelled *Berthold*, the son-in-law of *Rodolphus*, who had been left for the defence of the country. From this conquest, the emperor proceeded into *Saxony*, where he understood the partizans of his rival were re-assembling forces, and, giving them battle in the month of *January*, obtained a third victory, which was decisive [b]. c

HIS enemies, finding themselves unable to cope with him in the field, sollicited the pope to excommunicate him a second time; and *Gregory*, being very well disposed to grant their request, thundered out another sentence against him, confirming at the same time the election of *Rodolphus*, to whom he sent a crown, on which was engraven these words: d

*Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodolpho* [c] (T).

Henry *calls a national council at* Brixen, *by which the deposition of* Gregory *is confirmed, and* Clement III. *chosen pope.*

*HENRY*, in order to defend himself from the bad consequences of this second excommunication, called an assembly of the *German* bishops at *Mentz*, and asked their opinions about this pretended right of the pope, to dethrone an emperor, and whether or no he might not, with justice, depose *Hildebrand*, and appoint another in his room. Nineteen bishops then present, after having maturely considered the affair, proposed that *Henry* should call in the other bishops to the consultation, to be held at *Brixen*; where they accordingly met in a national council. Here it was the unanimous opinion of all, *Italians* as well as *Germans*, that the pope, instead of having power over the emperor, owed him obedience and allegiance; and that *Gregory*, having rendered himself unworthy of the papal chair, by his misconduct and rebellion, ought to be deposed from the dignity he so little deserved. On this supposition, those prelates elected, in the room of *Hildebrand*, cardinal *Wiberti*, alias *Guibert*, or *Gilbert*, archbishop of *Ravenna*, a person of unquestioned merit, who assumed the name of *Clement* III. The emperor promised to put this new pope in a condition to repair to *Rome* and expel *Gregory*; but, in the mean time, he was obliged to employ his whole forces to frustrate the new efforts of *Rodolphus*, who had already re-assembled some troops in *Saxony*. *Henry*, therefore, advanced against him with great expedition, and the two armies, engaging near *Mersberg*, fought with great fury; the fortune e f

[z] BARRE, tom. iv. p. 245. [a] Hist. Bell. Sax. p. 135. [b] HEISS, ut supra. [c] BARRE, t. iv. p. 294.

(S) This countess *Mathilda* was the true cause of all the wars, which, since this period, have raged between the emperors and popes. She, in her own right, possessed great part of *Tuscany*, *Mantua*, *Parma*, *Reggio*, *Placentia*, *Ferrara*, *Modena*, *Verona*, and almost all that is now called the *Patrimony of St. Peter*, from *Viterbo* to *Orvieto*, together with part of *Umbria*, *Spoleto*, and the marche of *Ancona*. Her mother, who was sister of *Henry* III. had educated this powerful princess in the most implacable hatred to the family of *Henry*, by whom she had been maltreated. *Mathilda* paid the most submissive obedience to pope *Gregory*, who was her director in all things, and, according to some authors, her gallant: nay, her attachment to him, and her hatred to the *Germans*, proceeded so far, that she made over all her estates to the pope (1).

(T) *Schipbowerus*, in his *Chronicon Oldenburgensium Archicomitum*, says, the inscription was,

*Petra dedit Romam Petro, tibi papa coronam.*

(1) *Annal. de l'Emp. t. i. p.* 195.

a of the day inclining towards *Rodolphus*, until his hand being cut off by *Godfrey* of *Bouillon*, duke of *Lorrain*, who was in the ſervice of the emperor, the rebels were diſcouraged by the misfortune of their chief, and gave up the advantage they had gained. That nobleman, perceiving his end approaching, ordered the hand he had loſt to be brought to him, and addreſſing himſelf to the officers then preſent, "Behold," ſaid he, "the hand with which "I took the oath of allegiance to *Henry*, which I have violated at the inſtigation of the "court of *Rome*, in perfidiouſly aſpiring to an honour, which was not my due [d]." Having pronounced theſe words with marks of ſincere penitence, he expired, and was pompouſly interred at *Mersburg* in *Saxony*; his tomb being adorned with the figures of a crown, and other enſigns of royalty. The *Saxons* being afterwards afraid, that *Henry* would take um-
b brage at theſe honours paid to his rival, would have removed the ornaments; but were prevented by the emperor, who ſaid he ſhould be glad to ſee all his enemies as magnificently interred [e].

*Rodolphus dies of a wound received in a battle againſt the emperor.*

THUS delivered from ſuch a formidable antagoniſt, he ſoon diſſipated the reſt of his party; and after having, in ſome meaſure, compoſed the diſturbances in *Germany*, he ſet out for *Italy*, in order to ſettle *Clement* in the papal chair; but, finding the gates of *Rome* ſhut againſt him, he was obliged to attack the city in form, and the ſiege continued upwards of two years and a half; at the end of which it was taken by aſſault, and with difficulty prevented from being plundered, in conſideration of a ſum of money offered by the inhabitants, with which *Henry* obliged his ſoldiers to be ſatisfied.

*Henry marches into* Italy; A. D. 1081. *takes* Rome, *and expells* Gregory;

c *GREGORY*, dreading no fate ſo much as that of falling into the hands of *Henry*, eſcaped into the caſtle of *Saint Angelo*, which was extremely well fortified; and while he defended himſelf in that retreat, the emperor publiſhed the reaſons which had induced him to depoſe *Gregory* and ſubſtitute *Clement* in his place (U). The *Romans* acquieſced in his motives, and the new pope, being conſecrated with all the uſual ceremonies in the church of *St. Peter*, expreſſed his gratitude by crowning the emperor on *Eaſter-day*, in preſence, and with the applauſe, of the *Roman* ſenate and people, who took the oath of allegiance, as uſual upon ſuch occaſions [f].

*who retires to* Salerno.

MEAN while the attacks were ſtill carried on againſt the caſtle of *St. Angelo*; but the emperor being called into *Lombardy* upon ſome particular affairs, *Guichard* duke of *Apulia*
d went to *Rome* in his abſence; and having found means to releaſe *Gregory* from his confinement, conducted him to *Salerno*, where he died the following year [g].

A. D. 1085. *Count* Herman *choſen king of the* Romans.

*GERMANY* being re-involved in new troubles, the emperor did not long enjoy the ſucceſs of this *Italian* expedition. The *Saxons*, who were his inveterate enemies, began to reimbroil the empire; and, ſeveral other princes joining in the conſpiracy, they, at the ſollicitation of *Gregory*, elected count *Herman* of *Luxemburg* king of the *Romans*, and marching into *Franconia*, made war upon thoſe who had adhered to the emperor. *Henry*, alarmed at theſe tranſactions, returned with all poſſible ſpeed to *Germany*, where underſtanding that, in ſome particular aſſemblies of the eccleſiaſtics, ſeveral decrees had been made contrary to his intereſt, in conſequence of the excommunications under which he laboured, he called a
e general aſſembly at *Mentz*; where, by the unanimous conſent of all the biſhops there preſent, whether *Italian*, *French*, or *German*, the decrees made by *Gregory* againſt *Henry* were annulled, and thoſe of the emperor againſt the pope approved and confirmed. The prelates, who eſpouſed the cauſe of the rebels, were deprived of their benefices, as well as count *Herman* of the title of king of the *Romans*, which he had unjuſtly obtained [h].

Gregory *dies.* A. D. 1086.

SOME days after this aſſembly broke up, *Henry* was informed, that pope *Gregory* was dead at *Salerno* [i], as we have already obſerved, and that the *Romans*, without paying the leaſt regard to *Clement* III. had reſolved to promote to the chair cardinal *Didier*, abbot of *Monte Caſſino*, who happened to be at *Rome*, and fled to his abbey from this elevation: upon which his election was delayed till the feaſt of *Pentecoſt* of the following year.

Herman *is defeated, and* Ecbert *elected in his room.* A. D. 1089.

f MEAN while the emperor, underſtanding that count *Herman*, although depoſed, was making ſtrong efforts to ſupport his pretenſions, he purſued him from place to place, compelled him to abandon his enterprize, and to fly into *Saxony* for refuge. The rebels, thus deprived of their king, elected in his room *Ecbert* marquis of *Thuringia*, who, like his predeceſſor, ſunk under the victorious arms of the emperor, and both came to an untimely end, *Herman* being killed by a ſtone, which was dropped upon his head from a high place, and

[d] Chron. Oldenburg. Archicom. ex Meib. p. 135. Chron. Magdeb: p. 287. [g] Annal. de l'Emp. t. i. p. 200. [h] BARRE, t. iv. p. 303. [i] KRANTZ. l. v. [f] Chron. Verd. [i] GOB. PERS. Coſmod. æt. vi. c. 55.

(U) The *Romans* having promiſed to *Henry* they would oblige *Gregory* to crown him, that pope, in order to acquit them of their promiſe, offered to lower down the crown upon the emperor's head from the caſtle of *St. Angelo*, but *Henry* did not reliſh this pleaſant expedient (1).

(1) *Leo Oſtienſ. l.* iii. *c.* 39.

*Ecbert* being ſlain in a mill, to which he had eſcaped after the loſs of a battle againſt the emperor [k]. a

*Freſh diſturbances in* Italy. A. D. 1091.

WHILE *Henry* was employed in reducing theſe two competitors, his enemies were buſy in embroiling his affairs in *Italy*. *Victor* III. who had ſucceeded *Gregory*, enjoyed his promotion but about ten months; but his ſucceſſor, *Urban* II. knowing that his election muſt give umbrage to the emperor, who had not been conſulted in the affair, and being moreover inſtigated againſt him, not only by the counteſs *Mathilda* of *Tuſcany*, who, after the death of her firſt huſband, had married duke *Welphon* of *Bavaria* (Y), but alſo by the *Normans*, he exerted himſelf ſo ſucceſsfully, in conjunction with theſe confederates, that a great part of *Italy* was ſeduced from its allegiance. *Henry*, appriſed of theſe tranſactions, paſſed the *Alps* with a good army, retook all the towns on this ſide the *Po*, and, among the reſt, made himſelf maſter of *Mantua*, after a ſiege of twelve months. He then reduced almoſt all the reſt of *Lombardy*, notwithſtanding the vigorous oppoſition of *Mathilda*, who put herſelf at the head of her troops, and perſonally faced him in the field (Z). The *Romans*, ſeeing the progreſs, and dreading the reſentment of *Henry*, in order to appeaſe his wrath, took the opportunity of *Urban*'s abſence to recall *Clement* to *Rome*; upon which the other renewed his excommunications againſt the emperor and the anti-pope [l]. b

Contrad *revolts.*

MEAN while *Conrad*, the emperor's eldeſt ſon, diſobliged at ſome haſty expreſſions of his father, lent an ear to the inſinuations of *Mathilda* and the *Normans*, and revolted againſt him. He was joined in this rebellion by his mother-in-law, the empreſs *Adelaide*, daughter of *Udo*, marquis of *Brandenburg*, whom the emperor had lately married (A). *Milan*, and ſeveral other cities of *Lombardy*, joined with this young prince, who aſſumed the title of king of *Italy*, and was actually crowned by *Anſelmo*, archbiſhop of *Milan*, with the conſent of pope *Urban*, *Welphon*, *Mathilda*, and ſeveral dukes and noblemen. Some time after this election, he married the daughter of *Roger* king of *Sicily*, and ſucceeded ſo well in his uſurpation, that the greateſt part of the cities and noblemen were alienated from their obedience to the emperor, who was reduced to the neceſſity of cantoning his army in ſome places of ſtrength, till his affairs ſhould take a more favourable turn [m]. c

*All the provinces of* Italy *declare againſt the emperor.* A. D. 1093.

A. D. 1095. *A cruſade reſolved upon.*

*URBAN* was at this time in *France*, holding the famous council of *Clermont* in *Auvergne*, in which two very important ſubjects were diſcuſſed; namely, the excommunication of *Philip* I. of *France*, and the reſolution to promote a cruſade, for the relief of the Chriſtians in the *Levant*, and the recovery of the *Holy Land* *. *Henry* conſidered the pope's abſence as a favourable opportunity of retrieving his affairs in *Italy* by the intrigues of *Clement* at *Rome*; but he found his ſon *Conrad* ſo well eſtabliſhed in his throne, and ſo powerfully reinforced by the alliance of the king of *Sicily*, that he deſpaired of reducing him to obedience, and returned to his *German* dominions. He was no ſooner arrived at *Cologne*, than he aſſembled the princes, who put *Conrad* to the ban of the empire, and declared his ſon *Henry* king of the *Romans*; upon which he was crowned at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, after having promiſed, upon oath, never to meddle with the affairs of the empire without the conſent of his father [n] (B). Mean while the city of *Ratiſbon* was aſſigned as the place of his reſidence; and the emperor entertained hopes of enjoying that tranquillity, which hitherto he had never known; for the chiefs of the rebels were by this time dead, and an accommodation was made with the *Saxons* and *Bavarians*. But the very meaſures he took to re-eſtabliſh juſtice and good order, which had been baniſhed by the licence of war, produced freſh diſturbances and diſquiets, which inceſſantly harraſſed him in the latter part of his life. d e

A. D. 1099. Henry, *the emperor's ſecond ſon, is choſen king of the* Romans.

THE archbiſhop of *Mentz*, conſcious to himſelf of having been concerned in ſome conſiderable diſorders, of which the emperor intended to take cognizance, fled into *Thuringia*, and declared in favour of the other faction, which now began to revive, and beſtir itſelf, at the inſtigation of *Gebehard*, biſhop of *Conſtance*; for *Paſcal* II. who ſucceeded *Urban* in the papacy, had ſent a commiſſion to this prelate to ſupport the pretenſions of *Henry*, whom he

[k] BARRE, t. iv. p. 324. [l] Annal. de l'Emp. t. i. p. 203. [m] HEISS. Hiſt. l. xi. c. 9. OTH. DE FRIS. in Chron. Sigebert. * De his, vide Ant. Hiſt. vol. xvii. p. 146, & ſeq. [n] Chron. Magdeb. Oſenburg. Archicom. GOB. PERS. ex Meib.

(Y) This duke, otherwiſe called *Guelph*, gave his name to the faction of the popes, which was afterwards diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Guelphs*, while the word *Gibelin* was in the ſequel applied to the emperor's party, becauſe *Henry*, ſon of *Conrad* III. was born at *Gibeling* (7).

(Z) This lady, who was the emperor's couſin, and had been very much indebted to his generoſity, is ſuſpected of having carried on an intrigue with pope *Gregory*, who perſuaded her to bequeath her lands to the holy ſee (8).

(A) *Henry*, who was of a very capricious diſpoſition, had maltreated and even confined the empreſs; who, eſcaping from her priſon, fled to *Rome*, and joined *Conrad* (9).

(B) *Gobelinus Perſona* ſays, that *Conrad* conſented to this election. He is ſaid to have been a prince of a mild diſpoſition, and virtuous life, and to have ended his days at *Florence*, A. D. 1101. (10).

(7) *Anales de l'Emp. t.* i. *p.* 202 (8) *Lamber. Schafnab. ad ann.* 1077. *Waltram. Leo Oſtienſ.* (9) *Barr. t.* iv. *p.* 331. (10) *Joh. Avent. l.* v. *Ann. Boic. Krantz. l.* v. *Sax. c.* xv. *p.* 472.

reſolved

a reſolved to ſet up in oppoſition to his father. Nothing chagrined the emperor ſo much as the preſumption of the *Roman* church, in electing popes in contempt of his authority; and his reſentment of this conduct, which he looked upon as downright rebellion, was the rock upon which he ſplit; for, after the death of *Clement*, he appointed ſucceſſively three anti-popes, *Albert*, *Theodoric*, and *Maniulphus*; two of whom were ſhut up in cloiſters, and the third overtaken by ſudden death. Theſe meaſures, which he took in order to preſerve the rights of the empire, ſerved to foment the enmity of the *Romans*; ſo that *Paſcal* II. finding himſelf in peaceable poſſeſſion of the chair, called a council at *Rome*, where the emperor was ſummoned to appear, and, as he did not obey the citation, excommunicated anew, for having introduced thoſe ſchiſms into the church. At the ſame time they confirmed all that
b *Urban* and *Gregory* had done to his prejudice [o]. But it was by the arts and induſtry of his adverſaries in *Germany*, that his own ſon *Henry* was engaged in a rebellion againſt him. The pretext, however, of this young prince, whoſe ambition had been flattered, was neceſſity and zeal for religion. He alledged, that the ſubjects being diſcharged from their allegiance to his father, he was obliged to take the reins of government into his own hands; and that, the laws of the church being preferable to thoſe of nature, he could not acknowledge *Henry* for his father, until he ſhould be abſolved from the excommunication of the pope [p]. In vain did the emperor uſe paternal remonſtrances to diſſuade his ſon from proceeding to extremities: the breach became wider and wider, and at laſt they openly took the field againſt each other, and the armies met at *Ratiſbon*, when the father, finding himſelf too weak to hazard
c a battle, retreated towards *Bohemia*; while the ſon, marching to *Spire*, made himſelf maſter of that city, and ſeized upon the treaſures of the emperor, which were there depoſited.

A. D. 1105. *He is perſuaded to take arms againſt his father;*

Elated with this ſucceſs, he fixed a day for the princes to aſſemble at *Mentz*; and underſtanding that the emperor was reſolved to be preſent with a very powerful army, he, in order to fruſtrate this intention, which might be fatal to his cauſe, had recourſe to an expedient, which was equally perfidious and effectual. Knowing the tenderneſs of his father's diſpoſition, he repaired to *Goblentz*, and throwing himſelf at the emperor's feet, begged pardon for his undutiful behaviour, which he imputed to the advice of evil counſellors. Being, in conſequence of this ſubmiſſion, immediately taken into favour, he perſuaded him to diſband his army, for fear of giving umbrage to the princes. Then they ſet out together for
d *Bingenheim*, where the ſon inſinuating that his father might run ſome riſque of being detained by the archbiſhop of *Mentz*, ſhould he enter that city, and undertaking to go and negociate a reconciliation between him and the princes of the diet, the emperor agreed to remain where he was, in expectation of that happy event; but he was next day confined to his chamber by this ungracious ſon, who forthwith repaired to the diet, at which the pope's legate having repeated the ſentence of excommunication, *Henry* IV. was diveſted of the imperial dignity, and his ſon proclaimed emperor with the unanimous conſent of the whole aſſembly [q] (C).

A. D. 1106. *who is ſolemnly depoſed;*

This ceremony being performed, the archbiſhops of *Mentz* and *Cologne*, together with the biſhop of *Worms*, were ſent as deputies to the father to intimate his depoſition, and demand the crown and other regalia. *Henry* received this deputation with equal ſurprize and con-
e cern; and deſiring to know for what reaſon he was ſo cruelly dealt with by his own ſubjects, the archbiſhop of *Mentz* replied, that, on account of the ſchiſms he had introduced in the church, and the ſcandalous manner in which he had ſet biſhoprics to ſale, he had been deemed unworthy of partaking the holy communion, and conſequently of wearing the imperial crown. The emperor, extremely mortified at this inſolent declaration, "If (ſaid he) "we have proſtituted the benefices of the church for hire, you yourſelves are the moſt pro- "per perſons to convict us of that ſimony. Say then, I adjure you, in the name of the "eternal God, what have we exacted, or what have we received, for having promoted you "to the dignities you now enjoy?" When they acknowledged he was innocent as far as regarded their preferment: "and yet (continued he) the archbiſhoprics of *Mentz* and *Co-* "*logne*, being two of the beſt in our diſpoſal, we might have filled our coffers by expoſing "them to ſale; nevertheleſs we beſtowed them on you out of our free grace and favour: "and a worthy return you now make for our benevolence. Do not, we beſeech you, become partizans of thoſe who have lifted up their hands againſt their lord and maſter, in

[o] Baron. ad ann. 1102. Barr. t. iv. p. 375. [p] Spicileg. t. xii. p. 446. [q] Ibid. Crantz. l. v. Saxon. c. 18. & 20.

(C) We find in the *Conſtitutions of Goldaſtus* a letter from the emperor to his ſon, couched in theſe terms: "Allow me to remain at *Liege*, if not as an emperor, at "leaſt as a refugee. Let it not be ſaid to my ſhame, or "rather to your's, that I am forced to beg a new aſy- "lum in *Eaſter* time. If you grant me this requeſt, I "ſhall think myſelf greatly obliged to you for the fa- "vour; if you refuſe me, I will rather live as a cot- "tager in ſome foreign country, than ſtroll about in "this manner from one diſgrace to another, through "an empire which was once my own (11)."

(11) *Annal. de l'Emp. t.* i. *p.* 209.

" defiance of faith, gratitude, and allegiance. Alas! we already begin to ſink under the a
" burden of years and ſorrow, and but a little of our mortal pilgrimage is left unperformed.
" Suffer that little to be concluded in peace, and ſeek not to terminate our glory with miſery
" and ſhame." The deputies, unmoved by this pathetic addreſs, and inſiſting upon his complying with the purport of their errand, he retired into his chamber, where he put on his royal ornaments; then returning to the apartment which he had left, and ſeating himſelf in a chair of ſtate, renewed his remonſtrance to this effect: " Here are the marks of
" that royalty, with which we are inveſted by God, and the princes of the empire; if you
" diſregard the wrath of heaven, and the eternal reproach of mankind, ſo much as to lay
" violent hands on your ſovereign, you may ſtrip us of them by force; we are not in a
*Stripped of his royal ornaments;* " condition to defend ourſelves from the inſult." This expoſtulation had no more effect b
than the former upon the biſhops, who forthwith ſnatched the crown from his head, and dragging him from his chair, pulled off his royal robes by force. While they were thus employed, " Great God! (cried he, the tears trickling down his cheeks) thou art the God
" of vengeance, and wilt avenge this outrage. I have ſinned, I own, and merited this
" ſhame by the follies of my youth; but thou wilt not fail to puniſh theſe traitors for their
" perjury, inſolence, and ingratitude [r]."

*HENRY* the ſon, having thus got poſſeſſion of the throne, was deſirous of acquitting himſelf, in ſome ſhape, of the violences which had been exerciſed upon his father, who juſtly complained, that he had been condemned unheard. With this view he convened, at *Ingelheim*, thoſe of the princes who were intirely devoted to his intereſt, in order to oblige the c
A. D. 1106. old emperor to make a voluntary reſignation in his favour. There this unfortunate prince,
*and afterwards voluntarily reſigns his crown.* looking upon himſelf as a dying man, is ſaid to have implored forgiveneſs of all thoſe whom he had offended, and to have thrown himſelf at the feet of the pope's legate, who was preſent, beſeeching that prelate to abſolve him from the ſentence of excommunication; but his requeſt was refuſed, on pretence that he could receive abſolution from no other than the pope himſelf.

To ſuch a degree of wretchedneſs was this unhappy prince reduced by the barbarity of his ſon, that, being deſtitute of the common neceſſaries of life, he entreated *Gertrad*, whom he had created biſhop of *Spire*, to beſtow upon him a canonicate for his ſubſiſtence, in that very cathedral which had been founded, built, and endowed, by his anceſtors and himſelf. d
Here again he met with a repulſe from the biſhop, who told him, that he durſt not grant his requeſt without permiſſion from the pope: upon which the emperor ſhed a flood of tears, and turning to thoſe who were preſent, ſaid, with a deep ſigh, " My dear friends, at
*His extreme wretchedneſs.* " leaſt have pity on my condition; for I am touched by the hand of the Lord." Thus was *Henry* IV. reduced from the higheſt pinacle of greatneſs to the loweſt abyſs of indigence and mortification, being diveſted of his honours, deprived of ſupport, abandoned by his own ſon, his relations, and even by thoſe whom his bounty had enriched; and, to crown his misfortunes, he was kept in cloſe confinement by order of the new emperor.

*He makes an effort to retrieve his affairs, but dies at* Liege. A. D. 1106. In the midſt of theſe diſtreſſes, when every body thought his courage was utterly extinguiſhed, and his ſoul overwhelmed with deſpondence, he found means to eſcape from his e
keepers, and reach *Cologne*, where he was received and recognized as lawful emperor. From thence he repaired to the *Low Countries*, where he found friends, who raiſed a conſiderable body of troops to facilitate his reſtoration, and ſent circular letters to all the princes in Chriſtendom, in order to intereſt them in his misfortune. He even wrote to the pope, giving him to underſtand he was inclined to an accommodation, provided it could be made without prejudice to his crown; but before any thing material could be executed in his favour, he died at *Liege*, in the 56th year of his age, and the 49th of his reign. His body was magnificently interred in the cathedral of that city; but his ſon afterwards ordered it to be dug up, and depoſited in the chapel of *St. Afron*, where it remained five years unburied, on account of his excommunication. f

Such was the end of *Henry* IV. a prince of great courage, and excellent endowments, who, had not he alienated the affections of his ſubjects by the exceſſes of his youth (D), and attracted the enmity and oppoſition of the *Roman* church, in obſtinately adhering to the rights of his prerogative, would have eclipſed the glory of all his anceſtors, and finiſhed his reign with honour and univerſal applauſe. There was an air of dignity in his appearance, that beſpoke the greatneſs of his ſoul: he poſſeſſed a natural fund of eloquence and vivacity,

[r] Ibid. Heiss Hiſt. l. xi. c. 9.

(D) He is charged with having maltreated his wife, and even to have hired a perſon to ſeduce her from her conjugal faith, that he might have a pretence for obtaining a divorce. He is alſo accuſed of having entered into engagements with the *Danes*, by which he obliged himſelf to yield to them all the provinces that were contiguous to their kingdom, in conſideration of their aſſiſting him againſt all his enemies, particularly the *Saxons*. There are many more circumſtances of his profligacy and wickedneſs related; but as the authors of theſe ſtories are either monks or *Saxons*, they ought to be read with caution.

was

a was of a mild and merciful temper, extremely charitable (D), and an admirable pattern of fortitude and reſignation. From the twelfth year of his age he had been continually engaged in war, commanded perſonally in threeſcore pitched battles, in which he was generally victorious, and ſurvived a great many ſecret attempts that were made upon his life [s] (E).

## *HENRY* V.

*HENRY* V. ſurnamed *the Young*, having (as above related) obtained poſſeſſion of the throne (F), was, in the beginning of his reign, ſo favourable to the clergy in every
b particular, that he ſeemed to neglect intirely thoſe rights of the imperial authority, which his father had defended at the hazard of his honour, his fortune, and his life. Nevertheleſs he ſoon changed his conduct: whether he thought himſelf ſufficiently eſtabliſhed upon the throne to pull off the maſk, which he had hitherto wore through policy, or that he found himſelf deceived in the intentions of the *Roman* church. The firſt mortification he received was from *Paſchal* II. who, about two months after the death of the late emperor, held a council at *Guaſtala* upon the *Po*, by which all the decrees of his predeceſſors againſt inveſtitures were renewed [t].

*HENRY*, though extremely piqued at theſe proceedings, diſſembled his reſentment, be- Henry V. *invites the pope to a conference.*
cauſe he did not as yet find himſelf in a condition to oppoſe the court of *Rome*, and invited
c the pope into *Germany*, where their difference might be brought to an amicable termination. But *Paſchal*, who was well acquainted with *Henry*'s haughty and implacable diſpoſition, inſtead of complying with his requeſt, thought proper to take a different route, and put himſelf under the protection of *Philip*, king of *France* [u].

THO' the emperor was very much diſturbed at the honourable reception which the pope had met with from that monarch, he did not chuſe to embroil himſelf with ſuch a powerful neighbour; but, on the contrary, ſollicited his friendſhip, and deſired he would mediate an accommodation between him and his holineſs. A conference was accordingly held at *Chalons* in *Champaigne*, where nothing was agreed upon, becauſe the pope would not conſent to the article of inveſtiture, which *Henry*'s ambaſſadors would by no means give up [x].

d AFTER this unſucceſsful meeting, *Paſchal* held a council at *Troyes*, and the emperor convoked a diet at *Mentz*. The *German* biſhops declared for the emperor's right of inveſti- A. D. 1107.
ture, and the fathers of the council adhered to the decrees of the preceding popes, unleſs *Henry* ſhould, within a year, repair to *Rome*, and leave his cauſe to the determination of a general council.

IN the midſt of theſe diſputes, the emperor would not neglect his other affairs. *Barziwoi*, duke of *Bohemia*, being expelled his dominions by his nephew *Suantopelkon*, had recourſe to the aſſiſtance of the emperor, who ſummoned the uſurper to his court, where he was put in irons, and furniſhed *Borziwoi* with ſome troops, to re-conduct him to his own dominions: but *Suantopelkon*'s brother, *Otho*, being at the head of a good army, oppoſed
e his re-eſtabliſhment; and the uſurper finding means to detach *Henry* from his intereſt with a very large ſum of money, *Barziwoi* was obliged to take ſhelter with *Boleſlaus*, king of *Poland*, who received him with great hoſpitality.

THE emperor, thus furniſhed with the ſinews of war, reſolved, with the approbation of *He invades* a diet convened at *Frankfort*, to puniſh *Coloman*, king of *Hungary*, for having been concerned *Hungary.*
in the maſſacre of the *German* cruſards during the preceding reign, and marching into his kingdom, penetrated to *Preſburg*, which he inveſted in vain; for his army being greatly diminiſhed by ſickneſs, he raiſed the ſiege, and laid waſte the country. Mean while *Coloman* engaged in a league, offenſive and defenſive, with *Boleſlaus*, who not only ſent him a reinforcement of troops to oppoſe the progreſs of the emperor, but alſo, under pretence of
f aſſiſting his gueſt *Borziwoi*, advanced into *Bohemia*, and laid the country under contribution;

[s] HEISS, l. ii. c. 9. GOB. PERS. æt. vi. Chron. Magdeburg, Bremens, Oldenburg. Archecomit. ex Meibom. tom. ii. BARON. tom. xiii. p. 43. LEO OSTIENS. MACH. Iſtor di Firenz. [t] Conc. Gener. t. x. p. 748.
[u] SUGER. vit. Lud. c. 9. [x] SEGUR. Abb. S. Dion. de vit. Lud. Groſ. DU CHESNE, tom. iv. p. 291.

(D) He is ſaid to have entertained the blind, the lame, and the ſick, at his own table, and even to have lodged them in his own apartment, that he might be at hand to miniſter to their neceſſities.

(E) While he was at *Rome*, after the depoſition of pope *Gregory* VII. a perſon had placed himſelf upon a beam in the church, with a great ſtone, which he intended to have let fall upon *Henry*'s head, while he ſhould be employed at his devotion: but before he could execute his purpoſe, he fell down and daſhed his brains out, in ſight of the emperor. Some other people were taken in the very fact of endeavouring to thruſt a ſpear up through his body while he was in the houſe of office; who being brought before him, he diſmiſſed them with impunity (1).

(F) While he was at *Goſlar*, holding the diet, he was ſtruck with a ball of fire, that wounded him in the right leg, broke off the point of his ſword, and ſhattered his buckler in pieces (2).

(1) *Heiſs, liv.* ii. *c.* 9. (2) *Gob. Perſ. Coſmodi æt.* vi.

ſo that *Suantopelkon*, who had joined the emperor, was obliged to quit *Hungary*, in order to defend his own dominions [y]. a

*Goes to war with the* Poles, *and is worſted.* A. D. 1109.

*HENRY*, thus weakened, retired into *Bavaria*, in order to recruit his forces; and being inflamed with reſentment againſt *Boleſlaus*, for having fruſtrated his revenge againſt *Coloman*, he reſolved upon the conqueſt of *Sileſia*, which, though at that time belonging to the *Poles*, had formerly been part of the empire. With this view he advanced as far as *Glogau*, which he inveſted; but the inhabitants making a gallant defence, he was obliged to raiſe the ſiege and retire. He then attacked *Breſlau*, when *Boleſlaus*, duke of *Poland*, who had aſſumed the name of king, coming to its relief, a general battle enſued, in which the *Poles* were vanquiſhed, and obliged to ſend an ambaſſador to *Henry* to ſue for peace [z] (G). *Boleſlaus*, however, not reliſhing the terms which the emperor wanted to impoſe, reſolved to try once more his fortune in the field, and the two armies engaging near *Breſlau*, the *Germans* were defeated, after a very obſtinate diſpute [a]. The loſs of this battle induced *Henry* to deſiſt from his enterprize upon *Sileſia*, and return to the diſcuſſion of his affairs with the pope. With this view he aſſembled a diet at *Ratisbon*, which, after mature deliberation, granted him the neceſſary ſuccours to maintain the rights of his crown in *Italy*. Thus reinforced, he croſſed the *Alps* with an army of 80,000 men, being alſo accompanied by a great part of the quality, and a number of perſons who underſtood the rights and conſtitution of the empire, that he might be in a condition to do himſelf juſtice, either by negotiation or force of arms: but before his departure, he married *Mathilda*, daughter of *Henry* I. king of *England*, with whom he received an immenſe ſum of money by way of dower, levied by a tax upon every hide of land in that kingdom. In his march through *Tuſcany*, he took ſome cities that attempted to diſpute his paſſage, and kept his *Chriſtmas* at *Florence*. From thence he ſent a ſplendid embaſſy to *Paſchal*, with ſolemn profeſſions of veneration for the holy ſee, and the pope did not fail to return the civility. Then a convention was held at *Sutri*, and a treaty of peace concluded to the intire ſatisfaction of the emperor, who obtained all, and even more than he demanded. But all theſe conceſſions were made merely with a view to amuſe him, until the pope could take more effectual meaſures for his own intereſt. b c

A. D. 1110. *Marches into* Italy, *and makes peace with the pope.*

*Makes his entry into* Rome, A. D. 1111.

ON the very day of the emperor's entry into *Rome*, which was alſo fixed for his coronation, ſeveral perſons belonging to his train were inſulted, and even impriſoned by the populace. When the treaty of peace was read, in preſence of the princes of the empire and *Italian* prelates, it was formally oppoſed by theſe laſt, who were by the pope privately tutored for the purpoſe, and the debates which their objections occaſioned continued till night. The emperor finding himſelf duped, gave orders to ſeize the perſon of the pope, who had equivocated in ſuch a ſcandalous manner; and the ſoldiers, employed in the execution of this order, ruſhing tumultuouſly into the churches, maltreated the cardinals and biſhops without diſtinction. The conſul put the citizens in arms, and next day a battle enſued, in which *Henry* fought in perſon with great courage. In a word, the *Romans* were defeated, and the carnage was ſo great, that the waters of the *Tiber* were ſtained with blood [b]. The pope was taken priſoner, together with ſeveral cardinals, biſhops, and principal citizens of *Rome*; and the emperor having ordered the walls to be razed in ſeveral places, encamped in the open field, where he detained his priſoners during the whole time of *Lent*, and the *Eaſter* holidays. The pope was earneſtly intreated by his fellow-priſoners to renounce the right of inveſtiture to the emperor, and crown him according to his deſire, that they might obtain their liberty; but he reſiſted all their importunities, until *Henry* gave orders to behead his friends in his preſence; upon which he thought proper to comply with the emperor's demands, and the former accommodation was renewed and ratified [c] (H). d e

*where his troops make dreadful havock.*

*The pope is prevailed upon to renew the treaty.*

THIS treaty being concluded, the pope and the other priſoners were releaſed, and *Henry* was crowned on the firſt *Sunday* after *Eaſter*, when the pope dividing the hoſt, gave one half f

[y] Hiſt. Bohem. l. x. [z] GOB. PERS. ubi ſupra. [a] HEISS, l. ii. c. x. [b] Chron. Oldenb. Arch. ex MEIB. p. 139. DUCHESNE ubi ſupra. [c] Iidem ibid.

(G) The name of this ambaſſador was *Scrobius*, to whom the emperor talked in very high terms, telling him, the *Poles* had no peace to expect, unleſs they would become tributary to the empire: and, in order to convince him that they were not able to ſupport a war againſt him, he ordered his people to ſhew his treaſures to the ambaſſador, who taking off his ring threw it into the heap, ſaying, "Here is ſomething to augment the ſtore." Upon which *Henry* replied in the *German* language, *Habdank*, which ſignifies I thank you; and the family of *Strobius* was diſtinguiſhed by that name (1).

(H) This accommodation contained theſe articles: that the emperor ſhould uſe the croſs and ring, in inveſting thoſe who were canonically elected with his conſent; and that they ſhould afterwards be conſecrated according to the forms of the church, but never before they ſhould have received the inveſtiture; that the archbiſhops and biſhops might without ſcruple conſecrate thoſe who ſhould be in this manner inveſted by the emperor; and, finally, that the pope ſhould never excommunicate the emperor; nor, upon any pretext whatſoever, infringe any condition of this treaty. To theſe articles, the pope and ſixteen cardinals ſolemnly ſwore upon the holy evangeliſts (2).

(1) *Heiſs, liv.* ii. *c.* x.

(2) *Dodechir. in Append. ad Marian. Scot.*

a to the emperor, and took the other to himſelf, in token of perfect reconciliation (I). A new bull was publiſhed to confirm the treaty, leſt the pope ſhould afterwards pretend the former was extorted from him, during his confinement. Then the emperor, having confirmed the privileges of the *Romans*, and diſtributed largeſſes among the clergy, ſet out on his return to *Germany*, the pope, with ſeveral cardinals and prelates, accompanying him as far as the *Alps*. The firſt thing he did, when he arrived in his own dominions, was to beſtow a magnificent funeral upon the body of his father, which had remained ſo long unburied, merely becauſe that prince had maintained the right of inveſtiture, now ſolemnly confirmed by the pope himſelf. Indeed it ſoon appeared, that the court of *Rome* was not at all ſincere in the conceſſions which it had made; for though *Paſchal* himſelf ſtill pre-

b ſerved the exteriors of friendſhip and good faith, his legates, and among the reſt the archbiſhop of *Vienne* in *Dauphiny*, did not fail to excommunicate the emperor in national councils. Nay, even the eccleſiaſtic princes of the empire refuſed to recognize or receive the bull touching the inveſtiture of benefices: and *Albert*, or *Adelbert*, whom the emperor had raiſed to the archbiſhopric of *Mentz*, intrigued ſo ſucceſsfully in favour of the pope, that the ſubſequent diet declared, his holineſs had a right to revoke that bull in council. It was accordingly annulled by a council of the *Lateran*, which ordered the bull to be burnt, and the emperor to be excommunicated [a], though the pope refuſed his aſſent to the decree, on account of the oath he had taken. The archbiſhops, biſhops, and chapters, finding themſelves thus authorized by the court of *Rome*, reſolved to maintain their power of filling their

c vacant ſees without the interpoſition of the emperor, and the whole empire was reinvolved in trouble and diſſenſion.

*The emperor is excommunicated by the archbiſhop of* Vienne *in* Dauphiny. A. D. 1112.

*The council of* Lateran *annul his treaty with the pope.*

A REBELLION breaking out in *Saxony*, *Henry* marched thither, ſecured the perſon of the archbiſhop, who had fomented the diſturbance, and laid waſte the whole country: but in his return he was encountered, in a place called *Welpeſhold*, by *Lotharius*, duke of *Saxony*, *Frederic* count *Arnesberg*, and *Reynerus*, biſhop of *Halberſtad*, who had aſſembled a body of troops to oppoſe him; and after a very obſtinate battle, he was obliged to retreat with great loſs. After this battle *Lotharius* entered *Goſlar* in triumph, where an aſſembly of biſhops and noblemen being convened, *Henry* and his adherents were excommunicated. Indeed, by this time he was almoſt quite abandoned by his ſubjects, and muſt have fallen a

d victim to rebellion and the intrigues of *Rome*, had not his cauſe been ſupported by the valour and ſucceſs of his nephew *Frederic*, duke of *Suabia* and *Alſace*, ſurnamed *Monoculus*, whom he promoted to the ſupreme command of his army [b].

*Troubles of* Germany. A. D. 1114.

*MATHILDA* dying about this time, *Henry*, as her neareſt relation, claimed the ſucceſſion, notwithſtanding the ſteps ſhe had taken in favour of the holy ſee, alleging, that it was not in her power to alienate her eſtates, which immediately depended upon the empire. He therefore ſet out for *Lombardy*, and ſent ambaſſadors to *Rome*, beſeeching the pope to revoke the ſentence of excommunication which had been fulminated againſt him, expreſly contrary to their laſt agreement. *Paſchal* would not even favour his deputies with an audience; but, that ſame year, convoked a council at *Rome*, where his treaty with the emperor was

e condemned, and all the ſteps which had been taken by the national councils were confirmed.

*HENRY*, ſhocked and incenſed at theſe proceedings, advanced towards *Rome*, in order to diſſipate the pernicious projects which were daily formed to his prejudice; and the pope, who was well acquainted with his diſpoſition, thought proper to retire into *Apulia*. In this march he ſecured ſeveral towns and caſtles, and gained over divers noblemen to his intereſt, particularly *Ptolemy*, count of *Tuſculum*, the chief of the adverſe party, who prevailed upon the *Roman* people to decree a triumph to the emperor. He was accordingly received at *Rome* with extraordinary magnificence; and doubting the validity of his former coronation, which had been performed by a perſon who had retracted all he had done upon that occaſion, he reſolved that the ceremony ſhould be repeated, and was actually crowned a ſecond time

f in the church of St. *Peter*, by the hands of *Marius Burdinus*, archbiſhop of *Prague*, who had attended him in this expedition [c].

Henry *marches to* Italy. 1115.

1117.

*Is again crowned at Rome.*

*HENRY* having retired into *Tuſcany*, on account of the heats, *Paſchal* privately returned to *Rome*, where he died in two days; and on the third after his deceaſe, cardinal *Cajetan* was elected in his room, under the name of *Gelaſus* II. without the privity of the emperor, who, enraged at their preſumption, made long marches, in order to ſurprize this new pope, who made his eſcape to *Gaeta* with great difficulty. *Henry*, however, declared his election void, and in his place appointed *Burdinus*, who aſſumed the name of *Gregory* VIII.

Paſchal *dies, and is ſucceeded by* Geliſus II. *whom the emperor expels, and appoints* Burdinus *in his room.*

[a] GOBEL. PERS. æt. vi. c. 57. [b] OTHON. FRIS. de Geſtis Frederic I. c. 10. [c] HEISS, l. ii. c. 10. DUCHESNE, tom. iv. p. 310. PETR. DIAC. l. iv. c. 6.

(I) In dividing the hoſt, he pronounced an anathema to this effect. "As I divide the body of the Lord, ſo "may he be divided from Chriſt and his kingdom, who "ſhall attempt to violate this accommodation (3)."

(1) *Chronic. Belg.*

re-

revoked the ſentence of excommunication againſt the emperor, and confirmed his right of inveſtiture. But all theſe meaſures ſerved no other purpoſe than that of giving a handle to *Gelaſius* for excommunicating *Henry*, together with the anti-pope he had ſet up [g]. a

Heny *ſets out for* Germany.

THIS was all the fruit he reaped from his expedition into *Italy*; for ſeeing the true pope protected by all the princes of *Apulia*, againſt whom he had not a ſufficient number of troops to make head, he returned to his *German* dominions, leaving a guard with *Gregory* at *Rome*, where *Gelaſius*, having made an attempt to eſtabliſh himſelf, was fain to deſiſt, after his life had been in imminent danger. He then retired into *France*, and died at the abbey of *Cluny*, when the cardinals then preſent elected the cardinal archbiſhop of *Vienne*, legate of the holy ſee in *France*, who, as we have already ſaid, had excommunicated the emperor in the national councils. The noblemen of *Saxony* and *Weſtphalia* entered into an aſſociation to defend themſelves againſt the reſentment of the emperor; and having levied troops, under the command of duke *Lotharius*, *Frederic* count *Palatine*, and the marquis *Rodolphus*, they ſent deputies to *Henry*, demanding that he would acknowledge *Calixtus* for pope, and reſtore to the right owners the fiefs and eſtates he had ſeized by violence and injuſtice. *Henry* refuſing to give them audience, they took the field with a conſiderable army; and the emperor aſſembling troops to chaſtiſe them for their preſumption, hoſtilities immediately enſued. The operations of the campaign were carried on with various ſucceſs, until the ardour on both ſides began to abate, and ſteps were taken towards an accommodation [h]. b

Calixtus *is choſen pope.* A. D. 1119.

*Between whom and the emperor a fruitleſs negotiation is ſet on foot.*

MEAN while the new pope called an aſſembly at *Rheims*; and the ſtates of the empire meeting that ſame year at *Tribur*, between *Mentz* and *Worms*, gave the emperor to underſtand, that they were quite tired with this long quarrel, which had been ſo troubleſome to the empire. In conſequence of this remonſtrance, a negotiation was ſet on foot: the emperor abated ſomewhat in his pretenſions with regard to the form of inveſtitures; the pope promiſed to take off the ſentence of excommunication; writings were exchanged; and a day fixed for an interview at *Monzon*. Towards this place the emperor advanced with an army of thirty thouſand men; and the pope, taking umbrage at ſuch a train, halted by the way in a ſtrong caſtle, from whence he ſent his legates to *Henry*, deſiring to know if he ſtill perſiſted in the ſentiments he had lately profeſſed; but when he underſtood that the emperor had changed his mind, denied his own hand-writing, and become inexorable on the article of inveſtiture, he ſet out on his return to *Rheims* without delay; nor could the repeated entreaties of the emperor prevail upon him to ſtay one ſingle day, until the princes could be conſulted. He had conceived ſuch a terrible idea of the treatment his predeceſſor had met with at *Rome*, that he purſued his journey with incredible expedition, detained the council a few days longer, until a decree was paſſed, prohibiting eccleſiaſtics from receiving the inveſtiture of biſhoprics and abbies from the hands of laics; and the emperor, with the anti-pope, and all their adherents, were again excommunicated [i]. c d

A. D. 1120. Calixtus *repairs to* Rome, *and ſhuts up the anti-pope in a convent.*

NEXT year *Calixtus* arrived at *Rome*, where he was honourably received; upon which *Gregory* VIII. retired to *Sutri*, a ſtrong town, garriſoned by the emperor's troops, who were not, however, able to protect him from the enmity of his rival; for the princes of *Apulia* ſent an army to beſiege the place of his retreat; and he at length fell into the hands of his competitor, who ordered him to be mounted on a camel, with his face towards the tail, and conducted through the public ſtreets of *Rome*, amidſt the ſcoffs and inſults of the populace; after which proceſſion, he was ſhut up in a convent for life (K). e

*Foments a rebellion in the empire, which is terminated by accommodation.*

IN the mean time the archbiſhop of *Mentz*, inſtigated by the intrigues, and authorized by the decrees of *Rome*, formed a powerful league againſt the emperor and his partizans, who were branded with the name of ſchiſmatics: armies were raiſed on both ſides, and a great deal of blood muſt have been ſpilt, had not the wiſeſt and moſt conſiderable of each party interpoſed, and effected an accommodation. The emperor was unanimouſly ſupplicated to give peace to the empire; that prince referred himſelf intirely to the deciſion of the ſtates; and a diet being aſſembled at *Wurtzburg*, it was decreed, that an embaſſy ſhould be immediately ſent to the pope, deſiring he would convoke a general council at *Rome*, by which all conteſts might be determined [k]. f

*The affair of inveſtitures ſettled.* A. D. 1122.

IN compliance with this requeſt, *Calixtus* called the famous council, which was opened during *Lent*, and at which were preſent three hundred biſhops, and about ſeven hundred abbots. The ambaſſadors being heard before this grand aſſembly, the affair of inveſtitures was at length regulated with their conſent, in the following articles: that the emperor ſhould leave the chapters and communities at liberty to fill up their own vacancies, without

[g] BARON. ad ann. 1118. p. 122. [h] BARRE, tom. iv. p. 500. [i] Act. Concil, p. 478. [k] BARRE, t. iv. p. 518.

(K) In this proceſſion, the anti-pope was cloathed with raw and bloody goats skins; and afterwards a picture was hung up in the palace, repreſenting him trampled upon by the true pope (1).

(1) *Sug. Abb. de Vit. Lud. Groſs. ex Du Cheſne, tom.* iv. *p.* 312.

his

a his beſtowing inveſtitures with the croſs and ring; that he ſhould reſtore all that had been unjuſtly taken from the church; that all elections ſhould be made in a canonical manner, in preſence of the emperor or his commiſſaries; and whatever diſputes might happen, ſhould be referred to the deciſion of the emperor, aſſiſted by the metropolitan and his ſuffragans; that the perſon elected ſhould receive from the emperor the inveſtiture of the fiefs and ſecular rights, not with the croſs, but with the ſceptre, and that he ſhould pay allegiance to him for theſe rights only; laſtly, that for this ceremony ſix months ſhould be allowed to thoſe who lived at a diſtance from the empire [l].

THIS treaty being read and ratified by the diet at *Worms*, the cardinal of *Oſtia*, the pope's firſt legate, who had accompanied the ambaſſadors in their return, gave abſolution to the
b emperor, and all his ſchiſmatic adherents [m], then ſaid maſs in his pontificals, and adminiſtered the ſacrament to *Henry*, as the laſt mark of a perfect reconciliation.

THUS ended that tedious conteſt, which had raiſed ſo many diſturbances, and coſt ſuch a world of blood and treaſure. But as, in this accommodation, no mention had been made of the emperor's right to create, or intermeddle in the election of popes, *Calixtus* was no ſooner dead, than the cardinals, clergy, and people of *Rome*, without the participation of *Henry*, proceeded to a new election, which was carried on with ſuch diſorder, that two perſons were choſen at the ſame time, namely, *Theobald*, who was called *Celeſtin*, and *Lambert*, cardinal biſhop of *Oſtia*. He aſſumed the appellation of *Honorius* II. and was confirmed in the papacy, upon the voluntary reſignation of his competitor. Honorius II. *is elected pope.* A. D. 1124.

c AFTER his accommodation with *Rome*, the emperor was engaged in a civil war, by the revolt of *Holland* (L), which he reduced by force of arms, as well as the city of *Worms*, which had alſo rebelled. Nevertheleſs the ſpirit of ſedition ſtill continued to ſpread from town to town; ſo that he himſelf was obliged to fly from *Ruffac*, at the hazard of his life, in conſequence of a ſudden inſurrection of the people. Henry *is engaged in a civil war,*

IN a little time after this misfortune, which made a deep impreſſion on his ſpirits, he died at *Utrecht*, aged forty-four, after a reign of eighteen years, and his body was interred at *Spire*, among his anceſtors [n]. He married *Maud*, daughter of *Henry* I. king of *England*, by whom he had no iſſue; ſo that his heirs were *Conrad*, duke of *Franconia*, and *Frederic*, duke
d of *Suabia*, who were his own ſiſter's ſons; and he certainly intended that one of them ſhould be his ſucceſſor in the empire. *Henry* is ſaid to have been haughty, cruel, and avaricious [o]; but he was certainly a wiſe, politic, and reſolute prince, and, excluſive of his unnatural behaviour to his father, of which he ſincerely repented in the ſequel, he may be juſtly ranked among thoſe emperors who did not diſgrace the diadem they wore. *and dies at* Utrecht. A. D. 1125.

[l] ARN. BUCH. in Notis ad Wilhelm. Hedam, p. 154. ex MEIB. p. 325. [m] GOB. PERS. ubi ſupra. [n] Chron. Magd. [o] Idem, p. 326.

(L) A little before the death of *Calixtus*, *Henry* made a ſudden irruption into *France*, at the inſtigation of his father-in-law *Henry*, king of *England*, but was forced to retreat without having obtained any advantage.
e Though all the *German* authors (*Krantz* excepted) are ſilent with reſpect to this expedition, it is particularly mentioned by the *French* writers, and an exact detail of the preparations made by *Lewis Le Groſs* to oppoſe this invaſion, is given by *Sugerius*, abbot of *St. Dennis*, who was an eye-witneſs of the whole (1).

(1) *Sug. de Vit. Lud. Groſs. ex Du Cheſne, t.* iv. *p.* 312, *& ſeq.*

## CHAP. IV.

### *Deducing the ſame Subject to the Succeſſion of* Henry VI.

### *LOTHARIUS* II.

f AFTER the death of this emperor, it was believed that the ſtates would confer the empire upon one of the ſons of his ſiſter, they being princes of great courage, generoſity, and power, and very much eſteemed by the principal members of the empire; but *Albert*, archbiſhop of *Mentz*, who bore an implacable enmity to the memory of the late emperor, and all his adherents, having obtained the regalia from *Henry*'s widow, by cajoling her with a promiſe of preſerving them for one or other of her nephews, found means to influence the princes of the empire to give their ſuffrages in favour of *Lotharius*, duke of *Saxe-Supplembourg* [p], who had befriended and ſupported him in all his conteſts with the late emperor. He was accordingly crowned at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, in preſence of the pope's nuncio, while his two competitors neglected nothing in their power to ſupport their pretenſions to the throne; *Frederic*, duke of *Suabia*, being actually elected king of the *Romans* by ſome princes, noblemen, and cities of the empire, and the other ſolemnly crowned at *Milan* by Lotharius *is choſen emperor.*

[p] Geſt. Ludov. vii. ex DU CHESNE.

the archbiſhop of that city [q]. The firſt expedition of the new emperor was againſt the *Bohemians*, whom he hated, becauſe they had aſſiſted the late emperor againſt him, while he was in rebellion. But his pretence for marching into *Bohemia* at this juncture, was a quarrel between *Otho* and *Sobieſlaus*, brothers of the deceaſed duke, who had left the guardianſhip of his children to *Sobieſlaus*, although *Otho* was his elder brother. This preference, given contrary to the cuſtom of nations, was reſented by *Otho*, whom, however, *Sobieſlaus* expelled by dint of arms. Thus injured, he repaired to the diet at *Ratisbon*, in order to ſolicit redreſs. The emperor, intereſting himſelf in his cauſe, marched into *Bohemia*, where, though he ſuſtained ſome damage and diſgrace, he compelled *Sobieſlaus* to ſue for peace; which was granted, on condition that he ſhould reſtore *Moravia* to *Winceſlaus*, the ſon of *Otho*, releaſe the priſoners he had made, and do homage to the emperor for *Bohemia* [r]. a b

*Surmounts all oppoſition,*

In a word, after a ſhort oppoſition, which, however, was obſtinate and bloody, the two princes dropped their pretenſions, and were reconciled to *Lotharius*, who honoured them with his friendſhip, particularly *Conrad*, whom he loaded with extraordinary proofs of eſteem and benevolence [s].

A D. 1130. *Eſpouſes the cauſe of* Innocent II.

*HONORIUS* II. dying on the 24th of *February*, *Innocent* II. ſucceeded him that ſame day in the papacy, by virtue of a canonical election; notwithſtanding which, cardinal *Petrus Leonis*, who had a powerful faction at *Rome*, was proclaimed pope by the name of *Anacletus*. The other, finding himſelf too weak to oppoſe this rival, retired into *France*, where his intereſt was openly eſpouſed by St. *Bernard*, who perſuaded *Lotharius* to declare in his favour. He likewiſe propoſed and effected an interview between the emperor and his holineſs at *Liege* [t]; where, after ſome diſputes about the article of inveſtiture [u], *Lotharius* acquieſced in the pope's refuſal to part with that prerogative, and even undertook to re-eſtabliſh *Innocent* in *Rome* (M). c

*and having re-eſtabliſhed him in the papal chair, is crowned at* Rome. A. D. 1133.

THIS expedition being concerted, the pope ſet out for *Italy*, taking *France* in his way, where he received a conſiderable ſum for the expence of his journey: then proceeding to *Placentia*, he waited for the emperor, who in a few days joined him with his army, and conducted him to *Rome*, re-eſtabliſhed him in the chair, in ſpite of all the efforts and oppoſition of the anti-pope. It was, perhaps, with a view to give more weight to this re-eſtabliſhment, and to excite other people, by example, to honour the true pope, that the emperor, at his coronation [x], which was ſoon after performed, kneeled before *Innocent*, who was ſeated upon a throne, and, having promiſed obedience to the holy ſee, received the crown in that poſture. After this ſolemnity, the emperor returned to *Germany*, where, by the advice of one *Werner Urſperg*, alias *Ernerius*, he ordered that juſtice ſhould be adminiſtered in the empire according to the digeſta or code of *Juſtinian* *, the uſe of which had been laid aſide five or ſix hundred years. Theſe laws were introduced in *Italy*, *Germany*, and afterwards in *France* and *Spain*, in lieu of peculiar ſtatutes and particular cuſtoms (N). d

*Reſtores* Innocent, *who had been expelled by the duke of* Apulia. A. D. 1137.

THE emperor had no ſooner quitted *Italy*, than *Roger*, duke of *Apulia*, who had lately erected his dominions into a royalty, under the name of the kingdom of *Sicily*, raiſed an army in favour of *Anacletus*, and made himſelf maſter of almoſt all the places belonging to the holy ſee; upon which pope *Innocent* retired to *Piſa*, and again implored the aſſiſtance of *Lotharius*, who did not forſake him in his adverſity; on the contrary, he levied a powerful army, and dividing it into two parts, gave the command of one to his ſon-in-law the duke of *Bavaria*, and put himſelf at the head of the other. All the places of *St. Peter's Patrimony* were ſoon retaken, and the true pope re-conducted in triumph to *Rome*; a circumſtance which is ſaid to have haſtened the death of *Anacletus*, who died of grief at the ſucceſs of his competitor. e

*Makes a conqueſt of his dominions in* Italy, *and dies at* Trent. A. D. 1138.

THE emperor afterwards drove *Roger* from city to city, and at length obliged him to retire into *Sicily*; then ſubduing the provinces of *Apulia* and *Calabria*, and all *Roger*'s *Italian* poſſeſſions, he formed them into a principality, and beſtowed it, with the title of duke, upon *Renaud*, a *German* prince, and one of his own relations. f

ON his return to *Germany* after this glorious expedition, he was ſeized with a dangerous diſtemper at *Verona*; notwithſtanding which, he proceeded on his journey, in hopes of being recovered by his native air; but death overtook him among the *Alps*, near *Trent*, in

[q] AVENTIN. Ann. Boi. l. vi. p. 492. [r] Hiſt. Bohem. l. ii. [s] Annal. de l'Empire, t. i. p. 215.
[t] SUG. Abb. Vit. Lud. Groſs. ex Du Cheſne, p. 318. [u] Conr. Urſperg. ex Meib. de jure Inveſtit. Epiſc.
[x] Ann. Boior. JOAN. AVENT. l. vi. p. 495. * De hoc, vide Ant. Hiſt. vol. xvi. p. 548, & ſeq.

(M) The emperor, hearing of the pope's approach, mounted his ſteed, and rode forth to receive him. At meeting, *Lotharius* alighted, and running to *Innocent*, lifted him in his arms from his horſe, and accompanied him to the place where he was to lodge (1).

(1) *Heiſs, Hiſt. l.* ii. *c.* 11.

(N) In the ſummer of the year 1135, the heats were ſo exceſſive in *Germany*, that the corn and fruits of the earth withered in the field, and the moſt conſiderable rivers, even the *Rhine* itſelf, became dry, ſo that almoſt all the cattle periſhed for want of water (2).

(2) *Note upon Heiſs, l.* xi. *p.* 290.

the

a the twelfth year of his reign. This prince is celebrated on account of his paſſionate regard for public peace, and the adminiſtration of juſtice; though, from the great number of commentaries made on the *Pandects*, he is taxed with having introduced chicanry, inſtead of facilitating the inveſtigation of truth.

## *C O N R A D* III.

THE princes of the empire, aſſembling at *Coblentz*, in order to chooſe a new emperor, unanimouſly elected *Conrad*, duke of *Franconia*, nephew of *Henry* V. and conducted him to *Aix-la-Chapelle*, where he was crowned by cardinal *Thiery*, the pope's legate, he offi- Conrad III. *elected.* A. D. 1139.
b ciating for the archbiſhop of *Cologne*, who was not at that time in prieſt's orders [y].

*HENRY*, duke of *Bavaria*, ſurnamed *the Haughty*, who had married the only daughter of *Lotharius*, and received the duchy of *Saxony* as her dower, was not preſent at this election, which he conſidered as a violation of his right; becauſe *Lotharius*, who died without iſſue male, had put the regalia into his hands, and even deſigned him for his ſucceſſor in the empire. In conſequence of this deſignation, he refuſed to ſurrender the royal ornaments to *Conrad*, after he had been lawfully elected: upon which the princes aſſembled at the diet of *Goſlar*, publicly diveſted him of his duchies of *Saxony* and *Bavaria*; the firſt of which they gave to *Albert*, marquis of *Brandenburg* [z], and the other to *Leopold*, marquis of *Auſtria*; an alienation which made ſuch a deep impreſſion on the mind of *Henry*, that he died that
c ſame year of grief and mortification (O).

Henry, *duke of* Bavaria, *refuſes to deliver the regalia, and is diveſted of his dominions.*

ABOUT this time *Roger*, king of *Sicily*, had made himſelf maſter of the dominions which belonged to the empire in *Apulia*. That he might be able to maintain his conqueſt, he excited *Welph*, or *Guelphe*, brother of *Henry the Haughty*, to make war with the emperor, for the recovery of the two duchies which had been confiſcated, and furniſhed him with a conſiderable ſum of money for the expence of his army. After ſeveral engagements that were not deciſive, *Guelphe* was beſieged by the emperor in the caſtle of *Weinsberg*, and reſolving to make a ſally, gave for the word *Hievvelf*. *Frederic*, duke of *Suabia*, brother to the emperor, and general of his troops, having diſcovered this word, gave to his own army that
d of *Hiegibelin*, the name of a village in *Suabia*, in which he himſelf had been educated. This was the origin of the *Guelphs* and *Gibelins*, which afterwards grew into ſuch vogue in *Italy*, where the pope's party was diſtinguiſhed by the name of the firſt, and that of the emperor by the other (P). *Guelph*, however, ſuſtained great loſs in this ſally, and having defended himſelf to the laſt extremity, was obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. The emperor, however, inſtead of uſing his good fortune with ſeverity and rigour, gave the duke liberty to retire unmoleſted; but the ducheſs, ſuſpecting this exceſs of generoſity in *Conrad*, who had been known to entertain a particular enmity againſt her huſband, ſent a gentleman to the emperor, entreating him to grant a ſafe-conduct for her, and the other women belonging to the caſtle, that they might come out with as much as each could carry, and be conducted
e to a place of ſafety. The emperor complied with her requeſt; and this evacuation was made in the ſight of the whole army, who expected to ſee them come forth with jewels, gold, and ſilver; but they were not a little ſurprized when they ſaw the ducheſs, and other ladies of quality, ſtaggering under the load of their huſbands, who had offended the emperor. *Conrad* was ſo much moved with this ſpectacle, which was an undoubted proof of their tenderneſs and courage, that the tears ran down his cheeks; he applauded their conjugal fidelity, entertained them at dinner, and came to an acommodation with *Guelph*, and his other enemies, notwithſtanding the efforts of his own generals, who oppoſed his generoſity on this occaſion [a]. A. D. 1141.

Guelph, *with the aſſiſtance of* Roger, *king of* Sicily, *takes the field againſt* Conrad.

*Origin of* Guelphs *and* Gibelins.

MEAN while this civil war furniſhed ſeveral towns of *Italy* with an opportunity of with-
f drawing themſelves from the dominion of the empire, and ſetting up for independent republics. Even the *Romans* formed a deſign of re-eſtabliſhing the antient commonwealth, and of retrieving the ſovereignty of the city, together with the patrimony of the church. They had already renewed the order of ſenators, and the rank of patrician, to which they had promoted one *Jordanus*, inveſting him with the ſame authority which *Charlemagne* had poſſeſſed

[y] GOB. PERS. Coſmod. æt. vi. cap. 59. KRANT. Sax. l. vi. cap. 8. [z] Ann. Boior. JOAN. AVENT. lib. vi. p. 499. [a] HEISS. l. ii. c. 12.

(O) The emperor gave his widow in marriage to his own brother, together with the duchy of *Auſtria*, the princes of which (tho' it is the youngeſt duchy of the empire) aſſume the title of archduke (3).

In the ſecond year of this emperor's reign, died *Johannes de Temporibus*, who is ſaid to have been armour-bearer to *Charlemagne*, and to have lived 361 years (4).

(P) This is the moſt probable of ſeveral accounts given of the origin of theſe names (5).

(3) *Krantz. l.* vi. *Sax. c.* 8. *l.* xi. *Krant. Sax. l.* viii. *c.* 8. (4) *Gob. Perſ. Coſmod. æt.* vi. *c.* 59. (5) *See Blond.* 2. *dec.* 7. *Sigon.*

in

Jordanus *heads a sedition at* Rome. A. D. 1144.

in that ſtation. This new patrician, accompanied by the ſenators and people, went to pope *Lucius* II. and repreſenting that the popes originally applied themſelves to eccleſiaſtic affairs, contented with the tythes they received for their ſubſiſtence, they deſired him to deſiſt from intermeddling in politics, and leave the care of the adminiſtration to thoſe to whom it properly belonged; nay, they went ſo far as to take poſſeſſion of the revenues of the city, and turn out the pope's officers, who had been appointed to collect them. *Lucius*, with his cardinals and clergy, vehemently oppoſed this innovation, and, after obſtinate diſputes, it was agreed, that recourſe ſhould be had to *Conrad*, who was at the diet at *Spire* when the ambaſſadors arrived. But before his deciſion could be obtained, the pope put himſelf at the head of ſome troops he had levied, and beſieged the ſenators in the capitol, from which he received ſuch a wound with a ſtone, as in a few days put an end to his life; ſo that the ambaſſadors returned without an anſwer. *Lucius* was ſucceeded by *Eugenius* III. who, tho' diſturbed by thoſe ſeditious people in the beginning of his papacy, found means to reduce the rebels to reaſon, and re-eſtabliſh the authority of St. *Peter*'s chair. Quiet being thus reſtored to the city, the pope applied himſelf vigorouſly to the famous cruſade, which was at that time ſet on foot againſt the *Saracens*, for the defence of the *Holy Land*; an enterprize in which the emperor *Conrad* was engaged by the admonitions of St. *Bernard*, from whoſe hands he actually received the croſs.

*Pope* Lucius II. *is killed by a ſtone.*

a b

At a general diet convened at *Frankfort*, the preparations for the cruſade were adjuſted; the emperor's ſon *Henry* was elected king of the *Romans*; and an imperial council eſtabliſhed at *Rotweil* (Q), to govern the empire under his authority. In this aſſembly, *Henry the Lion*, duke of *Saxony*, demanded the duchy of *Bavaria*, which had been taken from his father, and beſtowed on *Henry* of *Auſtria*, and even threatened to retake it by force, in caſe his remonſtrances ſhould not avail. *Conrad* replied, with great moderation, that the affair ſhould be diſcuſſed, and equitably decided, at his return from the *Holy Land*; and in the mean time he deſired *Wiebold*, abbot of *Corbie*, who had a great ſhare of his confidence, to keep a vigilant eye over the *Saxons* during his abſence, and to perſuade the duke to undertake a cruſade againſt the pagans of the north.

c

Conrad *engages in an unſucceſsful cruſade.* A. D. 1147.

The winter being conſumed in making preparations for the eaſtern expedition, *Conrad*, accompanied by his nephew *Frederic Barbaroſſa*, duke *Guelf*, and many other noblemen, ſet out for *Paleſtine*, at the head of ſixty thouſand horſe, in excellent order; but the undertaking was not crowned with ſucceſs, one half of his troops having periſhed by the treachery of *Comnenus*, the *Greek* emperor, who ordered lime to be mixed with the meal which he furniſhed for their ſubſiſtence [b], and the remainder having been intirely defeated by the *Turks*. He made ſhift, however, with the wreck of his army, to make head againſt the *Saracens* for ſome time, and then returned to his own dominions (R).

d

The bad ſucceſs of this undertaking filled the empire with grief, conſternation, and clamour, and entailed the reproaches and curſes of the people upon St. *Bernard*, who had not only preached up the cruſade, but, by virtue of a pretended commiſſion from heaven, promiſed victory, honour, and wealth, to all thoſe who ſhould embark in the expedition. They reviled him with the appellations of falſe prophet, impoſtor, and incendiary; and accuſed him of having drained their country of all the riches and men, who could have defended it againſt the inſults and encroachments of their enemies.

e

*Another cruſade is formed againſt the* Moors;

Yet, notwithſtanding theſe complaints, which were extremely juſt, ſuch was the epidemic madneſs of the times, that another cruſade was formed againſt the *Moors*, who were in poſſeſſion of *Portugal*: a great number of *Germans*, from the neighbourhood of the *Rhine* and the *Weſer*, took the croſs; and, embarking in a fleet of two hundred *Engliſh* and *Flemiſh* veſſels, ſet ſail for *Spain*, to the aſſiſtance of king *Alphonſus Henriquez*. After having been diſperſed by a violent ſtorm, they entered the *Tagus*, and, joining the *Spaniſh* forces, inveſted the city of *Lisbon*, which, after a ſiege of five months, was taken by aſſault [c].

[b] Krant. Sax. l. vi. c. 14. Gob. Pers. Coſm. æt. vi. c. 59. [c] Marian. Hiſt. Heiss, l. x.

(Q) This council, which is ſtill in force at *Rotweil*, tho' deprived of its former authority, muſt be compoſed of twelve gentlemen, or in default of gentlemen, the members muſt be choſen from among the citizens of *Rotweil*, and the preſident muſt be the count *de Schultz*, to whoſe family that honour belong in fief. Its juriſdiction extends over the provinces of *Suabia*, *Franconia*, *Auſtria*, and the *Rhine*. Nevertheleſs the archbiſhops of *Triers* and *Cologne*, the archdukes of *Auſtria*, the knights of the *Teutonic* order, and of the order of *Malta*, the ſubjects of the duke of *Deuxponts*, and of the duke of *Wirtemberg*, the abbot of *St. Blaiſe*, the counts of *Hanau*, and ſome others, have a right to decline pleading before this tribunal (5).

(R) *Conrad* having joined his forces with thoſe of *Lewis the Young*, they undertook the ſiege of *Damaſcus*, and ſuſtained a furious ſally, in which the emperor, with his own hand, cleft a *Turk* through the middle, to the aſtoniſhment and terror of the *Mohammedans*, who, at ſight of this atchievement, fled with great precipitation (6).

(5) *Munſter. l.* iii. (6) *Geſta Ludov.* VII. *ex Du Cheſne, p.* 406.

a ABOUT the same time, the *Saxons* engaged in a third crusade against the pagans of the north, and raised two armies, amounting to one hundred thousand men, under the command of *Conrad* the *Saxon*, and *Henry*, duke of *Saxony*; who penetrating into *Sclavonia*, destroyed the country, and converted the natives, with fire and sword, to the Christian religion. *and a third against the pagans of the north.* A. D. 1148.

AT *Conrad*'s return from *Palestine*, *Henry the Lion* renewed his demands touching *Bavaria*, and, as he did not receive a definitive answer, had recourse to arms; but the emperor took such measures as defeated his design against *Bavaria*, and he was fain to desist, for the present, from his pretensions.

DURING the remaining part of *Conrad*'s reign, nothing extraordinary happened, except
b the revolt of *Guelph*, who, in his return from the *Holy Land*, was instigated and bribed by *Roger*, king of *Sicily*, to rebel against the emperor; but he was afterwards reconciled to to him through the mediation of *Frderic*, duke of *Suabia*, who was nephew to both [d].

SOON after this accommodation, he was very much afflicted with the death of *Henry* his eldest son, who had been elected king of the *Romans* before he set out on his expedition against the *Saracens* (S). This event made the deeper impression, as *Frederic*, the only surviving son, was yet in his nonage. He therefore convoked a diet at *Bamberg*, where, on account of his ill state of health, he recommended his nephew *Frederic*, duke of *Suabia*, to succeed him in the empire; a prince of great courage and capacity, and in every respect worthy of the throne; the recommendation was therefore approved by all the princes, and
c the regalia deposited in his hands. Soon after this settlement of the succession, *Conrad* died at *Bamberg*, after having reigned about thirteen years with virtue and reputation [e] (T). *He settles the succession,* *and dies.* A. D. 1152.

## *FREDERIC*, I. surnamed *Barbarossa.*

AFTER the death of *Conrad*, the princes of the empire, assembling at *Frankfort*, elected, according to his recommendation, his nephew *Frederic*, who was crowned at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, at the age of twenty-nine. He was the first emperor of that name, and honoured with the appellation of *Father of his country*, on account of his invariable affection and attachment to the glory of the empire, tho' he was likewise distinguished by the name of *Barba-*
d *rossa*, or *Red beard*. He was no sooner elected, than almost all the princes of *Europe* sent embassadors to *Mersbourg*, to congratulate him on his elevation. The king of *Denmark* went thither in person for the investiture of his dominions, which was granted by *Frederic*, who crowned him with his own hand, and received the oath of allegiance from him, as vassal of the empire. The emperor's next step was to send the archbishop of *Triers*, and bishop of *Bamberg*, ambassadors to *Rome*, to receive the crown in his name, as he could not go thither in person, before he should have pacified and determined the differences which subsisted among the princes of the empire. Of these the most considerable was the quarrel betwen *Henry*, duke of *Saxony*, and *Henry the Lion*, who took the title of duke of *Bavaria*. This young *Henry* demanded the duchy as his inheritance; the other refused to resign it;
e and almost all the princes of *Germany* took arms in favour of one or other of these competitors [f]. Frederic Barbarossa *is elected emperor;* *receives homage from the king of* Denmark;

IN order to compose all these disturbances, the emperor called a diet at *Spire*, where, by the advice of the princes there assembled, he decreed, that *Henry*, duke of *Saxony*, should be re-established in the duchy of *Bavaria*; and, in order to satisfy the other, he erected *Austria* into a duchy, releasing him from the homage and oath of fidelity to the duchy of *Bavaria*, of which it formerly held [g]. At the same time the duke of *Austria*, in consideration of this independency, yielded to *Henry*, duke of *Saxony*, the duchies of *Tuscany* and *Spoleto*, together with the island of *Sardinia*. *adjusts a difference between* Henry, *duke of* Saxony *and* Henry *of* Austria;

THIS affair being compromised, he acted as umpire in the difference betwence *Sueno*
f and *Canute*, who had, by force of arms, for some time disputed the crown of *Denmark*. *Canute*, after repeated efforts, being vanquished by his competitor, repaired to the diet which was then sitting at *Mersbourg*, and sollicited the protection of the emperor, promising to do him homage for the kingdom, provided he would declare in his favour. *Frederic*, allured by

[d] AVENT. l. vi. JOAN. AVENT. ubi sup. [e] OTHON. FRISING. de Gest. Fred. l. ii. Hist. de Hen. Leon. ex Meib. t. i. p. 431. BARR. t. iv. p. 708. [f] Ann. Boior. [g] HEN. BOD. SYNT. ex Meib. p. 505.

(S) We have here followed *Heiss*, in opposition to *Krantz*, who says *Henry* survived his father, and was poisoned in the reign of *Frederic*.

(T) *Conrad* married *Gertrude*, daughter of *Berenger*, prince of *Saltzbach*, by whom he had two sons, and one daughter. *Henry* the eldest, who had been elected king of the *Romans* at *Frankfort*, died in the year 1150. The second, called *Frederic*, was duke of *Franconia* and *Retembourg*, and lived till the year 1166, when he died of the plague. The daughter, whose name was *Judith*, married *Lewis*, landgrave of *Thuringia* (7).

(7) *Barre, t.* iv. *p.* 708.

*compells* Sueno *to do homage for the kingdom of* Denmark; A. D. 1153.

by this promiſe, intereſted himſelf in the cauſe of *Canute*, and ſent ambaſſadors to *Sueno*, deſiring that prince would come to *Mersbourg*, where he wanted to confer with him on matters of the laſt importance. *Sueno*, who had formerly ſerved as a volunteer with *Frederic* in the army of *Conrad*, complied with his requeſt; and arriving at *Mersbourg* with a ſplendid retinue, was nobly received by the emperor, who nevertheleſs compelled him to ſubſcribe to ſuch articles as he propoſed: and peace was concluded between the two princes, on condition that *Sueno* ſhould retain the kingdom of *Denmark* as a fief of the empire, and gratify *Canute* with certain territories in *Jutland*, *Zeeland*, and *Scania*. a

THE next ſtep which *Frederic* took was to hold a diet at *Wurtzbourg*, where he liſtened to the complaints of the noblemen of *Apulia*, whom *Roger* king of *Sicily* had ſtripped of their eſtates, and expelled from their country; and he reſolved, with the concurrence of the aſſembly, to march into *Italy* with all convenient ſpeed, in order to chaſtiſe that tyrant for having injured the vaſſals of the empire, as well as to receive the imperial crown. b

*quarrels with the pope;*

IT was not long before the emperor, in imitation of his predeceſſors, quarrelled with the pope. He had raiſed the biſhop of *Zeitz* to the archbiſhopric of *Magdeburg*, becauſe the votes were equally divided between other two competitors. *Eugenius* III. at that time pope, diſapproved of his depriving one ſee of a biſhop, in order to put him in another, when there was no neceſſity for ſuch a tranſlation; but *Frederic*, who was perfectly well acquainted with the agreements which had been made between his predeceſſors and former popes, ſupported his creation; and when *Eugenius* ſent legates into *Germany* to depoſe the archbiſhop [h], they were obliged to make a very expeditious retreat. c

THE pope dying, *Anaſtaſius*, who ſuceeeded him in the chair, reſolved to tread in the footſteps of his predeceſſor, and ſent cardinal *Gerardus* into *Germany* to determine that affair. But the legate having ſpoken diſreſpectfully in preſence of his imperial majeſty, who was as jealous of his honour as expert in the management of his affairs, he was diſgracefully chaſed out of *Germany*, and died of chagrin on his return to *Rome*.

A. D. 1154. *but is afterwards reconciled to the holy ſee.*

MEAN while *Frederic*, reflecting upon the miſchievous conſequences of a breach with the pope, ſent the new archbiſhop of *Magdeburg* to *Rome*, where he pleaded his own cauſe ſo effectually, that the pope was ſatisfied, and inveſted him with the *Pallium* [i].

THE emperor, in order to manifeſt his independence of the pope, repudiated, by his own authority, his wife *Adelaide*, on account of the conſanguinity ſubſiſting between him and her, which not only did violence to his conſcience, but ſeemed to threaten future doubts and diſputes touching the legitimacy of his children. d

*A new ſedition at* Rome. A. D. 1155.

IT was about this time, that ſeveral cities of *Italy* revolted from the emperor, in imitation of ſome others which had already taken the ſame ſtep, and the *Romans* themſelves renewed their attempts upon the pope's ſovereignty at *Rome*. Their ſedition proceeded to ſuch a length, that a cardinal was actually murdered; upon which *Adrian* IV. who had by this time ſucceeded *Anaſtaſius*, put the city under an interdiction. The people at length ſubmitted; the interdiction was taken off; but the difference being afterwards re-inflamed, the pope was fain to take refuge at *Viterbo*, where he waited for the emperor, whom he had invoked to his aſſiſtance [k]. e

*FREDERIC*, ſtimulated by theſe conſiderations, put himſelf at the head of a gallant army, accompanied by *Henry the Lion*, his uncle *Welfon*, and a great number of the nobility, and marched into *Italy* by the way of *Tyrol*. After having held an aſſembly in the plain of *Roncalie*, compoſed of the noblemen of the empire, together with the grandees and conſuls of almoſt all the *Italian* cities, who went thither to make their ſubmiſſion, and ſolicit redreſs of grievances, he reduced ſome towns of *Lombardy* which had revolted, chaſtiſed others which had tyrannized over their neighbours, and proceeded to *Pavia*, where he was crowned king of *Italy* [l]. But while he proceeded on his conqueſts, he was not a little chagrined to learn, that *Germany* was re-involved in troubles, by a quarrel between the archbiſhop of *Mentz* and duke *Herman*, count palatine of the *Rhine*, who had taken arms againſt each other, and reſolved to drive things to the utmoſt extremity (U). f

*A dangerous feud in* Germany.

*An interview between the pope and the emperor;*

*FREDERIC*, alarmed at theſe diſturbances, made haſte to conclude his expedition; and as his chief buſineſs was to re-eſtabliſh the pope in *Rome*, preſſed him to an interview at *Sutri*, whither his holineſs repaired upon a mule, in expectation that the emperor would hold his ſtirrup, and help him to diſmount; but this humiliation *Frederic* would not un-

[h] OTHON. FRISING. de Geſt. Fred. l. ii. c. 9. [i] BARRE, t. v. p. 15. [k] Idem ibid. [l] OTHON. FRIS. de Geſtis Fred. l. ii. c. 21.

(U) The count *Palatine*, aſſiſted by the counts of *Leinengen*, *Sparnhim*, *Kalſelenbogen*, *Kirchberg*, *Dideſheim*, and others, plundered, ſacked, and burned, the city of *Mentz*, after having ravaged the whole country around it (8).

(8) *Heiſs*, *liv.* ii. *c.* 13.

dergo,

a dergo, until he was convinced that it was no more than a compliment, which his predeceſſors had paid to the pope, whom they looked upon as the repreſentative of Chriſt [m] (X).

THE emperor re-conducted the pope to *Rome*, where he received the imperial crown from the hands of his holineſs, and the *Romans* gave no interruption to the ceremony; but ſoon as *Frederic* had retired to his camp, the ſedition was renewed; and taking up arms, they beſieged the pope in the palace of the *Vatican*; but the emperor, on the firſt notice of this inſurrection, haſtened to his ſuccour, cut in pieces all that oppoſed his way, diſperſed the multitude, and quieted the commotion [n].

*who re-eſtabliſhes his holineſs in* Rome, *where he is crowned.*

*FREDERIC*, having puniſhed the *Romans* for their rebellion, paſſed the *Tyber*, and encamped at *Ponte Lucano*, to which place he was accompanied by the pope, who did not b think himſelf ſafe in *Rome*. Here he was preſented by the *Tiburtines* with the keys of their city, which he delivered to his holineſs, in conſequence of being told that the town belonged to the holy ſee. From hence he marched to *Spoleto*, which he took, plundered, and burned, becauſe the inhabitants refuſed to releaſe count *Guido*, whom they had apprehended in his return from *Apulia*, where he had been tranſacting buſineſs for the emperor. While *Frederic* ſtayed a few days at *Ancona*, in order to refreſh his troops, deputies arrived in his camp from the patriarch of *Jeruſalem*, with complaints againſt the knights hoſpitallers; but he left that affair to the cognizance of the pope. At the ſame time came ambaſſadors with preſents from the *Greek* emperor, who propoſed a treaty of alliance, and deſired *Frederic* to march into *Apulia* againſt *William* king of *Sicily*, who had ſucceeded *Ro*c *ger*, and was their common enemy. *Barbaroſſa* immediately called a council, in which it was reſolved to ſend *Guibald*, abbot of *Corbie*, as plenipotentiary to *Conſtantinople*: and in the mean time the exiled noblemen of *Apulia* returned to their own country, under the protection and countenance of the emperor, whom their enemies durſt not venture to incenſe.

THE affairs of *Italy* being thus ſettled, the emperor returned to his *German* dominions, and ordered the princes, who had taken up arms againſt each other, to be ſummoned to the diet at *Worms*; where, having taken their trial, they were condemned to the puniſhment allotted for the perturbators of the public peace (Y). In a little time after this event, a breach happened between *Adrian* IV. and the emperor. The biſhop of *Lunden*, having been robbed and taken priſoner in the imperial dominions, had complained of the d outrage, without being redreſſed; and the pope, eſpouſing his cauſe, ſent legates to demand juſtice of the emperor, whom they found at *Beſançon*, where he had convoked a diet. There they took an opportunity of reading aloud the letter of his holineſs, which, among other things, imported, that he had, out of his free grace and favour, conferred upon *Frederic* the ſovereign authority of *Rome*, and the kingdom of *Italy*. Every body from theſe words concluded, that the pope had actually beſtowed upon him the empire as a fief of the holy ſee, and what confirmed this conjecture was the behaviour of one of the legates, who, hearing this donation queſtioned, exclaimed, "If not of his holineſs, of whom "then doth he hold it?" This ſaucy interrogation had like to have proved fatal to him and his followers (Z), who were forthwith turned out of the aſſembly, and ordered to take

*Returns to* Germany, *and puniſhes the perturbators of the public peace.* A. D. 1156.

*Another breach between* Frederic *and the pope, on account of the biſhop of* Lunden. A. D. 1157.

[m] KRANT. Sax. l. vi. c. 16. HEISS, l. ii. c. 13. [n] BARRE, ut ſup.

(X) The emperor went to hold the ſtirrup on the left ſide, when the pope expreſſing his ſurprize, *Frederic*, with an air of pleaſantry, ſaid he was not well acquainted with the office, and therefore hoped his holineſs would excuſe him. The pope, however, was not ſatisfied with this apology, and went away without beſtowing upon him the kiſs of peace; but, returning next day, the emperor performed his part to a miracle, and every thing was ſet to rights (9).

(Y) Each count was condemned to carry a dog on his back, from one county to another; each gentleman to bear a joint-ſtool; and the common people to ſhoulder cart-wheels. The archbiſhop of *Mentz* was excuſed on account of his old age (10).

(Z) The legate had no ſooner pronounced theſe words, than *Otho* count palatine of *Bavaria* unſheathed the ſword which he wore as marſhal of the empire, and, advancing towards him, would, in all probability, have had no regard to his function, had not he been reſtrained by the emperor (1).

But, that the reader may have an idea of the provocation, we ſhall literally tranſlate the pope's letter from the *Annals of John Aventinus*. "The *Roman* empire "was tranſlated from the *Greeks* to the *Germans*; but "the king of the *Teutones* was not called emperor be"fore he was crowned by the apoſtolic power. Before "his conſecration he was king, after it he became em"peror. Of whom then but us doth he hold the em"pire? From the election of his own princes he enjoys "the name of king; from our conſecration he derives "the appellations of emperor, *Auguſtus*, and *Cæſar*; "therefore through us he governs. Recollect what "hath happened of old. *Zacharias* promoted *Charles* "to the imperial dignity, and gave him the name of "*Great*, and decreed that the king of the *Germans* "ſhould thenceforward for ever be emperor, and cham"pion of the apoſtolic chair; that he might reduce "*Apulia* to the dominion of the biſhop of *Rome*, to "whom (as well as the city itſelf) it formerly belonged. "*Rome* is the ſeat of our empire; whereas the emperor's "is at *Aix*, in the foreſt of *Ardenne*. Whatever he "hath as emperor, he hath from us; for as *Zacharias* "transferred the empire from the *Greeks* to the *Ger*"*mans*, ſo can we transfer it from the *Germans* to the "*Greeks*. It is in our power to beſtow it upon whom "we will. Beſides, we are appointed by God to rule "over kingdoms and nations, that we may deſtroy, "pluck up, build, plant, &c." Then he brands the *Germans* for their want of valour; obſerving, that they could not drive *Roger* out of *Italy*, nor ſubdue the *Frieſlanders* and *Danes* (2).

(9) *Krant. Sax. l.* iv. *c.* 16. (10) *Heiſs, ubi ſup.* (1) *Idem, ibid.* (2) *Joh. Avent. Ann. Boior. p.* 506.

the

the speedieſt and ſhorteſt way back to *Rome*[o]. The emperor, in his own vindication, wrote circular letters, by way of manifeſto, in which he publicly gave the lie to all thoſe who ſhould preſume to ſay, that he held his crown of any other than God himſelf[p]; while the pope employed the *German* biſhops to repreſent to the emperor the injury he had ſuſtained in the perſons of his legates. To theſe repreſentations *Frederic* replied with warmth, that he held his crown of God and the princes of *Germany*, and that he would rather reſign it altogether than ſuffer it to be debaſed in his poſſeſſion. The biſhops, finding him obſtinately determined to ſupport his dignity, adviſed his holineſs to pacific meaſures; and he, wiſely following their advice, ſent another deputation of legates, with a reſpectful letter, in which he explained away the meaning of his former expreſſions. *Frederic*, who was a prince of great penetration, plainly perceived, that, notwithſtanding this gloſs, the court of *Rome* waited for nothing but a favourable opportunity of declaring itſelf in another ſtile; and therefore, that he might be the better prepared for ſuch a declaration, he reſolved with all ſpeed to diſcuſs the affairs which might thwart him in his own dominions. With this view he attacked *Boleſlaus* duke of *Poland*, who had revolted; him he reduced to obedience, and obliged to pay the arrears of tribute which he owed. In the next place he engaged *Uladiſlaus*, duke of *Bohemia*, more firmly in his intereſt, by erecting anew that duchy into a kingdom[q]. *Henry* IV. had conferred the title of king upon a former *Uladiſlaus*, duke of *Bohemia*, but the duchy itſelf had never till now been acknowleged as a kingdom. Then he made a progreſs through the towns of the *Lower Rhine*, in order to eſtabliſh proper regulations touching the adminiſtration of juſtice, and built the tower of *Anweiller* upon the *Queich*, at the diſtance of two leagues from *Landau*. He likewiſe took meaſures for ſecuring the fidelity of the king of *Hungary*; and having thus eſtabliſhed peace through all *Germany*, as well as the neighbouring countries, he reſolved to repaſs the *Alps* with a powerful army, in order to finiſh the reduction of the revolted towns. In the mean time he ſent *Reinald*, his chancellor, and *Otho* count palatine of *Bavaria*, as his commiſſaries into *Italy*, with orders to exact the oath of allegiance from the towns of *Lombardy*, and they executed their commiſſion with equal ability and ſucceſs. While they were thus employed in *Italy*, *Frederic* lay encamped at *Augſburg*, where he was attended by the ambaſſadors of *Waldemar* I. king of *Denmark*, who deſired he might be confirmed in his kingdom, which he promiſed to hold as a fief of the empire; and the emperor complied with his requeſt, on condition that he ſhould come, at an appointed time, and receive the inveſtiture in perſon.

*which is compromiſed.*

*The emperor reduces* Boleſlaus, *duke of* Poland;

*ſecures the king of* Hungary *in his intereſts*; *marches into* Italy;

A.D. 1158.

*FREDERIC* at this juncture ſurpaſſed all his predeceſſors, ſince the reign of *Otho the Great*, in power and glory. He had, by force of arms, compelled *Boleſlaus*, duke of *Poland*, to do him homage, and pay tribute to the emperor. He had received aſſurances of ſubmiſſion and fidelity from *Geiſa* king of *Hungary*, and *Henry* II. of *England* had ſent him magnificent preſents: he had honoured *Uladiſlaus* of *Bohemia* with the title of king, confirmed the ſovereignty of *Waldemar*, and eſtabliſhed peace and content through all the provinces of *Germany*.

His army conſiſting of warlike troops, well armed and diſciplined, being aſſembled at *Augsburg*, he divided it into ſeveral columns, for the conveniency of marching by as many different routes; and, having happily paſſed the *Alps*, reduced the town of *Breſcia*, which had the preſumption to oppoſe his paſſage. While he remained in the territory of this town, he was joined by the knights of ſeveral towns and caſtles in *Italy*, with their military contingents, and made ſeveral wholeſome regulations for the preſervation of good order and military diſcipline. Theſe previous ſteps being taken, he proceeded to action. *Milan* was beſieged, and ſurrendered at diſcretion: he was crowned king of *Lombardy* at *Mouza*; built the town of *Lodi*, on the river *Adda*; and having made himſelf maſter of all the other cities of *Lombardy*, which had rebelled, he, in an aſſembly held on the plain of *Roncalie*, ordered a minute inquiry to be ſet on foot concerning the rights of the empire, and exacted homage of all thoſe who held of it, even without excepting the biſhops. Grievances were redreſſed, magiſtracies reformed, the rights of regality diſcuſſed and aſcertained, new laws enacted for the maintenance of public tranquility, and the encouragement of learning, which now began to revive in the ſchool or univerſity of *Bologna*; and, above all things, ſub-vaſſals were not only prohibited from alienating their lands, but alſo compelled, in their oath to their lords paramount, to except the emperor nominally, when they ſwore to ſerve and aſſiſt them againſt all their enemies.

*gives umbrage to the pope*;

The pope, taking umbrage at this behaviour towards eccleſiaſtics, ſent a grand embaſſy of legates to complain of his diſreſpect; when *Frederic* juſtified what he had done, by ſaying it was but reaſonable they ſhould do homage for the fiefs they poſſeſſed; and obſerving that Jeſus Chriſt himſelf, tho' lord of all the ſovereigns upon earth, had deigned to pay for himſelf and St. *Peter* the tribute which was due to *Cæſar*.

[o] Gob. Pers. Coſm. æt. vi. c. 60. [p] Ann. Boior. Joan. Avent. l. vi. p. 507. [q] Barre, t. v. p. 61.

a *FREDERIC* having ſent commiſſaries to ſuperintend the election of new magiſtrates at *Milan*, the inhabitants were ſo incenſed at this infringement of their old privileges, that they inſulted the imperialiſts, revolted, and refuſed to appear before the emperor's tribunal; ſo that he reſolved to chaſtiſe them ſeverely, and ſent to *Germany* for a reinforcement of troops, which ſoon after arrived with the empreſs. Mean while he ravaged *Liguria*, declared the *Milaneſe* rebels to the empire, inveſted *Crema*, which was in alliance with *Milan*, and having taken that town after an obſtinate ſiege, commanded it to be plundered and burnt.

In the midſt of theſe tranſactions, *Adrian* died, and a ſchiſm aroſe in the election of a ſucceſſor. The greateſt part of five-and-twenty cardinals, who were on the ſpot at his death, b elected *Roland*, chancellor of the church, who aſſumed the name of *Alexander* III. and the reſt choſe *Octavien*, of *St. Cæcilia*; who, ſeeing the papal robe delivered to his competitor, flew upon him, and tore it away by force; then cauſing himſelf to be adored under the name of *Victor* IV. was at once approved and proclaimed by the people. *Alexander*, and the cardinals who had elected him, took poſſeſſion of the caſtle of *St. Angelo*, the governor of which was their friend: there they were inveſted, and for nine days detained as priſoners, until the people, being undeceived, ſet them at liberty, with loud acclamations of "*Long live pope* Alexander;" who was conſecrated in a village near *Rome*.

*who dies.* A. D. 1159. *A ſchiſm ariſes.* *Alexander conſecrated.*

The emperor, however, notwithſtanding the majority of voices by which *Alexander* had been elected, did not fail to declare in favour of *Victor*, who had been formerly attached c to his intereſt, whereas the other was an adherent of *William*, king of *Sicily*, whom *Frederic* had long conſidered as his mortal enemy: but, that he might not want a ſpecious pretext for ſupporting *Victor*, he convoked a council at *Pavia*, to decide upon the merits of both elections. The two competitors were ſummoned to appear; and the emperor, having opened it in perſon, immediately withdrew, that his preſence might not reſtrain the liberty of opinion [r].

*The emperor calls a council at* Pavia;

*ALEXANDER*, looking upon himſelf as a true pope, would not acknowlege a council convoked without his participation; ſo that they confirmed the election of *Victor*, who was adored by the emperor, and owned as pope with all the uſual ſolemnities. On the other hand, *Alexander*, who was at that time at *Anagni*, having, without effect, had recourſe to d admonitions, excommunicated the emperor, with all his adherents, and ſent ambaſſadors to the kings of *France* and *England*, to juſtify his conduct, and engage them in his intereſt [s]. Theſe two kings, having inquired into the merits of his cauſe, took him into protection; the *Milaneſe*, and all the reſt of *Lombardy*, declared in his favour: but, notwithſtanding this ſucceſs, he did not think himſelf ſafe either in *Rome*, or any other part of the dominions belonging to the church, becauſe the emperor's party was very powerful. He therefore retired into *France* [t], where he was honourably received by *Lewis the Young*; and, ſome time after his arrival, he called a council at *Clermont*, in *Auvergne*, where he again thundered out his bulls againſt *Victor* and his patron (A).

*is excommunicated by* Alexander; A. D. 1160.

*who retires into* France.

Mean while the emperor, taking the field againſt the inhabitants of *Milan*, and the other e rebels, obtained over them ſeveral advantages, but at length received a very mortifying check; for having cut off their communication with the town, he reduced them to the neceſſity of either fighting, or ſurrendering at diſcretion; and this ſituation driving them to deſpair, they attacked his troops with ſuch fury, that he was obliged to retire with great loſs. Incenſed by this diſgrace, he ravaged the country, and reſolving to make himſelf maſter of the city at any rate, committed the ſiege of it to the care of one of his generals, while he himſelf repaired to other places, where his preſence was more neceſſary. Tired, however, with the obſtinacy of their reſiſtance, he returned to the ſiege, redoubled his efforts, and, the greateſt part of the inhabitants being dead of famine, the city ſurrendered at diſcretion. He granted life and liberty to the people; but he abandoned the town to f pillage, and, ſparing nothing but churches, ordered it to be intirely razed to the ground, which was plowed, and ſown with ſalt, in memory of its rebellion. *Placentia* was diſmantled in this expedition, and the other rebellious towns reduced to the obedience of the victor.

Milan *is taken and demoliſhed.* A. D. 1163.

The *Genoeſe* having declared themſelves independent of the empire, *Barbaroſſa* threatened to turn his arms againſt their city; but they thought proper to deprecate his wrath by means of ſeaſonable ſubmiſſions, and promiſing to equip a fleet for his uſe in the conqueſt of *Sicily*, *Apulia*, and *Capua*, which he had projected. In recompence for this ſervice and

[r] Gob. Pers. æt. vi. c. 60. Mach. Hiſt. di Fir. Chron. t. i. p. 378. [s] Krant. Sax. l. vi. c. 18. [t] Mezer. Abreg.

(A) Pope *Alexander* was met at *Torcy*, on the river *Loire*, by the two kings *Lewis* and *Henry*, who received him with great ſubmiſſion. They alighted from their horſes, and each taking a rein in his hand, conducted his mule to the place where he was to lodge (12).

(12) *Mezer. Abreg. Chron. t. i. p.* 379.

condeſcenſion, he gave them, as a fief, the *Riviera*, from *Monaco* to *Portovenere*, inveſted them with the power of electing conſuls, and gratified them with ſeveral other privileges, which they had not before enjoyed. a

He then appointed well-affected governors for almoſt all the cities of *Lombardy*, diſmantled the town of *Bologna*, which in other reſpects he favoured as a ſeminary of the ſciences, and received the ſubmiſſion of *Imola*, *Faenza*, and all the places in *Ancona*, *Tuſcany*, and *Romana*.

While *Frederic* in this manner ſurmounted all oppoſition in *Italy*, *Waldemar*, king of *Denmark*, and *Henry the Lion*, duke of *Saxony*, declared war againſt the *Wandales*; who, after being twice defeated, ſued for peace; and *Henry* was gratified with a ceſſion of *Mecklenburg*, which he peopled with colonies from *Germany*, *Flanders*, and *Brabant*. b

*An aſſembly convoked at* St. Jean de Laune.

The emperor, hearing that pope *Alexander* had taken refuge in *France*, ſignified to *Lewis* a deſire of ſeeing the ſchiſm terminated by a council, which was accordingly convoked at *St. Jean de Laune*; and in the mean time he wrote to the kings of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*, and to the archbiſhops and princes of the empire, to give their appearance at this aſſembly, which he and the king of *France* propoſed to grace with their own preſence. With this view, after his glorious campaign in *Italy*, he returned into *Germany*, at that time diſtracted with particular feuds, which he appeaſed with his uſual addreſs. Then he ſet out for *Beſançon* on his way to the council; and the king of *France* began his journey to *St. Jean de Laune*; but *Alexander* refuſed to go thither, and retired to the abbey of *Bourgdren*, in *Berry*, contenting himſelf with ſending deputies to defend his cauſe in the aſſembly. As for the two ſovereigns, they ſeemed cautiouſly to avoid a perſonal interview: when the king of *France* appeared in the council, the emperor was not preſent; and when the *Germans* gave *Lewis* to underſtand that *Frederic* was coming, he mounted his horſe, and fled with great precipitation, in fear of being ſurprized by the emperor, who was attended by a conſiderable body of troops. c

*The king of* Denmark *arrives at* Mentz

This aſſembly having proved ineffectual, *Frederic* repaired to *Mentz*, where he was viſited by *Waldemar*, king of *Denmark*, of whom he wanted to exact an oath of fidelity; but that prince aſſerted the independency of his crown with ſuch reſolution and perſeverance, that the emperor was contented with his doing homage for *Wandalia* only, on condition, however, that neither he nor his ſucceſſors ſhould be obliged to aſſiſt at the diets of the empire, or furniſh any contingent in time of war; or, laſtly, receive the inveſtiture of that province from the emperor. d

This affair being diſcuſſed, *Barbaroſſa* chaſtiſed the citizens of *Mentz*, who had murdered their archbiſhop: he expelled the abbot of *St. James*, and his monks, who had been accomplices in the crime, razed the city walls, and appointed a ſucceſſor to the defunct: he afterwards inlarged, adorned, and fortified the town of *Haguenau*, in which he eſtabliſhed the treaſury of the empire, and a college of juſtice, which greatly encreaſed its wealth and importance.

A. D. 1164. *The towns of* Italy *again revolt; and the anti-pope* Victor *dies at* Lucca, *and is ſucceeded by* Paſchal III.

The remembrance of the rigour with which *Frederic* puniſhed the city of *Milan*, was a ſpur that excited the reſt of the *Italian* towns againſt him; and this being reinforced by the under-hand machinations of pope *Alexander*, they once more ſhook off the imperial yoke, and obliged *Victor* to take refuge with *Frederic*; who, upon the news of this general revolt, reſolved upon another *Italian* expedition; but judging it expedient that *Victor* ſhould go thither before him, the anti-pope complied with his direction, and died that ſame year at *Lucca* [u], where the cardinals of his faction immediately elected × *Paſchal* III. who was acknowleged as pope in a diet, which the emperor ſome time after convoked at *Wurtzburg* for that purpoſe (B). e

The emperor, having paſſed the *Alps* with his wife *Beatrice*, was joined at the antient *Lodi* by the *Italian* noblemen and their troops, and proceeded to *Pavia*, where he iſſued orders for demoliſhing the town of *Tortona*, becauſe the inhabitants had rebuilt their walls, which he had formerly levelled to the ground; and here he underſtood, that the *Venetians* and *Romans* had formed a league againſt him, in conjunction with the inhabitants of *Vicenza*, *Verona*, *Padua*, and other towns, who complained of being oppreſſed by the governors and officers of the emperor. f

*FREDERIC*, finding himſelf too weak in *Italy* to cope with ſuch a powerful aſſociation, endeavoured to weaken it by policy, and, by means of private emiſſaries, tampered with ſome

[u] Gob. Pers. Coſmod. ubi ſupra. Mach. Hiſt. di Fir. × Hiſt. Lud. VII. Du Chesne, t. iv. p. 417.

(B) At this council it was decreed, that no perſon ſhould be declared pope, unleſs created with the conſent of the emperor, and contenting himſelf with the office of Chriſt's apoſtle, and St. *Peter*'s ſucceſſor, without pretending to rival the imperial power. Every member engaged himſelf, by oath, to own or allow no perſon for pope, except upon theſe terms, even after the emperor's death (13).

(13) *Avent. Ann. Boior. l.* vi. *p.* 512.

a particular ſtates, which, however, he could not detach from the general confederacy. Failing in this attempt, he reſolved to ſtrengthen the attachment of his own adherents, by granting favours, privileges, and immunities to the noblemen and cities that continued ſtaunch to his intereſt. In particular, he created *Baraſon* king of *Oriſtagno*, one of the four bailiwics of *Sardinia*, for which he did him homage; exempted *Mantua* from ſome taxations and military ſervice; and inveſted *Pavia* with the right of electing its own magiſtracy. At the ſame time he ſent receivers to all the towns in *Lombardy*, who exacted the taxes that were due, and raiſed contributions among the people with ſuch oppreſſive cruelty, as rendered his government deteſtable, and prepared the *Italians* for a general revolt.

At his return to *Germany*, he convoked a diet at *Wurtzburg*, in order to concert meaſures
b for healing the ſchiſm that divided the church; and there he, and all the princes and biſhops, together with the ambaſſadors of *Henry*, king of *England*, ſolemnly ſwore they would never acknowlege *Alexander* as the legal ſucceſſor of St. *Peter*. Injunctions were laid upon all the monks, clerks, and lay-ſubjects of the empire, to take the ſame oath, on pain of forfeiting their dignities and benefices, and of being declared enemies to their country.

About this time pope *Alexander*, at the earneſt ſollicitations of his friends, ſet out for *Italy* by ſea, and arriving at *Meſſina*, was, by the ſhips of *William*, king of *Sicily*, conducted to *Oſtia*, from whence he journeyed to *Rome*, where he lived a whole year in tranquillity. *Frederic* having ordered *Charlemagne* to be canonized, and confirmed the privileges of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, marched into *Italy*, with a conſiderable army, after the archbiſhops of *Cologne*
c and *Mentz*, whom he had previouſly detached with a ſtrong body of troops to reduce the diſaffected towns of *Lombardy*.

On his arrival at *Lodi*, he held a grand council, in order to deliberate upon the operations of the campaign; and here he determined a difference which had long ſubſiſted between the republics of *Genoa* and *Piſa*. When the council broke up, he proceeded to *Bologna*, which he laid under contribution, together with *Imola*, *Faenza*, and *Forli*; but *Ancona* would not ſubmit to his exactions, until after it was beſieged, and reduced to extremity. While he was employed in the ſiege of this place, the towns of *Lombardy*, reduced to deſpair by the violence and rapaciouſneſs of him and his commiſſaries, entered into an aſſociation for their mutual defence, and even compelled *Lodi*,
d by force of arms, to engage in the ſame league. The inhabitants of *Milan* rebuilt their walls, and taking the field, inveſted the caſtle of *Trea*, in which the emperor had depoſited all the treaſure he had amaſſed. The place, tho' ſtrong and well defended, fell into the hands of the beſiegers, who carried off the money, and the garriſon priſoners to *Milan*, and razed the fortifications to the ground.

This ſucceſs encouraged the *Romans* to take arms againſt the two archbiſhops, who were encamped near *Tuſculum*; but the event did not anſwer their expectation: for though they advanced in good order againſt the imperialiſts, with an amazing odds in point of number, they were defeated in a pitched battle by *Rainald*, archbiſhop of *Cologne*, who carried the ſtandard in his own hand, and ſung a *German* hymn, in which he was joined by the whole
e army.

This victory was ſucceeded by a conſiderable advantage, which *Frederic* gained over *William* II. king of *Sicily*, who had inveſted a caſtle belonging to his imperial majeſty. *Barbaroſſa*, who was ſtill before *Ancona*, put himſelf at the head of his cavalry, and beat up *William*'s quarters; ſo that he was compelled to raiſe the ſiege, and return to *Sicily* with great precipitation.

*ANCONA* was no ſooner reduced, than the emperor marched towards *Rome*, into which he was obliged to effect his entrance by force. *Alexander*, after having made ſeveral fruitleſs efforts to oppoſe him, ſtole away to *Beneventum*, in the habit of a pilgrim; and *Frederic*, with his empreſs, was crowned by *Paſchal* the anti-pope, who had waited for the em-
f peror's arrival at *Viterbo* [y].

Hitherto every thing ſmiled upon *Frederic*; but the plague being introduced among his troops, made ſuch havock, that he was obliged to make a haſty retreat into *Tuſcany*, and from thence into his *German* dominions [z], where his preſence was alſo required, on account of a commotion in *Saxony*; but it was not without the utmoſt danger and difficulty that he effected his retreat. At *Pavia*, he put all the rebellious towns of *Lombardy* to the ban of the empire, and, tho' his army was very much reduced by the diſtemper, he, with the aſſiſtance of his *Italian* friends, made incurſions into the country poſſeſſed by his enemies, and ravaged the territory of *Milan*.

These petty expeditions, which conſumed the remains of his troops, ſerved no other purpoſe than that of exaſperating the confederates, and their patron pope *Alexander*, who was by this time rendered more formidable by ſuccours, which he received from *Manuel*,

[y] Ann. Boior. Joh. Avent. l. vi. p. 573. [z] Hiſt. Lud. VII. ubi ſupra.

emperor

emperor of the *Greeks*. In a word, the towns of *Lombardy*, thus ſupported, pulled off the maſk, and not only appeared in open rebellion, but alſo inſiſted upon ſeizing the perſon of *Barbaroſſa*, whoſe army was by this time quite exhauſted with malady and fatigue. a

In this extremity, he began a negotiation with the friends of pope *Alexander*, and muſt have ſubmitted to that pontiff, becauſe all the paſſes were ſecured by his enemies, had not the count *de Morienne* granted him a paſſage, at the earneſt ſollicitations of his relation *William*, marquis *de Montferrat*. Nevertheleſs, the *Milaneſe* purſued him to the mountains, and preſſed him ſo cloſely, that he cauſed ſome of their hoſtages, who were in his power, to be hanged; and theſe executions put a ſtop to their progreſs. He afterwards narrowly eſcaped from *Suza*, where a conſpiracy was formed againſt his life, and at laſt arrived in *Alſace* with the wreck of his army.

His back was no ſooner turned, than the *Italian* cities again withdrew themſelves from their allegiance, and entered into an aſſociation for the defence of their liberty; and the inhabitants of *Milan*, taking the advantage of *Frederic*'s being employed in the empire, began to rebuild their town, which was in a little time brought to perfection. b

The confederates likewiſe built a new town between *Aſti* and *Tortona*, in order to block up the emperor's road, ſhould he again attempt to paſs the *Alps*, and to overawe the marquis of *Montferrat*, and the inhabitants of *Pavia*, who ſtill continued ſtaunch to his intereſt. This they called *Alexandria*, in honour of the pope, to whom the property of it was preſented at *Beneventum*, and it became tributary to the holy ſee.

*FREDERIC* having appeaſed the troubles of *Saxony*, where the nobles had taken arms againſt their duke, convened a diet at *Wirtsburg*, in order to reform ſome abuſes which had crept into the church, and diſpoſe the princes and noblemen in favour of his eldeſt ſon *Henry*, who was elected king of the *Romans*, and in the ſequel acquired the crown of *Naples* and *Sicily*, by his marriage with *Conſtance*, daughter of *Roger* and *Beatrix de Rethel*, a relation of *Philip Auguſtus*, king of *France*. c

Caliſtus III. *ſucceeds* Paſchal. A. D. 1169.

*PASCHAL* dying in the midſt of theſe tranſactions, *Caliſtus* III. was elected by the cardinals of his party; but the emperor, underſtanding that all *Italy* was tired with the length of this ſchiſm, which was diſagreeable to his friends as well as his enemies, began to be afraid of a general revolt, and to prepare for another expedition. The confederacy of the *Lombard* towns grew every day ſtronger and ſtronger; the *Greek* emperor had ſent a ſecond embaſſy, with magnificent preſents, to the pope, promiſing to unite the *Greek* and *Roman* churches under his auſpices, provided he would gratify *Manuel* with the imperial crown; and *Frederic*, dreading his compliance, reſolved to ſend deputies, with propoſals of peace to his holineſs. Accordingly the biſhop of *Bamberg*, being intruſted with this commiſſion, ſet out for *Italy*, and was received by *Alexander* in a full conſiſtory; but as the emperor neither acknowleged the pope, nor ſubmitted to the holy ſee, his propoſals were rejected. d

Mean while *Frederic*, the emperor's young ſon, was elected king of *Germany*, with the unanimous conſent of the diet aſſembled at *Bamberg*, and conveyed to *Aix-la-Chapelle*, where he was crowned by *Philip*, archbiſhop of *Cologne*: and about the ſame time *Henry*, duke of *Saxony*, departed, at the head of a cruſade, for *Paleſtine*, to aſſiſt the Chriſtians of the eaſt, who were cooped up between two formidable enemies; namely, *Noradin*, of *Aleppo*, and *Saladin*, ſoltan of *Egypt*. He embarked upon the *Danube* at *Vienna*, croſſed the province of *Servia*, was hoſpitably received at *Conſtantinople*, from whence he ſailed to *Ptolemais*, where he underſtood that the death of *Noradin* had reſtored peace to the Chriſtians of the eaſt. The deſign of his cruſade being thus anſwered, he viſited *Jeruſalem*, was regaled by the ſoltan of *Egypt*, who loaded him with preſents, then returned by the way of *Conſtantinople*, where he received ample proofs of *Manuel*'s friendſhip and generoſity, and at length ſafely arrived in his own dominions. e

As for the emperor, he aſſembled a diet at *Worms*, in which he complained of the pope's conduct, and the rebellious towns of *Lombardy*; and it was reſolved, that he ſhould be furniſhed with the neceſſary ſupplies for another expedition into *Italy*. In the mean time *Chriſtian*, archbiſhop of *Mentz*, as chancellor of the empire, was ſent thither with a body of troops to protect *Como*, *Pavia*, *Crema*, and other places, which ſtill held for the emperor, as well as to overawe and confirm thoſe which wavered in their allegiance. f

This prelate held a council at *Vienna*, in order to decide the differences between the republics of *Genoa* and *Piſa*, touching the property of the iſland of *Sardinia*; and the *Piſans* refuſing to ſtand to his award, were put to the ban of the empire. The *Florentines*, who were their allies, underwent the ſame fate; and a ſharp war broke out between the republics of *Piſa* and *Florence* on one ſide, and thoſe of *Genoa* and *Lucca* on the other.

*CHRISTIAN*, hearing that *Manuel*, emperor of *Conſtantinople*, maintained a correſpondence with the inhabitants of *Ancona*, marched thither, and inveſted the place; while the *Venetians*, who wanted to break with the *Greek* emperor, blocked up the town by ſea with a powerful fleet; but, notwithſtanding all their vigilance, the *Greek* deputies found g

means

a means to introduce a reinforcement, and the beſiegers were fain to relinquiſh their enterprize.

BAFFLED in this attempt, *Chriſtian* marched into the duchy of *Spoleto*, and took the town of *Ferri*, which belonged to the *Roman* church; but while he was thus employed, the confederate towns convoked an aſſembly at *Modena*, in order to concert meaſures for ſupporting the war; thither the pope ſent legates, to encourage them in their deſign of ſhaking off the imperial yoke; the chiefs bound themſelves by oath to maintain the league to the laſt extremity; they wrote circular letters to all the towns of *Lombardy*, exhorting them to join for the defence of the *Italian* liberty; and their remonſtrances had ſuch effect, that ſeveral neutral towns declared for the confederacy, and others abandoned the intereſt
b of the emperor.

*FREDERIC*, alarmed at the news of this defection, would have paſſed the *Alps* immediately, had not he been detained by the troubles of *Bohemia*, excited by the weakneſs of king *Ladiſlaus*, and the tyranny of his favourite *Vegeſlaus*, who had rendered himſelf odious to the whole nation. The emperor, in conſequence of the complaints he received from the *Bohemian* noblemen, ſummoned their king to appear at the diet of *Nuremberg*, to give an account of his conduct; and he refuſing to obey this order, marched at the head of an army to *Prague*, where he diveſted *Ladiſlaus* of the adminiſtration, and beſtowed the regency upon his kinſman *Sobieſlaus*, who had formerly been miniſter, and diſgraced by the intrigues of the queen. This affair being ſettled, and peace eſtabliſhed through the whole
c empire, he appointed the rendezvous of his army at *Ratisbon*, where a diet was aſſembled at the ſame time: there he explained the motives of his expedition into *Italy*, and, having received the neceſſary ſupplies, began his march by the way of *Mount Cenis*. He took and deſtroyed *Suza*; the towns of *Aſti*, *Tortona*, *Cremona*, and *Como*, ſubmitted without reſiſtance; then he inveſted *Alexandria*, which was defended with great vigour by the inhabitants, who, at length, in a general ſally, put the imperialiſts to flight, ſo that *Frederic* was obliged to paſs the *Po*, and take refuge in the *Paveſan*. Here his preſence was the more neceſſary, as the city of *Pavia* was by this time cloſely beſieged by the confederate army, and even almoſt reduced to extremity. Notwithſtanding the ſuccours he found means to throw in, the calamities of the inhabitants daily increaſed, and, to put the finiſhing ſtroke
d to his diſgrace, *Henry the Lion*, duke of *Saxony*, retired with his troops, in ſpite of all the remonſtrances of *Frederic*, who had recourſe to the moſt abject ſubmiſſions, in attempting to alter his purpoſe. His pretence was the terror of excommunication; but, in effect, he had been cajoled by the pope, who flattered him with the hope of aſcending the imperial throne.

THE departure of this duke compelled the emperor to treat with the confederates, and a congreſs was opened by the mediation of the conſuls of *Cremona*: to this aſſembly, which was held between the two camps, the pope ſent three deputies; but, both ſides being extremely irritated and inflexible, the meeting, after much altercation, broke up, and all hope of a pacification vaniſhed. The ſiege of *Pavia* was raiſed; the emperor detached
e parties, from time to time, to ravage the territory of *Alexandria*, and the *Lombard* troops marched thither to ſupport that place, in caſe it ſhould be reinveſted.

MEAN while *Chriſtian*, archbiſhop of *Mentz*, carried on his operations with great ſucceſs. He took and ruined a grat number of caſtles in the marche of *Ancona*, and reduced the city and whole duchy of *Spoleto*; then he repaired, by the emperor's order, to the court of *William* king of *Sicily*, to eſtabliſh a peace, and offer *Frederic*'s daughter in marriage to that prince, who declined the match, leſt he ſhould give offence to his holineſs.

DURING theſe tranſactions, the emperor received a reinforcement of troops from *Germany*, under the command of *Philip* count *de Heimberg*, archbiſhop of *Cologne*; and advancing againſt the confederates, who were poſted at *Signano*, an obſtinate battle enſued, in
f which *Frederic* was totally defeated, and narrowly eſcaped with his life: his camp and baggage were taken, a great number of his ſoldiers killed, taken, and drowned in the *Po*, and the wreck of his army fled for protection to the walls of *Pavia*.

THIS defeat, which muſt have been very mortifying to a prince like him, accuſtomed to victory, was ſtill aggravated by the alienation of his own ſubjects, many of whom about this time abandoned his intereſt, and by the loſs of a battle fought at ſea againſt the *Venetians*, in which his eldeſt ſon prince *Henry*, who commanded his fleet, was taken priſoner (C). Tho' he was, in conſequence of theſe misfortunes, very well diſpoſed to an accommodation

*Another revolt in* Italy, *where the emperor is defeated by land and ſea.* A. D. 1175.

(C) The pope, in honour of this victory, ſailed out into the open ſea, accompanied by the whole ſenate; and, after having pronounced a thouſand benedictions on that element, threw into it a ring, as a mark of his gratitude and affection. This is the origin of that ceremony, which is annually performed by the *Venetians*, under the notion of eſpouſing the *Adriatic* ſea (14).

(14) *Note ſur l'Hiſt. de Heiſs, l.* xi. *c.* 13.

with the pope, his pride would not yet allow him to make the firſt propoſal. He therefore a rallied his troops, and exerted himſelf with ſuch vigour in repairing his loſs, that he was next year in a condition to hazard another battle, in which his enemies were defeated. Being an excellent politician, as well as a great general, he ſeized this favourable opportunity of ſignifying his deſire of peace to pope *Alexander*, who received his ambaſſadors with great joy, and an accommodation was concluded; in conſequence of which there was an interview between them at *Venice* [b] (D).

A. D. 1176. *He concludes a peace with pope* Alexander.

THE emperor's arrival at that city being notified, he was waited upon by the doge, the patriarch, the biſhop, the clergy, and the ſenate, who conducted him in their barge to St. *Mark*'s, where the pope and cardinals waited his coming. *Frederic*, when he approached his holineſs, who was ſeated, bowed down with profound reverence, and kiſſed his feet; a b condeſcenſion which brought tears into the eyes of the pope, who claſped him in his arms, and gave him the kiſs of peace; then, the emperor taking him by the hand, they entered the church together, where, maſs being celebrated by the pope himſelf, *Frederic* re-conducted him to the door, ſtill walking on his left hand, and held the ſtirrup while he mounted his mule [c]. Some time after theſe firſt civilities, the pope, the emperor, and all the princes, aſſembled in the palace of the patriarch, where *Alexander* harangued in *Latin* upon the peace which had been concluded; then *Frederic* made a ſpeech on the ſame ſubject in the *German* tongue, which was interpreted by the archbiſhop of *Mentz*; not that the emperor was ignorant of the *Latin*, but becauſe he was reſolved to maintain the dignity of the *German* empire. The deputies of both ſolemnly ſwore to the obſervation of the treaty, which included c the king of *Sicily*; and the ratifications were exchanged with all imaginable expreſſions of joy, which laſted during the whole time of their ſtay at *Venice*, from the beginning of *Auguſt* till the thirteenth of *September*, on which the emperor ſet out for *Ravenna* [d] (E).

A. D. 1177.

*An accommodation with the revolted cities.*

THIS reconciliation was attended with the ſubmiſſion of all the rebellious towns in *Italy*, which had entered into an aſſociation for their mutual defence. By an agreement at *Conſtance*, the emperor granted a general pardon, and left them at liberty to uſe their own laws and forms of government; while they took the oath of allegiance to him, as their lord and ſovereign.

Caliſtus *humbles himſelf, and is pardoned by* Alexander.

*CALISTUS* the antipope, finding himſelf forſaken, in conſequence of the peace between the pope and the emperor, made his ſubmiſſion to *Alexander*, who received him with great d humanity; but in order to prevent, for the future, thoſe ſchiſms which ſo often attended the election of popes, he called a general council, in which it was decreed, that no pope ſhould be deemed duly elected, without having two-thirds of the votes in his favour.

Henry the Lion *raiſes diſturbances in the empire;*

WHILE theſe things were in agitation in *Italy*, *Henry* duke of *Saxony* raiſed freſh troubles in the empire. He was a proud, haughty, and turbulent prince, who not only oppreſſed his own ſubjects, but alſo committed outrages againſt all his neighbours. He was at open war with *Ulric*, biſhop of *Halberſtadt*, whom he had expelled from his ſee, and with *Philip*, archbiſhop of *Cologne*, who headed a faction againſt him in *Weſtphalia*, in conſequence of his finding his dominions ravaged by the duke at his return from *Italy*. *Frederic*, on his arrival

[b] GOB. PERS. ibid. MACH. Hiſt. di Fir. [c] Chron. GAUF. VOSIENS. t. ii. Biblioth. Labb. [d] SIGON. l. iv. de Regno Ital.

(D) As the particulars of this accommodation are very differently related by different hiſtorians, it will not be amiſs to gratify the reader with a detail of them from *Romuald*, biſhop of *Salerno*, who was eye-witneſs of every incident. " *Frederic*," ſays he, " having gained " a ſecond victory over the *Lombards*, was very much " importuned by the princes of the empire to make " peace with pope *Alexander*, for the repoſe of the " church as well as of his own dominions. Thus ſol- " licited, he ſent an embaſſy conſiſting of the archbi- " ſhops of *Mentz* and *Magdeburg*, the biſhop of *Worms*, " and the Sieur *Paſy*, his own ſecretary, with full " power to conclude an accommodation. They found " the pope at *Anagni*, who received their propoſals with " great joy, as he himſelf had been for a long time de- " ſirous of peace; and the articles were ſoon agreed up- " on. Nevertheleſs the emperor, diſapproving of ſome " particulars concerning the *Lombards*, the pope agreed " to hold another congreſs at *Ferrara*, in order to re- " move all objection; but in the mean time *Frederic*, " being perſuaded by ſome evil-minded perſons, that " his ambaſſadors had betrayed him in the treaty, he " was greatly incenſed, diſowned them and all they had " done, and declared for *Caliſtus*: his plenipotentiaries, " finding themſelves in this predicament, endeavoured " to juſtify their conduct by a fair repreſentation of all " their tranſactions; but the emperor, obſtinately re- " fuſing to ratify the peace, they plainly told him, " that as *Alexander*'s behaviour on this occaſion had " been honeſt and ſincere, and what he propoſed fair " and equitable, they had concluded a peace with him, " in conſequence of the commiſſion with which they " were inveſted; and that if his imperial majeſty " ſhould perſiſt in refuſing to ratify it, they ſhould " be obliged, for the ſake of their conſciences, to ac- " knowlege *Alexander* for the true head of the church, " and to look upon *Caliſtus* as an impoſtor. This de- " claration had ſuch an effect upon *Frederic*, that he " reſolved to ratify the peace, and for that purpoſe im- " mediately diſpatched them to *Venice*, whither he in " a little time followed them in perſon (15).

(E) Some hiſtorians allege, that the pope, at this meeting, ſet his foot on the emperor's neck, and treated him with inſolence and contempt (16); but it is not at all probable, that a prince of *Frederic*'s ſpirit would have ſuffered ſuch an inſult to paſs unpuniſhed; eſpecially as it does not appear, that he was reduced to the neceſſity of making ſuch abject ſubmiſſions.

(15) *Romuald Salern. p.* 226.

(16) *Mezer. ab Reg. Chronol. v.* i. *p.* 379.

a in *Germany*, was not ſorry to hear of theſe violences, becauſe he longed for an opportunity of being revenged upon *Henry*, for his having abandoned him ſo cruelly in his *Italian* expedition. He forthwith convoked a diet at *Worms*, where the duke, who did not think proper to appear in perſon, was accuſed of having violated the rights of the biſhops and noblemen; of having oppreſſed and robbed his vaſſals; of having expelled lawful biſhops, and ſupplied their places with his own creatures; of having ſeized the hereditary fiefs belonging to the count *de Wincebourg*, and his relation *Otho d'Aſloï*; and of having furniſhed the count *de Lipſtadt* with troops to ravage *Weſtphalia*. Tho' the duke was not preſent to anſwer to theſe articles of impeachment, and might have been legally condemned in his abſence, the emperor deferred the trial till the next diet to be held at *Magdeburg*, where he
b was charged by *Thierri*, marquis of *Alſace*, with having ſent the *Sclaves* to pillage his dominions, and defied to ſingle combat by that nobleman; but he would not deign to give his perſonal appearance, and rejected the challenge becauſe it was ſent by an inferior. Nevertheleſs he deſired to have an interview with the emperor, and excuſed himſelf ſo effectually to *Frederic*, that he promiſed the duke ſhould be acquitted, on condition he would pay 5000 marks of ſilver to the imperial treaſury. This propoſal he declined, and was ſummoned for the third time to the diet of *Goſlar*, where he was put to the ban of the empire, and *is put to the ban;*
*Philip*, archbiſhop of *Cologne*, ordered to put the ſentence in execution. That prelate, being joined with the troops of *Godfrey* duke of *Brabant*, *Philip* count of *Flanders*, *Otho* count of *Guelderland*, and many other noblemen, entered *Weſtphalia*, and laid waſte the country
c with fire and ſword; while the biſhop of *Halberſtadt* laid the churches under interdiction, and launched an anathema againſt the duke.

MEAN while *Henry* was not idle: he aſſembled his forces and fell upon *Thuringia*, of which he made himſelf maſter, after having defeated the landgrave of *Heſſe*, duke *Bernard*, *Herman* count palatine, and *Widekinde* count *de Waldeck*: his troops afterwards obtained a victory over thoſe of the archbiſhop at *Haresfeld*, by the valour of his general *Bernard* count *de Lipſtadt*, who retook all the towns in *Weſtphalia*, which the duke and his adherents had loſt; and made the biſhop of *Halberſtadt* priſoner, after having burned the town to aſhes.

THE emperor, alarmed at theſe ſucceſſes, convened a diet at *Wirtzbourg*, where he was ſollicited in behalf of the duke of *Saxony*, by the ambaſſadors of the pope and the king of
d *England*, who was father-in-law to *Henry the Lion*. In conſequence of their intreaties, he delayed proceeding againſt him, and ſummoned a general aſſembly of the empire at *Gelnhauſen*, in *Weteravia*, where *Henry*, ſtill refuſing to appear, was formally condemned, and *diveſted of his dominions;*
ſtripped of all his dominions, which were beſtowed on different noblemen. *Frederic*, in conjunction with thoſe among whom the fiefs of *Henry* were diſtributed, aſſembled an army to execute the ſentence of the diet; and, marching into *Saxony*, reduced that whole province; while the duke, abandoned by his friends, was obliged to take refuge in *Holſtein*. *Bernard de Anhalt* being eſtabliſhed in the poſſeſſion of this dukedom, the emperor entered *Bavaria*, where he met with no oppoſition, and at *Ratisbon* ſolemnly confirmed the inveſti-
e ture of that duchy, which *Otho de Wittelſpach* had already received at *Gelnhauſen*. While *Frederic* was thus employed in *Bavaria*, *Philip*, archbiſhop of *Cologne*, beſieged and made himſelf maſter of *Brunſwick*. The town of *Lunenburg* was inveſted, and the emperor, having detached *Waldemar*, king of *Denmark*, from the intereſts of *Henry the Lion*, by propoſing a double match between his two ſons and two daughters of his *Daniſh* majeſty, that prince equipped a fleet, with which he blocked up the mouth of the *Trave*, while *Frederic* beſieged the city of *Lubec* by land. This town being taken, and a treaty of alliance concluded with *Waldemar*, the emperor conquered all the *Lower Saxony*, together with *Holſtein*, from whence *Henry* had been compelled to retire, and then marched to the neighbourhood of *Lunenburg*, where he was viſited by the unfortunate duke, who threw himſelf at his feet, and begged, with great humility, that ſome of his dominions might be reſtored. *Frederic*,
f touched with his condition, referred him to the diet of *Quedlemburg*, where a very dangerous diſpute ariſing between him and duke *Bernard*, the emperor was fain to diſſolve the aſſembly, and delay the examination of his caſe, till the meeting of another diet at *Erfurt*. There duke *Henry* endeavoured to acquit himſelf of the crimes which had been laid to his charge; but as it was impracticable to withdraw his fiefs, which were already diſpoſed of to different noblemen, *Frederic* adviſed him to reſide in *England*, until he ſhould be able to perſuade the princes to relinquiſh his dominions which they had ſhared; and in the mean time he promiſed, that no attempts ſhould be made upon the territories of *Brunſwick* and *Lunenburg*, which he would protect in behalf of his children. *Henry*, in compliance with this advice, retired to *England*, where he was hoſpitably entertained by his father-in-law *Henry* II. and there his wife bore him a fourth ſon called *William*, from whom the preſent houſe of *Brunſwick* is deſcended [e].

*and compelled to take refuge with his father-in-law* Henry II. *king of* England.

[e] Ann. Boior. AVENT. l. vi. p. 515. BARRE, t. v. p. 301.

POPE

*Pope* Alexander *dies, and is succeeded by* Lucius III. A. D. 1181.

POPE *Alexander* III. dying at this period, the cardinals, without the participation of the rest of the clergy, elected *Ubaldo*, bishop of *Ostia*, a native of *Lucca*, who assumed the name of *Lucius* III. and was soon after his elevation expelled by the *Romans*, because he would not swear to the observation of some customs, to which his predecessors had always adhered. They were so much exasperated at his refusal, that they pillaged his lands, and chaced him from place to place; so that he was obliged to sollicit the assistance of *Christian*, archbishop of *Mentz*, whom the emperor had left to maintain the peace of *Italy*. a

THAT prelate accordingly came to his succour with a body of *German* troops, which in a little time would have reduced the *Romans*, had not his success been anticipated by death, which overtook him at *Tusculum*. Thus deprived of his protector, the pope sent nuncios to the emperor, and other sovereigns, from whom he received considerable sums of money, with which he purchased peace, and re-entered *Rome*. But he was obliged to quit that city a second time. The inhabitants took arms again, they burned and plundered all his lands, and their rebellion raged to such a pitch of fury, that they put out the eyes of a number of the clergy, and sent them with mitres on their heads, in derision, to *Lucius*, who denounced an anathema against the authors of such barbarity, and retired to *Verona* [f]. b

*Dict at* Mentz.

MEAN while the emperor had convoked a diet at *Mentz*, in order to concert measures for prolonging the truce of *Italy*: and to this assembly the king of *England* sent ambassadors, to demand the re-establishment of *Henry the Lion* in some part of his hereditary dominions: but this affair, being duly considered, was found intangled with such difficulties, that *Henry* was exhorted to exert his patience for some time, until the restitution of his territories could be gradually effected by means of argument and persuasion. c

*OTHO DE WITTELSPACH*, who had taken possession of *Bavaria* and its dependencies, began his administration with such prudence, and took such measures for the advantage of his people, that commerce in a little time flourished through the whole province; the subjects became wealthy, and his court was distinguished for magnificence; so that the emperor, growing jealous of his power, declared *Ratisbon* a free town, independent of his dominion, erected *Stiria* into a duchy, holding of the empire only, and dismembred his territories of the duchy of *Meranca* and principality of *Tyrol* [g].

A. D. 1183. *Treaty of* Placentia.

AFTER these transactions he convoked a diet at *Constance*, where the deliberations turned upon the affairs of *Lombardy*; and as *Henry* king of the *Romans* assured his father, that the *Italian* cities would accept of peace upon reasonable conditions, the emperor sent three ministers to treat with the deputies of the *Lombard* towns at *Placentia*; where a congress being opened, the treaty was in a very little time concluded and ratified, to the satisfaction of all parties. Among other articles it was agreed, that the emperor might exact the oath of allegiance from his *Italian* vassals; who should be obliged to march to his assistance, in case of his being attacked in his journey to *Rome*, which is called the *Roman* expedition: that the said vassals, and the towns, should be exempted from all other imposition, but that of supplying him with provision and forage in his march: that they should enjoy the privilege of raising troops and fortifications for their own defence, and decide all causes, without appeal, in their own courts of justice, unless the sum in litigation should exceed fifty marks of silver: and lastly, that in those towns, where the bishop had the title of count, he should preserve the right of creating consuls; but where the bishop was not in possession of that title, the right should be reserved to the emperor [h]. d e

As the inhabitants of *Alexandria della Paglia* were not comprehended in this pacification, which the *Italians* for a long time considered as the basis of their public liberty, they were obliged to send deputies to deprecate his imperial majesty's wrath at *Nuremberg*, where they were pardoned, and taken into protection, on condition of changing the name of their city into *Cæsarea*, and holding their privileges of his good will and pleasure.

A. D. 1184.

SOON after this transaction, *Frederic* assembled a diet at *Mentz*, and, in presence of a great number of princes and noblemen, again solemnly declared his son *Henry* king of the *Romans*, and afterwards knighted him and his brother prince *Frederic*, according to the rules and ceremonies of chivalry. The affairs of *Germany* being regulated at this meeting, the emperor repaired to *Italy*, in order to accommodate some differences with the pope, touching the see of *Triers*, which was disputed by two competitors, and the succession of the countess *Mathilda*, which was an eternal bone of contention between the empire and the church; and he was moreover actuated with the desire of seeing his son *Henry* receive the imperial crown. f

Frederic *repairs to* Verona.

INDUCED by these motives, he visited his holiness at *Verona*, where a council was convoked to rectify the errors and abuses which had crept into the church. Being here sollicited in favour of *Henry the Lion*, by *Lucius*, and another embassy from *England*, he consented to the return of that nobleman to *Germany*, and promised to put him in possession of *Brunswick* and *Lunenburg*, which had been preserved for his use: but as the pope would g

[f] PAGI in Brev. Rom. Pontif. in Lucio III. t. viii. Hist. de Regno Ital. l. xiv. ad annn. 1183. [g] ADLZR. Ann. Boic. Gent. ad ann. 1182. [h] SIGON.

neither

a neither terminate the ſchiſm at *Triers*, according to his inclination, nor compromiſe the affair of *Mathilda*'s dominions, nor even compliment his ſon *Henry* with the imperial crown, he took his departure for *Milan*, where that young prince was proclaimed king of *Lombardy* with the uſual ſolemnities; and, in a little time after his coronation, ſet out for *Germany*, to appeaſe ſome troubles excited by the tyranny and avarice of *Philip*, archbiſhop of *Cologne*, whom he accordingly reduced to order.

MEAN while *Frederic* returned to the council of *Verona*, at which appeared *Heraclius*, patriarch of *Jeruſalem*, imploring ſuccour for his king *Baldwin*, who was by this time old and infirm, and in danger of loſing all his dominions by inteſtine diviſions, and the victorious arms of *Saladin*, ſoltan of *Egypt*. His remonſtrances, however, had little effect upon the b princes of the weſt, who were too much embroiled with their own affairs to undertake an expedition into *Paleſtine*; and the emperor in particular, inſtead of engaging in a cruſade, in conſequence of the exhortations of the pope, who took umbrage at his ſtaying ſo long in *Italy*, reſolved to aſſert the rights of the empire to the long diſputed ſucceſſion called the *Patrimony of St. Peter*. With this view he ſent *Henry*, king of *Sardinia*, with an army into *Tuſcany*; and that prince having ſeized *Aquapendente*, *Chieſſi*, *Bolſena*, *Bagnarca*, and ſome other towns, inveſted *Orvieto*, the ſiege of which laſted two whole years. Mean while *Frederic* in perſon made a circuit round the towns of *Lombardy*, and took an exact account of their privileges, which in general he confirmed. Then he marched into *Romania*, beſieged and took *Faenza*, where he met with oppoſition, and compelled the greateſt part of c *Tuſcany* to ſubmit to the empire; ſo that the ſucceſſion of the counteſs *Mathilda* was almoſt wholly reduced under his dominion, when pope *Lucius* died at *Verona*, and was ſucceeded by *Lambert Crivelli*, archbiſhop of *Milan*, who aſſumed the name of *Urban* III. and kept his archbiſhopric even after his elevation to the papal chair [i]. A. D. 1185.

MEAN while a match was concluded between the emperor's ſon *Henry*, and *Conſtance*, ſiſter and heireſs of *William* king of *Sicily*; and the nuptials were actually celebrated with extraordinary magnificence in that very city of *Milan*, which *Frederic* had but a few years before utterly deſtroyed [k]. *The emperor's ſon* Henry *married to* Conſtance *ſiſter of* William *king of* Sicily. A. D. 1186.

THIS match was by no means agreeable to pope *Urban* III. who foreſaw that it would certainly one day furniſh the king of the *Romans* with pretenſions upon *Sicily*; and his reſentd ment hurried him ſo far, that he even ſuſpended from their functions the biſhops who had aſſiſted at the celebration of the nuptials; which were no ſooner conſummated, than *Frederic*, underſtanding that the inhabitants of *Cremona* had raiſed an army to hinder *Crema* from being rebuilt, aſſembled a body of forces, marched to *Cremona*, and having diſmantled the town, carried off a great number of priſoners; ſo that they were obliged to implore his clemency, and they were forgiven at the interceſſion of their biſhop. As for *Milan*, the emperor's reſidence in that city was of great advantage to the inhabitants; he extended its juriſdiction over all the caſtles ſituated between the *Adda* and the *Oglis*, and ordered that all law-ſuits, which might happen in its territory, ſhould be judged, without appeal, by the conſuls of *Milan* [l] (G).

e *FREDERIC*, having thus eſtabliſhed his authority in *Lombardy*, left the government of that kingdom to his ſon *Henry*, and returned to his dominions in *Germany*; where he ſeized all the revenues of the biſhopric of *Mentz*, becauſe *Bertrand* the biſhop favoured *Folmar*, pretender to the archbiſhopric of *Triers*, againſt *Rodulphus*, who was countenanced by the emperor.

THIS tranſaction was followed by a difference with *Canute*, king of *Denmark*, who refuſed to do homage for *Wandalia*, which had been conquered by his father *Waldemar*. *Frederic*, incenſed at this refuſal, inſtigated *Bugeſlaus*, on whom he had beſtowed the inveſtiture of *Pomerania*, to make war upon his *Daniſh* majeſty; but *Bugeſlaus*, knowing himſelf unable to cope with ſuch an antagoniſt, contented himſelf with committing hoſtilities againſt *Jarimar*, f ſovereign of the iſle of *Rugen*, and uncle to *Canute*; who having recourſe to the aſſiſtance of the *Danes*, he was ſupplied with a fleet of ſhips, and obtained a complete naval victory over the *Pomeranians*. *Abſalom*, archbiſhop of *Lunden*, and miniſter of *Canute*, who commanded the victorious fleet, ſailed to the mouth of the river *Pena*, made an attempt upon *Demmin*, and ravaged the country. Next year his *Daniſh* majeſty embarked in perſon, entered the Frederic *foments a war between* Bugeſlaus *duke of* Pomerania, *and* Canute *king of* Denmark;

[i] BARRE, t. v. p. 345. [k] BARON. t. xii. ad ann. 1186. [l] SIGON. de Reg. Ital. l. xv. ad ann. 1185.

(G) In the courſe of this year (1186) *Bertrand*, biſhop of *Metz*, introduced into *Germany* the cuſtom of keeping archives, in which were regiſtered the acts and deeds upon which private fortunes depend. Before this period, all cauſes, relating to property, were judged by living witneſſes, and the deciſion of the moſt part was left to the iſſue of ſingle combat. Theſe combats were fought in the biſhop's court yard, or before the townhouſe, in the preſence of the biſhop's officers, who adjudged the victory, and puniſhed the vanquiſhed either with mulct or mutilation (17).

(17) *Meur. p.* 439.

river *Zwina*, then plundered part of *Pomerania* and *Wandalia*, and at laſt, ſurpriſing *Bugeſlaus* in his own dominions, compelled that prince to ſue for peace, which he could obtain on no other condition than that of doing homage to *Canute*, and holding *Pomerania* as a fief of *Denmark*[m]. a

THE emperor, whoſe ſituation would not allow him to reinfore *Bugeſlaus* with troops, was not a little mortified at the iſſue of this war, by which the ſovereignty of *Pomerania* was loſt to the empire; and he reſolved to retrieve, by ſtratagem, that which he could not regain by force of arms. With this view he ſent an embaſſy to *Denmark*, inviting *Canute* to be preſent at the nuptials of his ſiſter *Chriſtina*, who was betrothed to the emperor's ſon *Frederic*, and had reſided ſome years in *Germany* for her education. Had *Canute* viſited the imperial court upon this occaſion, *Frederic* would have compelled him to relinquiſh the ſovereignty of *Pomerania*, and do homage not only for *Wandalia*, but alſo for the kingdom of *Denmark*. But the *Dane*, remembering the emperor's behaviour to his father *Waldemar*, refuſed to quit his own kingdom, or even to pay the remainder of his ſiſter's dowry, until the ceremony ſhould be performed: a refuſal which exaſperated *Frederic* to ſuch a degree, that he ſent back the princeſs with the moſt mortifying marks of ſcorn and contempt[n]; and *Canute*, in revenge for this inſult, made incurſions into the northern parts of *Germany*.

*whom the emperor endeavours in vain to entrap.* A. D. 1187. b

*EMERIC*, having quarrelled with his brother *Bela*, king of *Hungary*, fled for refuge to count *Sobieſlaus*, duke of *Bohemia*, who, inſtead of granting him protection, or referring the affair to the cognizance of the emperor, ſent him back to his brother under a ſtrong eſcorte: a ſtep which gave ſuch umbrage to *Frederic*, who hated *Bela*, that he ſummoned *Sobieſlaus* to the diet, to give an account of his conduct in this affair. The duke, declining to appear before this tribunal, was condemned as contumacious, and deprived of his dominions, the inveſtiture of which was given to *Frederic*, ſon of *Uladiſlaus*, whom he had ſucceeded in the dukedom.

Frederic *depoſes* Sobieſlaus *duke of* Bohemia, *and gives the inveſtiture of that dukedom to* Frederic; c

THE new duke, being furniſhed with ſome troops by the archbiſhop of *Saltzburg*, marched into *Bohemia* before *Sobieſlaus* could put himſelf into a poſture of defence; and while that prince retired into *Luſatia*, he made his entrance into *Prague*, and was received with loud acclamations by the people, who were diſguſted at the adminiſtration of his rival. In a little time after his acceſſion, he was ſummoned to attend the emperor at a diet in *Ratisbon*, and afterwards in a circuit round the towns of *Suabia*; and *Sobieſlaus*, taking the advantage of his abſence, aſſembled an army by dint of the friends he ſtill had in *Bohemia*, and marching to the foreſt of *Hercinia*, ſecured the paſſes, in order to prevent *Frederic*'s return. Notwithſtanding this precaution, his rival entered the country by the way of *Ratisbon*, with a conſiderable body of *German* troops, and a battle enſuing, *Sobieſlaus* obtained the victory. *Frederic*, however, having rallied his forces, and being joined by *Conrad*, marquis *de Znain*, in *Moravia*, retrieved his honour, and, in a pitched battle, vanquiſhed *Sobieſlaus* in his turn. d

HAVING thus effectually quelled his rival, who never appeared in the ſequel, he poſſeſſed his dominions in quiet, until he gave umbrage to the *Bohemians*, by raiſing ſtrangers to the magiſtracy of *Prague*, and other unpopular meaſures, which created a ſpirit of diſcontent and diſaffection; in conſequence of which the nobility depoſed him, while he aſſiſted at the diet in *Ratisbon*, and made a proffer of the crown to his old friend *Conrad*, marquis de *Znain*, who was accordingly choſen ſovereign of *Bohemia*. e

*whom he ſupports againſt all oppoſition.*

BUT this dignity he did not long enjoy; for the emperor, being appriſed of theſe proceedings, intereſted the princes in the affair, and the *Bohemians* were put to the ban of the empire. The execution of this ſentence, however, was ſuſpended; becauſe *Conrad*, foreſeeing the tempeſt that was brewing againſt him, relinquiſhed his acquiſition, and the *Bohemians* ſent deputies to deprecate the wrath of the emperor, who commanded them to take the oath of allegiance anew to *Frederic*, as their lawful ſovereign, and he was accordingly reinſtated in his dominions[o]. f

*A difference between the emperor and the pope.*

MEAN while every thing tended to a rupture between the emperor and the pope. The laſt, being diſguſted at the marriage of *Henry*, king of the *Romans*, with *Conſtance* of *Sicily*, as well as at *Frederic*'s ſeizing the dominions of the counteſs *Mathilda*, endeavoured not only to detach the towns of *Lombardy* from the emperor's intereſt, but alſo to foment a differrence between him and the *German* prelates, who had ſome cauſe of diſſatisfaction in his taking the ſpoils of defunct biſhops, and exerciſing ſome other acts of ſeverity againſt the members of the church. The emperor, perceiving his drift, and dreading the conſequence of a quarrel with the clergy, aſſembled a diet at *Gelnhauſen*, where he found means to remove the diſcontents of the eccleſiaſtical princes, and engage them in his intereſt againſt the pope, to whom they wrote a very ſharp remonſtrance, containing a detail of the ill offices his holineſs had done the emperor and empire, in protecting the *Cremoneſe*, his declared g

[m] HUITFEL. Hiſt. Dan. t. i. ad ann. 1187. [n] Id. ibid. [o] BARRE. t. v. p. 378.

a enemies, in ſtirring up the other towns of *Lombardy* againſt his authority, in protracting the ſchiſm in the church of *Triers*, and in levying heavy exactions from the churches of *Germany*. They, therefore, intreated him to alter his conduct, redreſs theſe grievances, and be heartily reconciled to the emperor, whoſe deſigns he had hitherto fought to traverſe and oppoſe.

*URBAN*, far from complying with this advice, was ſo incenſed at their having abandoned his cauſe, that he reſolved to excommunicate the emperor; but he died before the ſentence could be fulminated, and was ſucceeded by *Albert*, cardinal and chancellor of the *Roman* church, who took the name of *Gregory* VIII. and lived but two months after his elevation [p]. This pontiff left his quality of apoſtolical legate to *Philip*, archbiſhop of *Cologne*,

Philip, *archbiſhop of* Cologne, *creates diſturbances in the empire.*

b who exerted all his endeavours to detach the *German* churches from the emperor's party, and fortified the city of *Cologne*, to defend himſelf againſt the effects of his indignation: but his ambition was humbled by *Frederic*, who, in an aſſembly at *Worms*, repreſented the evil conſequences of his conduct in ſuch a light, that a decree was made, prohibiting the importation of proviſion and neceſſaries into *Cologne*; *Folmar* and his adherents, who had taken refuge with the archbiſhop, were put to the ban of the empire; and *Philip* given to underſtand, that troops would be ſent into his territory, in caſe he ſhould continue to protect the refugees.

THIS diſturbance was ſucceeded by a war with *Humbert*, count of *Savoy*, who had always eſpouſed the cauſe of the pope againſt the emperor, and for that reaſon intailed upon himſelf

c the reſentment of *Barbaroſſa*. The ſees of *Turin* and *Geneva* were detached from the county by *Frederic*, who erected them into fiefs of the empire; ſo that the biſhops would no longer hold of *Humbert*, until they were reduced by force of arms: and this compulſion, enforced againſt the imperial decree, excited the indignation of *Frederic*, who, in his laſt paſſage to *Italy*, took, pillaged, and burnt, the caſtle of *Suſa*, together with all the archives it contained. *Henry*, king of the *Romans*, being joined by the *Milaneſe*, who hated the houſe of *Savoy*, entered *Piedmont*, took the caſtle of *Veillani*, and reduced great part of the country; but the progreſs of the war was checked by the death of *Humbert*, whoſe ſon *Thomas* I. was left a minor, unter the tutorage of *Boniface*, marquis of *Montferrat*, who obtained of *Henry*, king of the *Romans*, the revocation of the imperial decree, by which the biſhopric of *Turin*

Frederic *makes war againſt* Humbert, *count of* Savoy

d was erected into a fief of the empire [q]. In conſequence of this revocation, the biſhop ceded the juriſdiction and rights of ſignory in that city to the count of *Savoy*, on condition that this laſt ſhould do homage to the emperor; which homage was afterwards renewed at *Baſil* to the emperor *Philip*, who beſtowed upon *Thomas* the inveſtiture of all the countries, lands, ſignories, which he had inherited from his anceſtors (H).

*FREDERIC* was employed in making regulations for the eſtabliſhment of peace and good order in *Germany*, when the news arrived of *Jeruſalem*'s being taken by the ſoltan *Saladin*; a circumſtance which filled all *Europe* with grief and conſternation: ſo much was the ſpirit of the times influenced by that religious knight-errantry, which ſought to wreſt the *Holy Land* out of the hands of the infidels.

e *CLEMENT* III. who ſucceeded *Gregory* VIII. in the papal chair, no ſooner received theſe melancholy tidings, than he ordered a cruſade to be preached up through all the different countries of Chriſtendom. The emperor, aſſembling a diet at *Mentz*, in order to deliberate with the ſtates of the empire on this unhappy event, took the croſs; and his example was followed by his ſon *Frederic*, duke of *Suabia*, with ſixty-eight of the firſt noblemen in *Germany*, eccleſiaſtics as well as laymen. In conſequence of this engagement, the pope was reconciled with the emperor; the time was fixed for the departure of the cruſards; the rendezvous appointed at *Ratisbon*; and, in order to prevent the inconvenience of too great

A. D. 1188. *The emperor takes the croſs.*

[p] PAGI. ad ann. 1187. [q] SIGON. de Reg. Ital. l. xv.

(H) The quarrels between the biſhops and counts of *Geneva* and *Savoy* were not ſo eaſily terminated: on the contrary, they became every day more and more embroiled, as is generally the caſe with all thoſe diſputes which turn upon rights acquired by intrigue, inſinuation, or force of arms. The biſhops and counts enjoyed, by turns, the favour of the popes and emperors, who iſſued contradictory bulls and decrees occaſionally in behalf of their favourites (1).

The biſhops and counts of *Geneva*, like the other noblemen of *Burgundy*, took advantage of the wars between the emperors and the holy ſee, to render themſelves independent. The counts made the government hereditary in their families, and acted as ſovereign princes: the citizens, by way of balancing this power, intruſted the biſhops, by commiſſion, with the adminiſtration of juſtice, the *police*, and defence of their privileges; but they were ſoon obliged to oppoſe the enterprizes of theſe defenders. The biſhops, as they grew powerful, erected themſelves into temporal lords of the city, by virtue of commiſſions obtained of the emperors, and left nothing to the counts but the juriſdiction of the country that depended upon the town; ſo that they were reſtricted to the ſovereignty of the territory which is now called the *Genevois*; and hence are indifferently denominated counts of *Geneva*, or of the *Genevois*. It was at length agreed, that the biſhops ſhould poſſeſs the juriſdiction and ſignories of the town, with the power of coining money; that the count ſhould not build any fortreſs without the biſhop's conſent; that he ſhould do homage to the biſhop, and appoint a lieutenant at *Geneva* to judge civil cauſes (2).

(1) *Hiſt. General. de Savoy. t.* i. *p.* 246. (2) *Spon. t.* i. *p.* 57.

a multitude, *Frederic* decreed, that no perſon ſhould enliſt himſelf, who could not afford a
to expend three marks of ſilver. Notwithſtanding this prohibition, ſuch was the zeal of the *Germans*, that the adventurers aſſembled to the number of one hundred and fifty thouſand fighting men, well accoutred, and provided with neceſſaries for the expedition.

THE emperor, in order to raiſe money for this occaſion, alienated ſeveral fiefs belonging to his own family, and impoſed a general tax upon the lands, effects, and moveables of thoſe who did not take the croſs; but this exaction, known by the name of the *Saladin Tythe*, not anſwering his purpoſe, he obtained permiſſion of the pope to diſpenſe, for a certain ſum, with the attendance of thoſe who had enliſted themſelves in a hurry, and afterwards repented of the engagement. Mean while he diſpatched *Henry*, count *de Dier*, to ſummon *Saladin* to reſtore the *Holy Land*, and the wood of the true croſs, which he had b
taken from the Chriſtians of the eaſt; or to declare war againſt him, ſhould he refuſe to comply with theſe demands. At the ſame time he ſent ambaſſadors to the ſoltan of *Iconium*, and the emperor of *Conſtantinople*, requiring a free paſſage through their dominions. Dreading the commotions that might be raiſed in his abſence by *Henry the Lion*, and his adherents, he revoked the proſcription of that nobleman, effected a reconciliation between him and his enemy duke *Bernard*, and ſolemnly promiſed that he ſhould be reſtored to the poſſeſſion of all his dominions, provided he would return to *England*, and reſide in that kingdom until the cruſade ſhould be finiſhed. *Henry* aſſented to the propoſal, and retired to the court of his father-in-law, after having bound himſelf, by oath, to deſiſt from all attempts to interrupt the peace of *Germany* during the emperor's abſence [r]. c

*Settles the ſucceſſion of his hereditary dominions.*

THEN he made a progreſs through the principal cities of *Germany*, accompanied by his ſon *Henry*, to whom he intended to leave the government of his dominions; and that he might neglect no ſtep tending to the preſervation and peace of the empire, he regulated his ſucceſſion in ſuch a manner, as that none of his children ſhould have cauſe to complain, or a pretext to diſturb the peace of his country.

*Sets out for* Paleſtine, *and defeats the* Turks.

HE in perſon marched at the head of thirty thouſand men, by the way of *Vienna*, to *Preſburg*, where he was joined by the reſt of his army. Thence he proceeded through *Hungary*, into the dominions of the *Greek* emperor, who, notwithſtanding his profeſſions of friendſhip, had been detached from the intereſts of *Frederic* by *Saladin*'s promiſes and inſinuations, and took all opportunities of haraſſing the cruſards in their march. The emperor, incenſed at d
his perfidious dealing, laid the country under contribution, took and plundred *Philippopolis*, defeated a body of *Greek* troops who attacked him on his march, and compelled *Iſaacus Angelus*, emperor of *Conſtantinople*, to ſue for peace. He wintered at *Adrianople*, croſſed the *Helleſpont* in the ſpring, refreſhed his troops for a few days at *Laodicea*, defeated the *Turks* in ſeveral battles, took and pillaged the city of *Iconium*, and croſſed mount *Taurus*; ſo that all *Aſia Minor* was filled with the terror of his name, and the Chriſtians of that country were elevated with the moſt flattering hope of relief and advantage from his aſſiſtance; but they were diſappointed in their expectation. This great prince, who was an expert ſwimmer, in order

*Is drowned.* A. D. 1190.

to refreſh himſelf from the ſultry heat of ſummer, plunged into the river *Cydnus*, where, unable to cope with the current, he was unfortunately drowned; but his body was retrieved, e
and buried in the city of *Tyre* [s].

HE was ſucceeded in command by his ſon *Frederic*, duke of *Suabia*, who, having performed the laſt offices to his father at *Tyre*, proceeded on his march, and joined the army of the eaſtern Chriſtians, at that time engaged in the ſiege of *Ptolemais*; but, before that city was taken, he died of an infectious diſtemper, which proved fatal to the greateſt part of his army, the wreck of which returned to *Germany*, with the landgrave of *Thuringia*, the duke of *Guelderland*, and the count of *Holſtein*, except a few that remained with *Leopold*, duke of *Auſtria*.

THUS periſhed *Frederic* I. in the ſixty-ninth year of his age, and thirty-eighth of his reign, a prince of an enterpriſing ſpirit, and great capacity, who had the peace of his country always f
at heart, and who ſupported the dignity of the empire with equal courage and reputation (I).

[r] BARRE, tom. v. p. 392. [s] OTHO a Sancto Blaſio. GODF. Monach. Tagen. Deſcript. Exped. Aſiat.

(I) He had no children by his firſt wife *Alix*, daughter of the marquis of *Urſbourg*, from whom he had obtained a divorce; but he had five ſons, and two daughters, by the empreſs *Beatrice*, daughter of *Renaud*, count of *Burgundy*. *Henry* the eldeſt was already elected king of the *Romans*, and appointed his ſucceſſor in the empire: he beſtowed upon *Frederic* the ſecond ſon the duchy of *Suabia*, together with that part of *Bavaria* which he had inherited of his brother *Welf*, together with the county of *Pfullendorf*: to his third ſon *Conrad* he gave the duchy of *Rottemberg*; and to *Otho* that of *Burgundy*, which was the patrimony of the empreſs; and, laſtly, on *Philip* the youngeſt ſon he ſettled all the eſtates and countries which he had recovered and diſengaged from the hands of the eccleſiaſtics. One of his daughters was married to *Conrad*, marquis of *Miſnia*, and the other to *Matthew*, firſt duke of *Lorrain* (1).

(1) *Heiſs, Hiſt. c.* 13.

CHAP.

## CHAP. V.

### *Deducing the History of* Germany *to the Election of* Rodolphus, *Founder of the* Auſtrian *Greatneſs.*

### *HENRY* VI.

a *HENRY* VI. ſurnamed *the Severe*, received almoſt at the ſame time the news of his father's death, and of that of his uncle-in-law *William* king of *Sicily*. After his father's departure for *Paleſtine*, this young prince had found it very difficult to maintain his authority in the empire. *Henry the Lion* duke of *Saxony*, without paying the leaſt regard to the oath he had taken, returned to *Germany*, which was now unfurniſhed of her beſt troops, and entered into an aſſociation with ſome diſcontented noblemen, who engaged to aſſiſt him in recovering his dominions. The chief of theſe aſſociates was *Hartwick* archbiſhop of *Bremen*, who expected the aſſiſtance of *Henry* in his turn, to reduce the *Dillimarſes*, a people who had withdrawn themſelves from the dominion of the ſee of *Bremen*, and claimed the protection of *Waldemar* biſhop of *Sleſwic*. Accordingly *Henry*, as a mark of gratitude

b to *Hartwick*, entered *Holſtein* with a body of troops, furniſhed by the archbiſhop and other noblemen, took *Bardowic* by aſſault, plundered and burnt the town, and carried off the principal inhabitants into captivity. *Lubec*, *Hamburgh*, and other places, intimidated by this example, opened their gates to the conqueror, and the whole country was filled with conſternation. The king of the *Romans* taking the field, in order to ſtop the progreſs of *the Lion*, made an unſucceſsful attempt upon *Brunſwic*, then marching into the territory of *Bremen*, with a view to chaſtiſe *Hartwick*, the author of the war, he ravaged the country, and attacked the army of *the Lion*, who was defeated near *Ferden*[t]. In conſequence of this battle, the archbiſhop fled to *England*, and *Henry*, humbled by his bad ſucceſs, had re-

c courſe to the interceſſion of the archbiſhops of *Mentz* and *Cologne* with the king of the *Romans*, who, in an aſſembly at *Fulde*, granted him peace, on condition that *Brunſwic* ſhould be diſmantled, the city of *Lawenberg* razed to the ground, and *Lubec* equally divided between *Henry* and *Adolphus* count of *Holſtein*; that *the Lion* ſhould give his ſon *Lotharius* as an hoſtage, and that *Henry* his heir, attended by fifty knights, ſhould accompany the king of the *Romans* in his march to *Italy*.

Henry VI. *ſucceeds as emperor, and by right of his wife inherits the kingd.m of* Sicily.

Henry the Lion *again diſturbs the peace of the empire.*

*Is defeated by the king of the* Romans; *and obtains peace.*

AFTER this reconciliation with *Henry* duke of *Saxony*, who pledged his own ſon as hoſtage of his faith, the emperor levied an army, and marched into *Italy*, with his wife *Conſtance*, in order to be crowned by the pope, and afterwards to go and recover the ſucceſſion of *William*, who had died without legitimate iſſue.

d BUT *Tancred*, count of *Leccio*, and natural brother of the empreſs, had been declared king of *Sicily* by the great chancellor, at the head of a party, who dreaded the proſpect of being under the dominion of the emperor. *Henry*, foreſeeing the difficulties that would attend his endeavours to recover the ſucceſſion, reſolved to conciliate the affection of the *Lombard* towns, which would be a bulwark againſt the power and intereſt of his rival. With this view he confirmed to the inhabitants of *Cremona*, *Bergamo*, and *Bologna*, the privilege of coining money, with certain reſtrictions. He ſettled in perpetuity to the churches of *Reggio* and *Padua* the fiefs of which they were poſſeſſed: then croſſing the *Appennines*, he engaged in a treaty with the *Piſans* againſt *Tancred*, and confirmed and augmented all the privileges of *Genoa* by an authentic deed, in conſideration of which, the *Genoeſe* promiſed

e to equip a fleet for his ſervice, to be uſed in the reduction of *Sicily*[u].

SOON after his arrival in *Italy*, pope *Clement* died, and was ſucceeded by *Celeſtin* III. in the eighty-ſixth year of his age, who being conſecrated at *Eaſter*, next day crowned the emperor and his wife. A very remarkable circumſtance happened in the ceremony; for the pope had no ſooner placed the crown upon *Henry*'s head, than he kicked it off again, as a teſtimony of the power inherent in popes, to give and take away the imperial dignity according to the emergency of affairs[x].

*The emperor and empreſs are crowned at* Rome. A. D. 1191.

*HENRY*, after the coronation of himſelf and his empreſs, put the pope in poſſeſſion of the town of *Tuſculum*, according to a promiſe he had made before he received the imperial crown, and this place being delivered to the *Romans*, in conſequence of a treaty ſub-

f ſiſting between them and *Clement* III. they razed it to the foundation, and expelled the inhabitants; but, ſometime after its deſtruction, the town of *Freſcati* was raiſed from its ruins. The emperor, having thus performed his promiſe, purſued his enterprize againſt the

*He inveſts* Naples, *but is obliged to raiſe the ſiege.*

[t] GERARD. STERD. ad ann. 1190. Angl. p. 689. [u] Caſſari. ann. gen. l. iii. ap. MURAT. t. vi. [x] ROG. HOVED. an.

baſtard *Tancred*, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances and prohibition of the pope, who, tho' he conſidered *Tancred* as an uſurper, and wanted to ſee him deprived of the crown of *Sicily*, which he claimed as a fief of the holy ſee, was, nevertheleſs, much more averſe to the emperor's poſſeſſing that kingdom, becauſe ſuch an acceſſion would have rendered him too powerful in *Italy* for the intereſts of the church. *Henry*, however, without paying the leaſt regard to his threats and repreſentations, took almoſt all the towns of *Campania*, *Apulia*, and *Calabria*, inveſted the city of *Naples*, and ſent for the *Genoeſe* fleet to come and form the blockade by ſea; but before their arrival, he was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, in conſequence of a dreadful mortality among his troops, which, among others, ſwept off *Philip* archbiſhop of *Cologne*, *Otho* duke of *Bohemia*, and the greateſt part of the nobility who ſerved in this expedition: as for *Henry* ſon of *the Lion*, he had, before this period, eſcaped by ſtealth in a ſhip from *Oſtia*. The emperor himſelf was ſeized with the diſtemper, of which he recovered with difficulty. In the mean time, the towns which had ſubmitted to his power, ſeeing his army greatly diminiſhed, and himſelf incapable of action, took this opportunity to ſhake off his dominion, and make their peace with *Tancred*, whoſe reſentment they dreaded. In particular the inhabitants of *Salerno*, where the empreſs reſided, delivered that princeſs to *Tancred*, who afterwards reſtored her to the emperor, in conſequence of the pope's interpoſition.

*HENRY*, being no longer in a condition to maintain the war againſt his rival, repaired to *Genoa*, where he entered into new engagements with the inhabitants, concerning the equipment of another fleet for the conqueſt of *Naples*; then he viſited *Placentia*, *Cremona*, and *Breſcia*, on which he beſtowed particular marks of favour[y]. Having ſecured the fidelity of the *Lombard* towns, he paſſed the *Alps*, knighted *Lewis* IV. of *Bavaria* at *Worms*, declared his brother *Conrad* duke of *Suabia*, gave *Tuſcany* to his ſecond brother *Philip*, with the territories of *Spoleto*, and the *Ecrainer*, which he wreſted from the houſe of *Guelph*, and built an houſe at *Coblentz* for the knights of the *Teutonic* order[z] (K).

A. D. 1192.

Now that his wealth and dominions were ſo conſiderably augmented, and his authority eſtabliſhed beyond the reach of all oppoſition and controul, he reſolved to render the empire hereditary in his houſe, and ſecure the crown to his ſon *Frederic*. With this view he aſſembled the princes at *Gelnhauſen* in *Weteravia*, where he explained his intention, which was fulfilled by an irrevocable law, importing, That, in order to avoid thoſe diſturbances which had always attended the election of emperors, the crown ſhould become hereditary, and devolve to heirs male or female.

*He ſettles the affairs of the empire.*

AT his return to *Germany*, he took all the neceſſary precautions for ſettling the peace of the empire, ſo as that it ſhould not be diſturbed in his abſence. He applied himſelf particularly to the adminiſtration of juſtice, and in perſon ſat to hear and determine the com-

[y] SIGON. l. xv. [z] ADLZREITT. ann. Boic. Gent. p. 1. l. xiii. ad ann. 1192.

(K) About this time was eſtabliſhed the *Teutonic* order of knighthood, the occaſion of which we ſhall explain for the reader's ſatisfaction. *Frederic Barbaroſſa*, in his expedition to the *Holy Land*, had been accompanied by a great number of *German* gentlemen volunteers, who wanted to ſignalize themſelves in the cauſe of their religion. Theſe, upon the death of *Frederic*, elected his ſecond ſon *Frederic* duke of *Suabia*, and *Henry* duke of *Brabant*, captain generals of their nation; and under theſe chiefs performed ſuch gallant exploits at the taking of *Acra*, *Jeruſalem*, and other cities, that *Henry* king of *Jeruſalem*, in conſideration of their great ſervices, erected them into an order of knighthood, under the title of *St. George*, becauſe all of them fought on horſeback: however, they afterwards aſſumed the name, and put themſelves under the protection, of the Holy Virgin, who was already patroneſs of an hoſpital erected upon *Mount Zion*, for the benefit of *German* pilgrims. Their ſtatutes were formed on the plan of thoſe belonging to the knights *Templars*, and the knights of *St. John*, ſo as to be adapted for an order that was deſigned to be partly military, partly charitable, that, after having employed one part of their lives in defence of the *Holy Land*, they might devote the remainder to the exerciſe of hoſpitality, in favour of the poor pilgrims of their nation. Thoſe ſtatutes, among other articles, ordained, That the knights ſhould be deſcended of noble families; that they ſhould be called brother knights of the Bleſſed Virgin; that they ſhould take an oath to defend the Chriſtian church in general, and the *Holy Land* in particular; that they ſhould protect the clergy, the widow, the orphan, and the poor, in diſtreſs; that they ſhould ſerve and aſſiſt all thoſe who were qualified for being admitted into their hoſpital, and, in general, conform themſelves to all the rules of the order. The emperor *Henry* not only granted his protection to this order, but alſo employed his good offices with the pope to confirm the inſtitution; accordingly *Celeſtin* peruſed and improved the ſtatutes. He ordained that their habit ſhould be white with a black croſs ſewed upon it; that they ſhould bear the ſame croſs upon a white banner, and wear it on their atchievements and armour; and live according to the rule of *St. Auguſtine*. He likewiſe confirmed to them the gift of that *German* hoſpital upon *Mount Zion*, from whence they derived their title and foundation, and granted to them the ſame privileges which were enjoyed by the knights of *St. John*. In conſequence of the bull which he publiſhed on this ſubject, the king of *Jeruſalem*, and *Frederic* duke of *Suabia*, being empowered by his imperial majeſty, created the firſt knights of this order to the number of forty, of whom *Henry de Walpot* was choſen grand maſter. The emperor beſtowed upon them the right of poſſeſſing in perpetuity all the lands and provinces they ſhould conquer from the Infidels; and *Philip* king of *France* was their great benefactor, and allowed them to bear a flower-de-luce at the four extremities of the croſs (2). Theſe knights, after having been expelled from the *Holy Land*, ſubdued *Pruſſia*, *Pomelia*, and a part of *Pomerania*, which they loſt again, after *Albert* of *Brandenburg* their grand maſter had changed his religion (3).

(2) *Heiſs, Hiſt. liv. xi. c.* 14.

(3) *Not. upon Heiſs. ubi ſup.*

plaints

a plaints of his ſubjects, with ſuch patience and perſeverance, as attracted univerſal admiration. One of his favourites having taken the freedom to tell him that he fatigued himſelf too much with giving audience, which often interfered with his neceſſary meals, he replied, That a private man was at liberty to eat when he would; but that a prince ought never to ſit down till after he had diſcuſſed the affairs of the public [a] (L).

NOTWITHSTANDING this indefatigable care and apparent intregrity, he found it a difficult task to acquit himſelf of the ſuſpicion of being concerned in the murder of *Albert* biſhop of *Liege*. That prelate had been regularly elected by the canons, and confirmed by the pope, in oppoſition to *Lotharius*, who had received the inveſtiture of the biſhopric from the emperor: but he did not long ſurvive his conſecration; for he was murdered at *Rheims*, b by two *German* knights, who had inſinuated themſelves into his confidence, and who were ſaid to have been employed on this occaſion by his competitor, with the conſent and privacy of the emperor. The archbiſhop of *Mentz*, together with the noblemen of the *Rhine* and the *Meuſe*, exaſperated at this barbarous aſſaſſination, entered the territories of the count of *Horſtade*, brother of *Lotharius*, and deſtroyed the country with fire and ſword. The emperor, in order to appeaſe their indignation, and juſtify himſelf at the ſame time, called an aſſembly at *Coblentz*, where he declared himſelf innocent of the crime, ſoothed the malcontents with fair promiſes, took meaſures for puniſhing the aſſaſſins, who eſcaped into *France*, ratified the pope's deciſion againſt *Lotharius*, whom he diveſted of his biſhopric; and thus the ſee of *Liege* becoming vacant, was filled with *Albert de Cuck*, to the ſatisfaction of all c parties [b].

*Henry ſuſpected of being concerned in the murder of* Albert *biſhop of* Liege.

SCARCE was this affair terminated, when a war broke out between *Adolphus* duke of *Holſtein* and *Henry the Lion*, who ſeized and refuſed to reſtore *Holſtein* to the right owner, according to the treaty concluded at *Fulde*. He alledged that the agreement was the effect of compulſion, therefore not obligatory. *Adolphus*, having no reaſon to expect any ſuccours from the emperor at this conjuncture, when his whole endeavours were employed in raiſing an army for the conqueſt of *Sicily*; deſpairing, I ſay, of obtaining aſſiſtance from that quarter, he had recourſe to *Bernard* duke of *Saxony*, and *Otho* marquis of *Brandenburgh*, whoſe intereſt it was to bridle the power of *Henry the Lion*; and being reinforced with a conſiderable body of troops by thoſe noblemen, and his own nephew the count of *Daſtaw*, d he marched into *Holſtein*, where he repulſed the forces of *Henry*, and ſoon reduced the whole country to his obedience: then he made himſelf maſter of *Staden* and *Lubec*, and received from the emperor the inveſtiture of them and ſome other places which he conquered from his adverſary.

*War between* Henry the Lion *and* Rodolphus *count of* Holſtein;

THESE acquiſitions excited the jealouſy of *Bernard* duke of *Saxony*, who pretending that he had the beſt right to thoſe dominions which had formerly belonged to *the Lion*, broke with *Adolphus*, ſeized *Holdeſlois* and ſome other places in that neighbourhood, and even threatened to beſiege *Lubec*, though it was an imperial town. In return for theſe acts of hoſtility *Adolphus* having formed a league with *Benard de Ratzeburg*, and *Guecelen* count *de Swerin*, inveſted *Lawenburg*, belonging to *Bernard*, which being reduced to extremity, the inhabi- e tants deſpairing of ſuccour from their own duke, applied to *Canut* king of *Denmark*, offering to put the city under his protection: but, before the *Daniſh* troops arrived, they were compelled by neceſſity to ſurrender. *Adolphus* afterwards, in conjunction with the biſhops of *Norway*, the nobility of *Pomerania*, and ſeveral princes of *Lower Saxony*, eſpouſed the cauſe of *Waldemar* biſhop of *Sleſwic*, who pretended to the crown of *Denmark*, and actually ſupplied him with a fleet and army, which enabled him to paſs into that country, and aſſume the title of king; but, by the prudent conduct of *Canut*, who kept himſelf on the defenſive, and tired out the confederates with delays and procraſtination, the league was diſſipated, the pretender taken priſoner, and *Adolphus* purſued from *Sleſwic* into his own country, where he was obliged to ſue for peace, which he obtained of *Canut* on very hard condi- f tions [c].

*who afterwards acts againſt* Bernard *duke of* Saxony;

*and eſpouſes the cauſe of a pretender to the crown of* Denmark.

IT was at this period of time that *Richard* king of *England*, on his return from *Paleſtina*, where he had acquired great reputation againſt *Saladin*, was ſhipwrecked on the coaſt of the *Adriatic*, and aſſumed the habit of a pilgrim, that he might ſecurely travel through the dominions of *Leopold* duke of *Auſtria*. But that prince, whom he had affronted at the ſiege of *Ptolemais*, having diſcovered him in ſpite of his diſguiſe, cauſed the unfortunate monarch to be apprehended, loaded with chains, and treated with the utmoſt indignity. The emperor was no ſooner informed of the capture than he demanded the priſoner, whom *Leopold* delivered, upon promiſe of receiving a good ſhare of his ranſom. Notwithſtanding a ſolemn

Richard *king of* England *is arreſted by the duke of* Auſtria;

[a] HEISS. liv. ii. c. 14. [b] BARRE, tom. v. p. 440. [c] Id. ibid.

g

(L) He had a natural fund of eloquence; his perſon was elegant, his port majeſtic, his converſation gay and lively, and his manner obliging.

embaſſy

*and accuſed before the diet of* Haguenau.

embaſſy from *England* to demand the liberty of her prince, who was detained without any a
plauſible pretence, in oppoſition to the dictates of honour, humanity, and the law of na-
tions, he, at the diet of *Haguenau*, preferred ſix articles of accuſation againſt *Richard*, im-
porting, That he had engaged in a league with *Tancred*, in order to maintain that uſurper
in the poſſeſſion of the kingdom of *Sicily*; that by quarrelling with the king of *France* he
had prevented the conqueſt of *Jeruſalem*; that he had invaded the kingdom of *Cyprus*, and
employed the arms of the cruſards in pillaging a chriſtian prince; that he had inſulted the
duke of *Auſtria* during the ſiege of *Ptolemais*; that he had been acceſſary to the death of the
marquis of *Montferrat*, who had been aſſaſſinated in *Paleſtine*; and that he had concluded a
truce with *Saladin*, contrary to the intereſts of Chriſtendom.

THE king of *England* obſerved, that, although he was accountable to no perſon for his b
actions, and did not conſider the members of that aſſembly as his judges, yet as his honour
was concerned, he would wave his royal prerogative, and vindicate his character from theſe
baſe and cruel aſperſions. He affirmed that he had not raiſed *Tancred* to the throne of *Sicily*,
but treated with him as with a king in actual poſſeſſion of the crown; that the jealouſy of
the *French* king was the ſole cauſe that obſtructed the ſucceſs of the cruſards in *Paleſtine*,
and that he ought to bear the blame, as he had retired the firſt from the ſcene of action;
that he had taken the kingdom of *Cyprus* from an uſurper and tyrant, who had provoked
his reſentment; but ſurely he could not be juſtly taxed with having been actuated by am-
bition and avarice on that occaſion, inaſmuch as he had voluntarily ceded that iſland in fa-
vour of *Gui de Luſignan*, to indemnify him for the loſs of *Jeruſalem*: that the duke of *Auſ-* c
*tria*, in loading him with ſhackles, had effectually revenged a ſuppoſed affront, for which
he might have demanded ſatisfaction in a more honourable manner; that his conduct and
character ought to have ſcreened him from the imputation of being acceſſary to the murder
of the marquis of *Montferrat*, who had, in the very article of death, acquitted him of all ſuſ-
picion of that kind, by deſiring his wife to deliver the city of *Tyre* into his hands, a legacy
which he ſurely would not leave to a perſon whom he had ſuſpected as the author or accom-
plice of his own murder; and, laſtly, with reſpect to the intelligence he was ſuppoſed to
have maintained with *Saladin*, he modeſtly reminded them of the ſhare he had in the vic-
tory obtained over that infidel prince. He accuſed the duke of *Burgundy* of having aban-
doned him from a motive of jealouſy, when he was on the eve of beſieging *Jeruſalem*; and d
added, that the truce he had made could not be the effect of any ſordid ſelf-intereſted view,
ſeeing that of all the booty he had taken from the caravan of *Babylon*, he had reſerved no-
thing to himſelf but the ring upon his finger.

A. D. 1193. *The emperor promiſes to ſet* Richard *at liberty, but afterwards inſiſts upon his paying an exorbitant ranſom.*

THIS defence appeared ſo ſatisfactory to the *German* princes, who were moreover affect-
ed with the misfortune of ſo great a king, that they unanimouſly intreated the emperor to
ſet him at liberty; and *Henry* promiſed to comply with their requeſt: but this favourable
diſpoſition was deſtroyed by the intrigues of *Philip* king of *France*, who had fomented diſ-
turbances in *England*, by encouraging *John* to uſurp his brother's crown, and now dreaded
the releaſe of *Richard*, as an effectual obſtacle to his conqueſt of *Normandy*, which he invad-
ed during the captivity of its ſovereign. He therefore ſent the biſhop of *Beauvais* as em- e
baſſador into *Germany*, in order to repreſent to the emperor the great advantages that might
be derived from the captivity of *Richard*; and the inſinuations of that prelate quadrated ſo
exactly with the ſuggeſtions of his own avarice, that he refuſed to enlarge his priſoner with-
out a moſt exorbitant ranſom, amounting to an hundred and fifty thouſand marks of ſilver,
of which one third ſhould be given to *Leopold* duke of *Auſtria*. He moreover inſiſted up-
on *Richard*'s tranſporting the money at his own riſque, upon ſetting at liberty the king of
*Cyprus* and his daughter, and upon beſtowing his niece *Eleanor* of *Bretagne* in marriage upon
the eldeſt ſon of the duke of *Auſtria*. Hard as theſe conditions may ſeem, they were em-
braced by *Richard*, who thought he could not pay too dear for that liberty by which alone
his crown could be ſecured: for by this time his brother *John* had ſet up for himſelf, and f
embroiled the whole kingdom of *England*. He for that reaſon wrote to his mother queen
*Elinor*, deſiring ſhe would take meaſures for raiſing the ranſom without delay, while the
king of *France* offered a very conſiderable ſum to the emperor, provided he would protract
*Richard*'s captivity for another year. *Henry* ſuffered himſelf to be ſwayed by this ſordid
conſideration, and ſacrificing his honour to his intereſt, refuſed to releaſe his priſoner, even
when queen *Elinor* arrived at *Worms*, with one hundred thouſand marks of ſilver, and hoſ-
tages for the reſt of the ranſom. He renounced the agreement he had made, and referred
the matter to the diet at *Spire*, where he ſtill equivocated and ſought to delay the deliverance
of the king of *England* to the diet, which was ſummoned to meet at *Mentz* the following
year; but the *German* princes, aſhamed of his proceedings, freely explained their ſentiments g
on that ſubject, and, as their honour was concerned, inſiſted upon his performing the ar-
ticles of the treaty which they had guarantied. *Henry*, either perſuaded by their reaſons,
or apprehenſive of their reſentment, received the ranſom, and releaſed his priſoner, who ſet

*The king of* England *ſubmits to the hard conditions that are impoſed upon him;*

*and is releaſed by the interceſſion of the* German *princes at the diet at* Spire.



out

a out immediately for the *Low Countries*, at which he arrived without having halted by the road: nor was this expedition unneceſſary; inaſmuch as *Henry*, repenting of what he had done, ſent a body of light horſe in purſuit of *Richard*, whom they in vain endeavoured to apprehend [c].

*LEOPOLD* duke of *Auſtria*, whoſe proportion of the ranſom was ſti'l unpaid, threatened to wreak his vengeance upon the hoſtages. *Richard*, knowing the brutality of his diſpoſition, remitted the money, which was not raiſed without great difficulty, as *England* had been impoveriſhed by the cruſade; and with this laſt payment he ſent his niece *Elinor*, according to the agreement which had been made. But, before ſhe arrived at *Vienna*, *Leopold* died of a fall from his horſe, and in his laſt moments ordered the hoſtages to be releaſed,

*Leopold duke of Auſtria is ſeized with remorſe in his laſt moments.*

b conſcious of the injuſtice he had done, in detaining *Richard*, in oppoſition to all the dictates of equity and honour. His ſon and ſucceſſor *Frederic* ſcrupled at firſt to obey theſe directions; but the lay lords and biſhops of his dominions interpoſing, and giving him to underſtand that the corps of his father ſhould not be buried until the will ſhould be performed, and the pope threatening to excommunicate him ſhould he perſiſt in his obſtinacy, he diſmiſſed the hoſtages, and ſent back the princeſs *Elinor*, who had not been ſo lucky as to captivate his inclinations [d].

THE emperor, who meditated another expedition into *Italy*, and foreſaw future quarrels with the pope, reſolved, if poſſible, to fortify himſelf with the friendſhip of the king of *England*, to whom he forthwith diſpatched an ambaſſador to aſk pardon for the injuries he

c had done that monarch, and promiſe reſtitution of the ſum he had exacted for his ranſom.

THE crown of *Bohemia* becoming vacant by the death of *Conrad de Znaim*, who had ſuceeded *Frederic*, a competition aroſe between *Winceſlaus* and *Primiſlaus*, which laſt compelled his rival to fly for protection to the emperor, who eſpouſed his cauſe, and put *Primiſlaus* to the ban of the empire: but, the other dying before he could be eſtabliſhed in his dominions, the ſtates of *Bohemia* elected *Henry* biſhop of *Prague*, who was confirmed by the emperor in the poſſeſſion of the ducal crown [e].

*The biſhop of* Prague *elected duke of* Bohemia.

THOUGH the troubles of *Bohemia* were thus appeaſed, *Saxony* ſtill continued in agitation. *Henry the Lion* exerted all his endeavours to recover the poſſeſſion of his dominions on the other ſide of the *Elbe*. He formed ſchemes, propoſed alliances, aud tried to intereſt *Canut*

d king of *Denmark* in his cauſe; but, failing in all his projects, he ſought to regain the good graces of the emperor; and for this purpoſe effected a match between his ſon the duke of *Brunſwic* and *Agnes* daughter of *Conrad* count *Palatine*, the emperor's uncle, a marriage, which, inſtead of appeaſing, gave ſuch offence to *Henry*, that he would have ſummoned *Conrad* to the firſt diet to give an account of his conduct, had not ſome noblemen interpoſed in his behalf, and promiſed in his name, that the count ſhould appear at the imperial court. There he acquitted himſelf in ſuch a manner, that the emperor approved of the ſtep he had taken, and received into his favour the duke of *Brunſwic*, with whoſe conduct he had hitherto no great reaſon to be ſatisfied. The *Palatine*, finding him ſo well diſpoſed,

e perſuaded *Henry the Lion* to ſollicit his forgiveneſs; and the emperor, having promiſed to favour him with an interview at *Solfeden*, the old duke ſet out for that place, but was obliged to halt by the way, in conſequence of a dangerous fall from his horſe. The emperor was no ſooner informed of the accident than he went to viſit him without ceremony, embraced him tenderly at meeting, conferred with him ſeveral times in private, and having no longer cauſe to doubt his ſincerity, gratified his ſon with the honours of the *Palatinate*, on condition that he ſhould attend the emperor in his expedition into *Sicily* [f] (M)

Henry the Lion *endeavours to excite freſh troubles.*

*Is reconciled to the emperor.*

*HENRY* having made all the neceſſary preparations, returned to *Italy*; but firſt detached a conſiderable part of his army towards *Naples*, under the command of his lieutenant *Berthold*, in order to make the firſt attempt, in which he obtained ſome advantages. *Venafro*,

f in the territory of *Labour*, was taken and pillaged: *Rocca* and *Sexti* met with the ſame fate; and ſeveral other places ſubmitted without oppoſition. *Tancred*, in order to oppoſe the progreſs of the imperial general, paſſed over from *Sicily* with a numerous army; but, being afraid to hazard a battle, he returned to *Palermo*, in conſequence of the death of his ſon *Roger*, which made ſuch an impreſſion upon his ſpirits, that, in a few days, he himſelf died of grief, and his other ſon *William*, though an infant, was declared king of *Sicily*.

*The emperor returns to* Italy, *and takes poſſeſſion of the* Two Sicilies. A. D. 1194.

THIS ſucceſs, together with the news of *Tancred*'s death, induced him to follow in perſon, with a ſtrong body of troops, after having ſent a deputy to inform the *Piſans* and *Ge-*

[c] RYMER's Act. Pub. t. i. p. 72, & ſeq. ROGER DE HOVED. [d] BARRE, t. v. p. 461. [e] HEISS. Polon. l. vi. ad. ann. 1191. [f] BARRE, t. v. p. 465.

(M) *Henry the Lion* did not long ſurvive this reconciliation: for he died at the age of 70, in the month of *Auguſt* that ſame year, leaving three ſons, namely, *Henry*, who ſucceeded him in the duchy of *Brunſwic*; *Otho*, who remained ſome time as an hoſtage with the emperor; and *William*, who lived in the ſame quality with the duke of *Auſtria* (5).

(5) *Ann. Paderborn. ad. ann.* 1193.



*noeſe*

*noese* of his intention, that they might have their fleets in readiness at his arrival. Matters being thus disposed, he passed the *Alps* and repaired to *Genoa*, where he communicated his instructions to the consul *Albert d'Olivaro*, who commanded the conjoined fleets, with which he sailed towards the coast of *Naples*, while the emperor marched thither by land. In his route he joined *Muscanuwellus*, to whom the command of his first army had devolved at the death of count *Berthold*, who was killed at the siege of *Monte-Rodona*, and thus reinforced, he soon made himself master of *Naples*, *Apulia*, and *Calabria*, after having taken by storm the city of *Palermo*, where he cruelly revenged upon the citizens the insult offered to the person of his empress, whom they had detained prisoner in his first expedition. His severity on this occasion, and the cruelty he exercised in other towns, which had presumed to oppose him, frighted the rest into submission; *Naples* submitted, and, in a very short time, he found himself in peaceable possession of the *Two Sicilies* [g]. a b

*TANCRED*'s widow with her infant son and two daughters, had retired into *Sicily*; but the emperor pursued them so closely, that they were obliged to surrender themselves upon certain terms of accommodation, which he himself proposed. Yet they were no sooner in his power, than, without any regard to his promise, he stripped them of all their effects, ordered the infant to be castrated, and his eyes to be put out, and confined the mother, with her two daughters, in a monastery [h].

*The empress is delivered of a son*; A. D. 1195.

In the midst of these transactions the empress, though near the age of fifty, became pregnant; and, in order to avoid all suspicion of imposture, was delivered in the open field near *Palermo*, in presence of a multitude of people, when she brought forth a prince, who was called *Frederic*, and in the sequel mounted the imperial throne. *Henry* having totally subdued the *Two Sicilies*, and seized the immense treasures which had been amassed by *Tancred* and his predecessors, appointed regents of his own nation, and settled the affairs of his new kingdom; then returned to *Germany*, and carried along with him the principal lords and prelates of the *Two Sicilies*, as pledges of the fidelity of their fellow subjects; but this precaution did not avail, for the *Sicilians*, unable to bear his tyranny and imposition, raised a rebellion, which incensed him to such a degree, that he ordered all the hostages to be deprived of their eye-light. c

But, before he set out for his *German* dominions, he was informed of the death of his brother *Conrad*, duke of *Suabia* and *Alsace*, which affected him nearly; and he bestowed the provincial prefecture of *Suabia*, together with the dutchy of *Tuscany*, and the fiefs of the countess *Mathilda*, which duke *Guelph* had bequeathed to the emperor, upon his surviving brother *Philip*, who married *Irene*, daughter of the *Greek* emperor. On his return to *Germany*, he sent an embassy to *Richard* king of *England*, to propose an alliance against *France*, in consideration of which he would give him an acquittance for the whole ransom, part of which was still unpaid. The king of *England*, in consequence of this intimation, refused to conclude a treaty with the *French* king, although it was at that time pretty far advanced. d

Soon after this transaction the emperor bestowed upon *Henry* duke of *Brunswic* the investiture of the *Palatinate*, vacant by the death of *Conrad*, whose daughter *Henry* had married. e

*who is elected king of the* Romans. A. D. 1196.

His next care was to create his son *Frederic* king of the *Romans*, though he was at that time in his cradle [i]; and the princes of the empire proceeded to the election rather through fear than affection [k].

*He sends troops to the* Holy Land;

Pope *Celestine*, disturbed by the power and disposition of *Henry*, who kept him in eternal disquiet, importuned him in the most pressing manner to succour the Christians in the *Holy Land* with a good number of troops, and put himself at their head, in imitation of the emperor *Frederic* his father. In consequence of these sollicitations he sent thither an army under the conduct of the archbishop of *Mentz*, and the princes of *Austria*, *Brabant*, and *Thuringia* [l], while he himself, with the empress, and his son the king of the *Romans*, repassed into *Sicily*, that he might extinguish the remains of the rebellion, and more conveniently provide for the necessities of the holy war. f

He had in an assembly at *Strasburg* listened to the harangue of the pope's legate with great attention, and publicly protested that he would employ his whole power, and even expose his own life for the accomplishment of such an holy enterprize. With these sentiments he convoked a general diet at *Worms*, where he solemnly declared his resolution, and expatiated upon the subject with such energy of eloquence, that almost all the assembly complied with his exhortations in taking the cross: nay, to such a degree of enthusiasm did this spirit of knight-errantry prevail, that *Margaret* queen-dowager of *Hungary* enlisted herself in the crusade, and actually ended her days in *Palestine* [m].

Such multitude of soldiers from all the provinces of the empire engaged in this expedition, that the emperor divided them into three large armies, one of which, under the com- g

[g] Krantz Sax. l. vii. c. 6. [h] Otho a Sancto Blasio, c. 40. [i] Ann. Boior. Jo. Aventin. l. vii. p. 525. [k] Lunig. Arch. Imp. part gen. Cont. ii. p. 144. [l] Ann. Boior. ibid. [m] Roger ad. ann. 1196.

mand

a mand of *Conrad* archbiſhop of *Mentz*, took its route through *Hungary*, where it was joined by queen *Margaret*; the ſecond, which was aſſembled in *Lower Saxony*, embarked in a fleet furniſhed by the inhabitants of *Lubec*, *Hamburgh*, *Holſtein*, and *Friezland*: and the emperor conducted the third into *Italy*, in order to puniſh the *Norman* noblemen, who had rebelled againſt his regency.

THE revolt began among the people of *Palermo*, who called *Richard* count *d' Acerra* to their aſſiſtance; but all his endeavours miſcarrying, he left them expoſed to the ſeverities of the regents, and retired to *Campania*, where he was apprehended and impriſoned by count *Diapold*, one of the emperor's deputies. The biſhop of *Worms* had been ſent to diſ-
b mantle *Naples* and *Capua*, and this demolition incenſed the inhabitants to ſuch a degree, that they could not conceal their reſentment, but began to concert meaſures for ſhaking off the *German* yoke, which they found inſupportable. Things were in this tickliſh ſituation when the emperor arriving at *Naples* diveſted all the *Neapolitans*, *Calabrians*, and *Sicilians*, of the offices they enjoyed, together with the fiefs they held of the crown, and diſtributed them among his own adherents. He likewiſe extended his ſeverity to the clergy, by diſannulling their exemptions from military ſervice, and, in a word, rendered himſelf ſo odious to his *Italian* ſubjects, that they formed a conſpiracy againſt him, and took up arms at *Palermo*, under the conduct of *Roger* count *de Moliſſa*, who found means to engage almoſt all the towns of *Sicily* in the rebellion. *chaſtiſes the revolters of* Sicily *and* Naples,

*HENRY*, alarmed at this general defection, was fain to enter into a negociation with the
c malecontents, and propoſe a conference at *Capua*, where he promiſed to redreſs all their grievances, and reinſtate them in the poſſeſſion of their eſtates and privileges: but they had no ſooner diſmiſſed their troops in conſequence of this accommodation, than he diſregarded all his promiſes and proteſtations, tranſported part of his army into *Sicily*, apprehended a great number of thoſe who had appeared in arms againſt him, ſome of whom he puniſhed with death, while the reſt were either tranſported to *Germany* or detained in priſon.

THESE cruelties, while they intimidated great part of the *Sicilians*, inſpired a number of enterpriſing men with a kind of deſperate reſentment; in conſequence of which they fortified themſelves in the iſland of *Lipari*, under the command of count *Jordani*, a *Sicilian* nobleman, ſaid to have been privately encouraged by the empreſs *Conſtance*, who could not
d without horror and indignation behold her countrymen ſo unworthily treated, and was moreover piqued at the indifference of the emperor.

*JORDANI* himſelf aſpired at the crown, and had taken his meaſures ſo well, that he might have defied the whole power of *Henry*, had he not been betrayed by one of his own people, who, in conſideration of an extraordinary bribe, introduced the *German* troops into the iſland. *Jordani* was taken, after having made a gallant reſiſtance, and put to death with the moſt cruel tortures: all his adherents were alſo executed [n], and *Henry*, having thus extinguiſhed the embers of rebellion, permitted his army to embark for *Paleſtine*, under the conduct of *Conrad* biſhop of *Wurtzburg*.

THE empreſs thinking this was a favourable conjuncture for recovering the liberties of
e *Sicily*, and proſecuting her deſigns againſt *Henry*, who was now almoſt wholly unfurniſhed with troops, inſtigated *Renaldo* and *Landulphus*, counts of *Aquini*, to promote a general inſurrection. *Landulphus* accordingly harangued the people of the neighbouring towns, aſſembled at *Sora*, who, being inflamed by his diſcourſe, reſolved at once to ſhake off the emperor's yoke, and unanimouſly choſe the count for their general. He forthwith aboliſhed all the taxes which had been impoſed by the emperor, and, his army increaſing every day, he applied the ordinary revenue to the ſubſiſtence of his troops. Mean while the malcontents of *Sicily* levied a ſmall army, and being joined by the inhabitants of *Palermo*, with the empreſs at their head, went and beſieged the emperor in a ſtrong caſtle, to which he had retired on receiving the news of this ſudden revolt. During this ſiege, they ſent circu-
f lar letters to all the towns, inviting them to join for the advantage of the commonweal; and *Henry*, finding himſelf abandoned by the whole kingdom, was obliged to ſue for peace, which was granted, upon conditions not at all favourable to his intereſt. *is beſieged by the empreſs* Conſtance;

WHETHER the empreſs, doubting his ſincerity upon this occaſion, adminiſtered a doſe of poiſon to this vindictive prince, or he really heated himſelf into a fever by violent exerciſe in hunting, certain it is he died, ſoon after the treaty, at *Meſſina*, in the ſeventh year of his reign [o]. *and dies at* Meſſina. A. D. 1197.

*HENRY* was a prince poſſeſſed of many good qualities: he was prudent, penetrating, eloquent, active, and brave, but at the ſame time cruel and perfidious. His warlike exploits ſpread the terror of his name even into the court of *Alexis*, emperor of the *Greeks*, to whom he had actually ſent ambaſſadors to demand tribute, or, in caſe of meeting with a

[n] RICARD. et Germ. Chron. ad ann. 1196. ap. MURAT. t. vii. RELIUS de Reg. Napol. & Sicil. fol. NUCT. Hiſt. Alex. Comm. l. ii. [o] BARRE, l. v. p. 499.

refuſal,

refuſal, to denounce war; for he intended to ſubdue that empire, and extend his own into *Aſia*, from which all the troops he had ſent thither, together with a great number of gentlemen, who had taken arms in the ſame cauſe, returned into *Europe*, upon the news of his death, leaving the *Saracens* in poſſeſſion of the *Holy Land*. a

THIS emperor had made repeated efforts to perpetuate the ſucceſſion in his own family, and for that purpoſe actually obtained a decree of the princes, partly by giving up his right of ſucceſſion to the effects of the clergy in favour of their chapters and churches, and partly by releaſing the nobles from their feudal dependence. Theſe, laſt too he is ſaid to have bribed with the ranſom which he extorted from *Richard* I. of *England*, whom he detained in captivity, on his return from *Paleſtine*, in oppoſition to hoſpitality and good faith.

b

## *PHILIP* and *OTHO*.

Philip *duke of* Suabia *takes upon himſelf the adminiſtration of affairs.*

PHILIP duke of *Suabia* was on the road to *Sicily*, when he was informed of the death of his brother the emperor. In a few days after he was met by a meſſenger, who, by the direction of the late emperor, was diſpatched to him with his regalia and laſt will, in which he had committed to his tuition his ſon *Frederic* king of the *Romans*, together with the adminiſtration during the minority of that young prince. At the ſame time he was informed that the inhabitants of *Sicily* and *Apulia* had mutinied, and maſſacred the greateſt part of the *German* troops; but, judging that his preſence would be more neceſſary in *Germany*, and that he had no time to loſe, he marched thither with his troops, in order to preſerve the empire to his nephew. c

*Pope* Innocent *declares himſelf* Philip's *enemy.*

IN the mean time pope *Innocent*, who had ſucceeded *Celeſtin*, and was a ſworn enemy to the houſe of *Suabia*, thinking this a favourable opportunity for diveſting it of the imperial crown, wrote letters to the archbiſhops of *Triers* and *Cologne*, exhorting them to proceed to the election of a king of the *Romans*, of ſome other family; and omitted nothing which he thought could divide the princes of *Germany*. He even abſolved them from the oath of fidelity they had taken to the late emperor in favour of his ſon; and ſuch was his animoſity againſt the uncle, that he was heard to ſay, "*Philip* ſhould either loſe the empire, or he "himſelf forfeit the papacy." In compliance with the pope's repeated inſtances, the archbiſhops of *Triers* and *Cologne* aſſiſted by the biſhops of *Paderborn* and *Minden*, together with *Henry* count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, *Herman* landgrave of *Thuringia*, the dukes of *Brabant* and *Limbourg*, the count of *Dachbourg*, and other noblemen, met at *Cologne*, and elected *Berthold* duke of *Zeringia* king of the *Romans*: but he, for certain reaſons, refuſing that dignity, they ſubſtituted in his room *Otho* duke of *Saxony*, who was at that time in *Poitou* with his uncle the king of *England*, and ſent the counts of *Dachbourg* and *Leiningen*, to intimate his election, and requeſt him to return to *Germany* without delay [p]. d

Otho *is elected king of the* Romans.

*OTHO* was no ſooner informed of his election, than he ſet out with all expedition; and having aſſembled the chiefs of his party, together with a good number of troops, which were reinforced by thoſe of his brother *Henry* count *Palatine*, made himſelf maſter of *Aix-la Chapelle*, where he was crowned by the archbiſhop of *Cologne*. On the other hand, the archbiſhops of *Mentz*, *Magdeburg*, *Beſançon*, the biſhops of *Munſter*, *Ratisbon*, *Freiſengen*, *Augsburg*, *Conſtance*, *Eichſtet*, *Worms*, *Spire*, *Brixen*, and *Hildeſheim*, the abbots of *Fulde*, *Hirſchfeldt*, and *Kempton*, the king of *Bohemia*, the dukes of *Saxony*, *Bavaria*, *Auſtria*, and *Moravia*, the marquis of *Rothembourg*, and ſeveral other princes, aſſembled at *Arnsberg*, where they confirmed the election of *Frederic*, at that time but three years of age, and choſe his uncle *Philip* king of the *Romans*, that he might exerciſe the office of guardian with more authority [q]. e

Frederic's *election is confirmed by another party, and* Philip *choſen king of the* Romans. A.D. 1198.

THESE two elections divided the empire into two powerful factions, and involved all *Germany* in ruin and deſolation. The pope threw himſelf into the ſcale of *Otho*, ſent a legate to *Cologne* to confirm his election, and excommunicated *Philip* and all his adherents. *Otho*, excluſive of his friends in *Germany*, was ſtrongly ſupported by his uncle *Richard* king of *England*, for which reaſon *Philip* of *France*, the inveterate enemy of that monarch, declared for *Philip*, tho' not before he had made a fruitleſs attempt for himſelf, by the means of *Marguariti*, the blind admiral of *Sicily*, who promiſed to diſpoſe the *Italians* in his favour, but was aſſaſſinated before he could bring his project to bear. f

*PHILIP*, aſſembling a body of troops, marched into *Alſace*, deſtroyed the harveſt, burned *Molſheim*, razed the caſtle of *Haldenburg*, and pillaged all the lands belonging to the biſhop of *Strasbourg* and the count of *Dachbourg*, while *Otho* extended the limits of his dominions along the *Rhine* and the *Moſelle*, until his army being weakened by deſertion, he was obliged to retire. Then *Philip* repaired to *Mentz*, where he was crowned by the archbiſhop of *Tarentum*, who officiated for the archbiſhop of *Mentz*, at that time in *Paleſtine*, g

Philip *is crowned at* Mentz.

[p] MEIB. Apol. pro Otton. IV. tom. iii. p. 116. KRANTZ. l. viii. c. 15. [q] Urſperg. Geſt. Philip.

a and the archbiſhop of *Triers*, who, by this time had quitted the party of *Otho*, aſſiſted at the ceremony [r].

After his coronation, he burned the towns of *Bonn*, *Andernach*, and *Coblentz*, ravaged the whole country, and entering *Lower Saxony*, undertook the ſiege of *Brunſwic*, which, however, he was obliged to raiſe; for *Henry* count *Palatine* no ſooner underſtood that his capital was in danger, than he marched thither with a conſiderable army, and compelled *Philip* to retreat to *Goſlar*, where he ſpent part of the winter. He marched into *Alſace* a ſecond time, where he made himſelf maſter of ſeveral places, and at laſt accommodated matters with the biſhop, who admitted him into *Strasburg*, where he received the oath of allegiance from the inhabitants. About the ſame time he brought over to his party *Primi-*
b *ſlaus* king of *Bohemia*, who had formerly engaged in the intereſts of *Otho* with remarkable (N) ardour, and joined *Herman* landgrave of *Thuringia*, who, though firſt couſin to *Philip*, had taken the field among his enemies. *Herman*'s lands were pillaged, and *Primiſlaus* detached from the intereſts of *Otho*, by a match that was agreed upon between *Philip*'s daughter, ſtill in the cradle, and the infant ſon of the *Bohemian* king.

*Ravages Alſace.* A. D. 1199.

*Wins over the king of* Bohemia;

*HENRY* count *Palatine*, to whoſe young ſon this princeſs had been promiſed in marriage, incenſed at the projected alliance, now, for the firſt time, declared for his brother, and aſſembled a ſtrong body of troops, with which *Otho* made an irruption into *Franconia*, and inveſted the city of *Wirtzburg*, which held for *Philip*. This prince haſtened to the ſuccour of the town, and a deciſive battle muſt have enſued, had not the noblemen of both
c armies interpoſed, and effected an accommodation between *Philip* and *Henry*, who abandoned the cauſe of his brother, in conſideration of receiving the inveſtiture of *Brunſwic*, which he had in vain ſollicited of *Otho* [s].

*and* Henry *count* Palatine. A. D. 1200.

Besides the defection of *Henry*, he forfeited the friendſhip of his uncle *John* king of *England*, who, having ſucceeded his brother *Richard* on the throne, not only refuſed to pay the legacy which that prince bequeathed to *Otho*, but alſo concluded a treaty with the *French* king, by which he expreſsly reſtricted himſelf, from aſſiſting his nephew, directly or indirectly; and this article he religiouſly obſerved, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the pope who wrote to him in favour of *Otho* [t].

Otho *is abandoned by the king of* England.

While *Germany* groaned under all the miſeries of a civil war, the empreſs *Conſtance*
d reſided in *Sicily*, as regent and guardian to her infant ſon, who had been crowned with the conſent of pope *Celeſtin*, which was not, however, obtained, but by means of a large ſum of money; and that pontiff dying, there was a neceſſity for ſending deputies to ſollicit the inveſtiture anew from his ſucceſſor, *Innocent* III. who, taking the advantage of this favourable conjuncture for aggrandizing the ſee of *Rome*, inſiſted upon her relinquiſhing ſome rights which, he pretended, were prejudicial to the church; namely, that of filling up vacant benefices, the legation (O) granted to the kings of *Sicily*, and the right of appeal, to the excluſion of the *Roman* tribunal. But, before theſe conceſſions could be made, *Conſtance* died, leaving the regency of the kingdom, during the minority of her ſon, to pope *Innocent*; ſo that he was enabled to act according to his own inclination [u].

*The empreſs* Conſtance *dies in* Sicily.

e. Having thus executed his deſigns upon *Sicily*, in favour of the holy ſee, he declared for *Otho* in three different bulls iſſued on the ſubject of the ſchiſm of the empire, wrote to the archbiſhops of *Cologne*, *Mentz*, as well as to the different provinces of *Germany*, explaining the motive that induced him to exclude *Philip* and *Frederic* from the imperial throne; and, in a letter to *Otho*, expreſſed himſelf in theſe terms: "By the authority of Almighty God, "devolved to us in the perſon of St. *Peter*, we receive you as king of the *Romans*, and "ordain that you ſhall henceforth be reſpected and obeyed accordingly; and, after the "uſual preliminaries, we will ſolemnly beſtow upon you the imperial crown [x]."

A. D. 1201. *Pope* Innocent III. *declares for* Otho, *and excommunicates* Philip *and all his adherents.*

Notwithstanding this intimation, which was communicated to all the princes of *Germany*, and the arrival of the pope's legates, who, in an aſſembly at *Cologne*, declared him
f king of the *Romans*, and excommunicated *Philip* with all his adherents; I ſay, notwithſtanding theſe endeavours, *Otho*'s party ſenſibly diminiſhed, while that of his rival daily acquired new ſtrength and authority. The noblemen of *Philip*'s party complained of the pope's conduct in a letter to his holineſs, repreſenting, that he had intermeddled in the election of a king of the *Romans*, contrary to the rights of the *German* princes, and the duty of his own

[r] Ann. Trev. tom. ii. p. 96. [s] Barre, tom. v. p. 514. [t] Roger Hoved. p. 799, 802. [u] Geſt. Innocent, n. 21, 22. l. i. p. 410, & ſeq. [x] Coll. Decret. t. ii. ep. 18.

(N) Such was the eagerneſs with which *Primiſlaus* engaged in the intereſt of *Otho*, that he was thence denominated *Ottocarus*, a ſurname which deſcended to many of his ſucceſſors (1)

(O) For an account of this famous legation, ſee the Modern Hiſtory of *Italy*.

(1) *Hiſt. Bohem. l.* xv.

pontificate, which originally depended upon the imperial crown; and the king of *France* a
expoſtulated with him to the ſame purpoſe, earneſtly entreating him to renounce the inte-
reſts of *Otho*, who had always been an inveterate foe to the *French* nation. But the houſe
A. D. 1202. of *Suabia* was ſo much dreaded and deteſted by the popes, whom it had always hampered
in *Italy*, that *Innocent*, far from paying the leaſt regard to theſe ſuggeſtions and intreaties,
redoubled his efforts to detach the princes and prelates from the cauſe of *Philip*; and, in
his anſwer to the *French* king's letter, declared, that *either* Philip *ſhould loſe the empire, or he himſelf forfeit the papacy* [y].

*A new cruſade is ſet on foot.*

ALL theſe diſſentions and diſturbances in *Europe* did not prevent the formation of a new
cruſade, which the pope ordained to be preached up for the recovery of the *Holy Land*.
Thoſe who took the croſs were moſtly *Germans* and *French*, and the firſt exploit they per- b
formed was the reduction of *Zara*, in *Hungary*, which they beſieged at the inſtigation of
*Dandolo*, doge of *Venice*, from whoſe dominion that town had withdrawn itſelf. While they
were employed in this ſiege, they received an embaſſy from king *Philip*, exhorting them to
reſtore his father-in-law *Iſaacus Angelus*, emperor of *Conſtantinople*, who had been dethroned
and deprived of his eye-ſight by his own brother *Alexis*, ſurnamed *Commenus*. They under-
took this enterprize, in conſideration of ſome advantages ſtipulated with young *Alexis*, the
ſon of the dethroned emperor, who had made his eſcape into *Germany*, and was then in their
Conſtantinople *taken.* army; and, taking *Conſtantinople* by aſſault, expelled the uſurper, reſeaſed old blind *Iſaac*,
A. D. 1203. and, at his deſire, ſet his ſon *Alexis* upon the imperial throne [z].

*Troubles in the northern parts of* Germany.

DURING theſe tranſactions in the eaſt, the northern parts of *Germany* and *Denmark* were c
re-involved in troubles by the reſtleſs ambition of *Adolphus*, count of *Holſtein*, who ſtill per-
ſevered in his deſign of reducing *Dithmarſie* to his obedience, notwithſtanding the bad ſuc-
ceſs of his firſt attempt. With this view he invaded that province, which he laid waſte
with fire and ſword, until *Canute*, king of *Denmark*, ſent thither a body of forces under the
command of his brother *Waldemar*, who defeated *Adolphus*, and compelled him to return to
*Hamburg*. And although his affairs aſſumed a better aſpect, in conſequence of the aſſiſt-
ance of *Otho*, margrave of *Brandenburg*, who obtained a victory over the *Daniſh* general,
this ſmile of fortune was not of long duration: the *Danes* reduced the cities of *Lubec* and
*Hamburg*, made *Adolphus* priſoner, conquered all the country that depended upon the em-
pire on the north ſide of the *Elbe*, and annexed *Holſtein* to the crown of *Denmark* [a]. d

A. D. 1204. *The inconſtancy of the* German *princes.*

*GERMANY* was at that time in no condition to oppoſe the *Daniſh* conqueſts: *Philip*
and *Otho*, the two competitors for the empire, were wholly ingroſſed in maintaining the at-
tachment of their friends, who nevertheleſs abandoned and eſpouſed their intereſts by turns,
according to the dictates of caprice, ambition, or reſentment. *John*, archbiſhop of *Triers*,
changed ſides twice in the courſe of one year: *Primiſlaus*, or *Ottocarus*, king of *Bohemia*,
forſook the cauſe of *Philip*, which, on the other hand, was reinforced by the acceſſion of
*Henry*, duke of *Low Lorrain* and *Brabant*, whom he loaded with favours.

THE whole empire was by this time become a ſcene of blood, confuſion, and anarchy.
Every nobleman was at variance with his neighbour. The neareſt relations, renouncing the
ties of conſanguinity, burned the houſes, pillaged the vaſſals, and deſtroyed the families e
of one another. The people were oppreſſed by their lords; the ſoldiers were guilty of the
moſt flagrant outrages; and as neither of the pretenders could pay his troops regularly,
both were obliged to connive at theſe diſorders.

Philip *ravages* Thuringia, *and reduces* Bohemia *into a province.*

*PHILIP*, reſolving to humble the landgrave of *Thuringia*, who, tho' his relation, had
exerted himſelf with remarkable ardour in the cauſe of *Otho*, marched into his country,
which he laid under contribution; beſieged and took the town of *Wizenſee*, and, defeating
the *Bohemians* who came to his aſſiſtance, entered that kingdom, the greateſt part of which
he ſubdued: *Bohemia* was reduced into a province, and *Primiſlaus* forbid to aſſume the title
of king: tho' pope *Innocent* afterwards, at the recommendation of *Otho*, granted him the
royal dignity, and took his kingdom under the protection of the holy ſee.

Otho *is forſaken by his beſt friends.*

THIS chain of ſucceſs intirely changed the face of affairs, ſo that by force, or other- f
wiſe, the principal princes of the oppoſite party were obliged to ſue for peace; and *Philip*
being a prince of a mild diſpoſition, they found their account in having recourſe to his cle-
mency. The landgrave himſelf was the firſt who ſollicited an accommodation, and was ſo
favourably dealt with, that he actually eſpouſed the intereſt of *Philip*. This was a very ſen-
ſible mortification to *Otho*, who was already deſerted by his own brother *Henry* count pa-
latine. Even the archbiſhop of *Cologne*, who had preſided at *Otho*'s election, and crowned
him at *Aix la Chapelle*, now abandoned his cauſe, without any regard to his own oath of al-
legiance, or the excommunication of the pope.

Philip's *ſecond coronation.*

*PHILIP*, elated with ſuch a powerful acceſſion to his party, reſolved, after the example g
of his rival, to confirm his election by a ſecond coronation; which was ſolemnly performed

[y] De Negot. Imp. ep. lxiii. [z] Chron. Sanct. Mart. An. 1203. [a] MEURS. Hiſt. Danor. tii.

at

a at *Aix la Chapelle* by the hands of the archbiſhop of *Cologne* [b], who had ſet the crown on *Otho*'s head, and, who, on account of having thus changed his ſide, was excommunicated by the pope.

His holineſs, however, beſides, the gratification of his enmity againſt the houſe of *Suabia*, found other advantages in fomenting theſe troubles in the empire, during which he conquered, and confirmed to the church of *Rome*, the greateſt part of the patrimony which it at preſent poſſeſſes, and found means to be acknowleged ſovereign lord of thoſe provinces which formerly held of the empire (P).

Mean while *Philip*, without minding his efforts and fulminations, redoubled his attention to the main point; and, reinforcing his army, compelled his antagoniſt to quit the
b field, and ſhut himſelf up in the city of *Cologne*; which being inveſted, and very hard preſſed by the beſiegers, *Otho*, ſeeing no ſafety but in deſpair, reſolved to make a ſally with the flower of his troops, in order either to raiſe the ſiege or accompliſh his eſcape. He accordingly attacked the beſiegers with great fury; but all his followers were either killed or taken priſoners, the new archbiſhop of *Cologn* being among the laſt; and *Otho* himſelf eſcaped into *Saxony* [c], from whence he fled into *England*. Otho *flies into* England. A. D. 1205.

*Philip*, being now undiſputed maſter, continued the ſiege of *Cologne*, which ſurrendered to him by capitulation. There he eſtabliſhed the archbiſhop *Adolphus*, whoſe competitor he kept in cloſe confinement; and having no other powerful enemies to deal with, he now employed himſelf in ſecuring the friends, and ſtrengthening the alliances he had
c made. He beſtowed one daughter in marriage upon *Winceſlaus*, king of *Bohemia*, and matched another with the duke of *Brabant*'s eldeſt ſon; diſtributed large preſents in money and effects; and, being naturally of an affable and engaging temper, behaved in ſuch a manner as gained the hearts of all his ſubjects. He even ſent ambaſſadors to the pope to propoſe an accommodation [d]; which was the more acceptable to his holineſs, as *Philip* yielded to him ſeveral countries which belonged to the empire (Q). Philip *propoſes an accommodation to the pope;*

While this reconciliation was upon the carpet, and each of them ſeemed bent upon outwitting the other, *Philip* underſtanding that the king of *Denmark* had marched with an army to the confines of *Saxony*, in order to aſſiſt *Otho* [e], aſſembled a great body of troops, and repaired in perſon to *Bamberg*, where, while he waited for their junction, he was taken
d with a ſlight indiſpoſition, by which he was confined to his chamber. There being engaged in a converſation with *Conrad*, biſhop of *Spire*, who was his chancellor, and *Henry Cruchs*, count of *Walburg*, he heard the voice of the count palatine *Otho* of *Wittlesbach* at the door, and ordered him to be admitted ino his apartment. That nobleman, after ſome diſcourſe with the emperor, went out, and taking the ſword of his gentleman who ſtood waiting for him at the door, unſheathed it, and re-entered the chamber, where he began to puſh as if for his own amuſement. *Philip* reprimanded him for the freedom of his behaviour, ſaying that was no place for ſuch a diverſion; to which the palatine abruptly replied, 'This is the only place,' and with theſe words ran him through the neck. The chancellor was ſo frighted with this aſſault, that he hid himſelf; but the count of *Walburg* immediately at-
e tacked the aſſaſſin, who wounded him in the cheek, and eſcaped into the biſhop's palace; and while they were engaged, the emperor died by loſs of blood [f]. *is murdered by* Otho *of* Wittleſbach. A. D. 1208.

The palatine was inſtigated by revenge to this deteſtable action. The emperor had promiſed to give him one of his daughters in marriage, and afterwards refuſed to keep that promiſe, becauſe he was declared infamous in full diet by the princes and ſtates of the empire, on account of a murder which he had baſely committed at the court of

[b] Arn. Lub. l. vii. c. 1. God. Mon. Apol. &c. [c] Krantz. l. vii. c. 26. [d] Abb. Uſurp. ex Meib. [e] Arn. Lub. l. vii. c. 14. Krantz Sax. l. vii. c. 28. [f] Iid. ibid.

(P) In the courſe of this year was inſtituted a new military order of *German* knights, to defend the Chriſtans of *Livonia* againſt the infidels. The patent was obtained from *Otho* of *Saxony*, and pope *Innocent* confirmed the inſtitution: the habit of the order was a white mantle; their arms two ſwords, *gules, ſaltere*, with a *mullet* of the ſame colour. They obliged themſelves to aſſiſt frequently at maſs, to lead a ſingle, chaſte, and ſober life, to fight againſt the infidels, and defend the intereſts of the holy ſee. In recompence for their ſervices, the popes granted them a full enjoyment of all they ſhould conquer from the pagans; and they were diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of *Enſiferi*, on account of their long ſwords (1.)

(Q) *Innocent*, not contented with the emperor's yielding the duchy of *Spoleto* and the marquiſate of *Ancona* to the holy ſee, demanded one of *Philip*'s daughters in marriage for his own nephew: and this is the origin of nepotiſm, an eſtabliſhment to which hitherto the popes had not attempted to aſpire (2).

*Heiſs* alleges, that *Philip* gave his daughter *Beatrice* in marriage to *Otho*, in conſequence of an accommodation with that prince; but, as no ſuch accommodation is mentioned by any hiſtorian of credit, we with *Krantz*, *Otte de Sancto Blaſia*, the abbot *Urſperg*, and others, poſtpone the marriage till after *Philip*'s death.

(1) *Barre Hiſt. d'Allemagne, tom.* v. *p.* 554. *Mut. in Meib. Apol. pro Ottone IV.*

(2) *Abb. Urſp. Cuſpinian. in Hiſt. Phil. Suevi. Huldric.*

*Bavaria*

*Bavaria* (R). This untimely fate of *Philip* was regretted by all that knew him; for he was a prince endowed with a great many amiable qualities. His countenance was comely, his perſon elegant, he was prudent, affable, mild, eloquent, liberal, pious, and intrepid. His body was depoſited in the church of *Bamberg*, where it remained a long time, until it was removed and interred at *Spire*, by order of his nephew the emperor *Frederic* II. a

## OTHO IV.

Otho's *election renewed.*

OTHO, being certified of *Philip*'s death, called a diet at *Halberſtadt*, in order to treat about the affairs of the empire, and there his former election was renewed by the princes of *Saxony*, *Thuringia*, and *Miſnia*, and afterwards confirmed by thoſe of *Suabia*, *Bavaria*, and *France*, at another aſſembly held at *Frankfort*. It was here that *Philip*'s daughter, *Beatrice*, appeared in perſon, to demand juſtice upon the murderer of her father, where her tears and ſupplications had ſuch an effect upon the whole aſſembly, that they confiſcated the dominions, and ſet a price upon the head of the aſſaſſin, who was ſoon after ſlain on the banks of the *Danube*, by *Henry de Calat*, who cut off his head and threw it into the river [g]. As for *Beatrice*, ſhe was taken into protection, and afterwards to wife, by *Otho*, with the unanimous conſent of all the princes, after the impediment of conſanguinity had been removed by a diſpenſation obtained from the pope [h]. b

*He marries* Beatrice, *daughter of* Philip;

THIS emperor, in order to acquire the good graces of his holineſs and the clergy, which he knew would greatly contribute to his eſtabliſhment on the throne, not only promiſed to gratify the pope in all his demands, but alſo to aboliſh the cuſtom of ſeizing, for the emperor's uſe, the effects and lands of the deceaſed clergy; but as theſe promiſes were made ſolely with a view to cajole the pope and the biſhops, he afterwards refuſed to perform them, and in the ſequel ſuffered ſeverely for breaking his word. c

*gratifies the pope in all his demands;*

THE new election of *Otho* to the empire no ſooner reached the ears of *Innocent* III. who looked upon him as his friend, and a prince entirely devoted to the holy ſee, than he ſent legates with letters of congratulation, in which he offered to crown him if he would come to *Italy*. Tempted by this propoſal, the emperor convoked a diet at *Haguenau*, in which his journey being reſolved upon, he appointed *Rodolphus*, count *Hapsburg*, prefect, vicar of the empire, and principal avoyer of all *Upper Germany* (S), with power to maintain the imperial rights, inſpect the finances, levy ſubſidies, tributes, tolls, and taxes, and, in a word, to repreſent the perſon of the emperor in his abſence. Having thus provided for the tranquility of the empire, he repaired to *Augsburg*, where he had ordered his troops to aſſemble; and from hence diſpatched the patriarch of *Aquileia* before him, to examine the rights and privileges of the *Italian* towns, to prepoſſeſs the people in his favour, and to remove all difficulties that might retard him in his journey. Next year he ſet out for *Lombardy*, where he was received as ſovereign of the kingdom [i]. From thence he went to hold a diet at *Bologna*, where he exacted large ſubſidies of men and money: and, having formed a powerful army, he repaired to *Rome*, where the pope received him with all the demonſtrations of the moſt perfect friendſhip. There he was crowned by his holineſs, after he had yielded to the church the *Patrimony of St. Peter*, that is, the lands of the counteſs of *Mathilda*, and taken an oath of obedience to the pope [k]. d

A. D. 1209.

*is crowned at* Rome; e

THESE condeſcenſions were owing to the ſame motives which had induced him to make the promiſe we have already mentioned to the *German* biſhops; for, in a little time, it plainly appeared he had only amuſed them for his own ends; and fortune ſoon favoured him with an opportunity of declaring himſelf. A number of his ſoldiers, who were encamped under the walls of *Rome*, having entered the city one day for their amuſement, a quarrel happened between them and the inhabitants, which roſe to ſuch a degree, that the citizens, taking arms, killed upwards of a thouſand imperialiſts upon the ſpot.

THE emperor complained to the pope of this outrage, for which he did not receive the ſatisfaction he expected; and tho' he did not think proper to ſhew his reſentment at that time, he afterwards manifeſted his diſpleaſure, as well for that inſult, as for the injuſtice of the pope, in taking advantage of the troubles of *Germany* to ſeize *Apulia*, together with f

[g] MIEB. Apol. &c. p. 127. MEIB. Apol. CAR. SIG. l. xvi. [h] KRANTZ, l. vii. c. 31. [i] MUT. Chron. l. xix. OTT. Sanc. ex [k] HULD. MUT. l. xix.

(R) This account of the aſſaſſin's motives we take from *Krantz* and *Arnoldus Lubicenſis*; but in the *Chronica Auguſtenſis*, publiſhed by *Freherus*, we are told, that *Philip*, before he aſcended the throne, had promiſed to marry the daughter of *Otho*, count *Wittlesbach*, whom he afterwards rejected; and that the father was prompted to revenge by this affront.

(S) An avoyer was originally the advocate of a monaſtery, and in times of confuſion the avoyers became captains and protectors of convents, to whom the ſaid convents gave lands in conſideration of their protection; but, when theſe monaſteries erected themſelves into principalities, the avoyers became noblemen (1).

(1) *Annalec de l'Emp. t.* i. *p.* 113.

the

a the marquiſate of *Ancona* and the county of *Spoleto*, after having expelled the officers of the emperor. Mean while he departed from *Rome*, apparently in friendſhip with the pope; and, arriving in *Lombardy*, made *Milan* his head-quarters, and cantoned his troops in the neighbourhood, where they paſſed the winter. In the ſpring he took the field again, reſolved to re-eſtabliſh, by force, his right and authority in thoſe countries, of which the empire had been deprived. After ſome victories, he retrieved all that had been withdrawn from his poſſeſſion, and made hoſtile incurſions into *Apulia*, ravaging the dominions of *Frederic* king of the *Two Sicilies*, who was under the protection of the holy ſee [l].

*winters in* Lombardy. A. D. 1210.

From theſe conqueſts, however, the emperor's ruin may be dated; for *Innocent* III. enraged at his proceedings, thundered out an excommunication againſt him, which he or-

b dered *Sigefrid*, archbiſhop of *Mentz*, to publiſh through the whole empire. This prelate being likewiſe incenſed againſt *Otho*, for having broken the promiſe he had made touching the eſtates of deceaſed eccleſiaſtics, not only proclaimed him through all *Germany* as a perſon excommunicated and proſcribed, releaſing and diſcharging all the princes, ſtates, and cities, from their oath of allegiance, but alſo convoked a diet, in order to proceed to a new election. At this aſſembly, which was held at *Bamberg*, were preſent the king of *Bohemia*, the dukes of *Bavaria* and *Auſtria*, *Herman*, landgrave of *Thuringia*, and other princes, eccleſiaſtic as well as ſecular; they elected *Frederic* duke of *Suabia* and king of *Sicily*, at that time about ſeventeen years of age, who, in his infancy, had been proclaimed king of the *Ro-*

c *mans*, at the deſire of *Henry* VI. his father [m]. They at the ſame time intimated this election to the pope, and ſent ambaſſadors into *Sicily* to acquaint *Frederic* with his elevation.

*is excommunicated, and dethroned in favour of* Frederic, *ſon of* Henry VI. A. D. 1211.

*Otho* alarmed at this revolution, returned to *Germany* without delay, and called a diet at *Nuremberg*, where, among others, duke *Henry* count palatine of the *Rhine*, his own brother, with the dukes of *Brabant* and *Lorrain*, were preſent. The members of this aſſembly, after mature deliberation upon the reaſons that *Otho* gave for recovering the eſtates and countries of *Italy*, which the pope had unjuſtly poſſeſſed himſelf of, to the prejudice of the empire, approved of what he had done, and exhorted him to denounce war againſt thoſe princes, who, out of complaiſance to the pope, had, contrary to all reaſon, proceeded to a new election.

*returns to* Germany, *and makes war upon the revolters;*

d The emperor, by the aſſiſtance of theſe princes, finding himſelf in a condition to make head againſt the rebels, began with depriving the king of *Bohemia* of his realm, which he beſtowed upon his ſon, who had complained to the diet, that the king his father had diſowned him as well as his mother, who was born marchioneſs of *Miſnia*, and that he had married the king of *Hungary*'s daughter. The emperor at the ſame time declared war againſt *Herman*, marquis of *Thuringia*, after having put him under the ban of the empire, while he ordered *Henry* count palatine, *Henry* duke of *Brabant*, and ſome other princes, to attack and deſtroy the archbiſhopric of *Mentz*; ſo that the archbiſhop was obliged to fly for refuge into another country [n].

e After this ſucceſs, the emperor never doubted but he ſhould be able to re-eſtabliſh himſelf on the throne; but, that he might the ſooner accompliſh his purpoſe, he thought it was neceſſary to weaken the ſupport of which the pope and his partizans in the empire availed themſelves. This was *Philip Auguſtus*, king of *France*, againſt whom he entertained another grudge on account of a wager which he had formerly made with that prince, who refuſed to ſtand to his agreement (T). This he looked upon to be a favourable opportunity, becauſe *Philip* was at war with his uncle, the king of *England*. Theſe two princes, therefore, joined their forces, which were augmented by all the allies they could engage in the expedition; ſo that the confederate army amounted to one hundred and fifty thouſand men. They were met by the *French* near the village of *Bouvines*, and a bloody battle enſued, in which *Otho*, and his allies were totally defeated, and he himſelf with difficulty eſ-

*joins the king of* England *againſt* France, *and is defeated.* A. D. 1213.

[l] Meib. Apol. &c. p. 141. [m] Heiss, l. ii. c. 16. [n] Godef. Monach ad ann. 1211.

(T) When *Otho* was firſt elected king of the *Romans*, his uncle *Richard* of *England*, preſented him with a very conſiderable ſum of money, and adviſed him to apply to the king of *France*, in his return to *Germany*. In conſequence of this advice, he waited upon *Philip Auguſtus* at *Poitiers*, in order to ſollicit his aſſiſtance; but that prince, who ſecretly favoured *Philip*, excuſed himſelf, and would even have diſſuaded him from his enterprize, by magnifying the riſque he would run from the power of his competitor. "If (ſaid he) you will now give me "the choice of one of your ſumpter-horſes with its "load, I will engage to give you *Paris*, *Orleans*, or "*Etampes*, when-ever you ſhall be raiſed to the imperial throne." *Otho* took him at his word, and *Philip* actually choſe the beſt of fifty horſes, which were loaded with one hundred and fifty thouſand marks of gold he had received from his uncle. After the death of *Philip* the emperor, *Otho* ſucceeded to the throne, by the unanimous conſent of the princes: he ſent an embaſſy to the king of *France*, to notify his election, and remind him of the wager which he had loſt. *Philip* refuſed to pay the forfeit, on pretence that *Otho* had not won the crown from his competitor, which was the condition of the wager; and, being affronted at the demand, gave him to underſtand that, if he was diſpoſed to conteſt the matter, he ſhould find him ready for the diſpute (1).

(1) *Heiſs, liv.* ii. c. xvi.

caped o (U). He attempted to retreat into *Germany*, but was prevented by young *Frederic*, who, with a powerful army, had marched into the empire, and been every where received with open arms. a

He neglected no opportunity to conciliate the affection of the *Germans*, as well as to reward those who had espoused his cause from the beginning of the contest. To some he gave pecuniary gratifications, and others were rewarded with honourable and lucrative privileges. He instituted an order of knighthood, called the *Bear*, in the abbey of *St. Gall*, in honour of the abbot and nobility of that country, who had been the first to receive, and furnish him with troops against *Otho*. He remunerated the zeal and services of *William* V. prince of *Orange*, with the kingdom of *Arles*, which he bestowed upon him, on condition that he and his successors should do homage for it to the emperor; and he conferred upon the bishop of *Strasbourg* the whole temporal jurisdiction of that city. *Colmar*, *Schelestadt*, and other towns of *Alsace*, were, by his direction augmented, embellished, and *Newbourg* on the *Rhine* declared a free city. b

A. D. 1214. Frederic *conciliates the affections of the* Germans.

Having established his authority in *Upper Germany*, he passed the *Moselle*, in order to reduce the towns by which he was not as yet acknowleged; but he met with no opposition in his march. *Triers*, and other cities which had been attached to *Otho*, submitted, and took the oath of allegiance to *Frederic*; and the dukes of *Brabant* and *Lombardy* not only sued for peace, which they obtained, but also undertook that the whole country of *Juliers* and *Westphalia* should acknowlege his title p. Even *Waldemar*, king of *Denmark*, sent ambassadors to congratulate him upon his election, and sollicit his friendship; in consideration of which, however, he stipulated that the towns of *Lubec* and *Hamburg*, together with *Holstein*, and the other conquests he had made upon the empire, should be united to the crown. c

*Concludes a treaty of peace with* Waldemar *king of* Denmark.

An alliance with a powerful monarch was of such importance to *Frederic*, in his present precarious situation, that he complied with the demands of the *Danish* king, in a solemn treaty, which was generally blamed as injurious to the honour and interest of the empire. *Otho*, his brother the count palatine, *Albert* margrave of *Brandenbourg*, and *Waldemar* bishop of *Bremen*, not only exclaimed against the articles of this alliance, but, seizing the first pretence of a rupture with *Denmark*, assembled a body of troops, with which they marched directly to *Hambourg*, and took possession of the town without opposition. Nevertheless, they did not long enjoy this conquest; for this city was soon wrested from them by *Frederic*, and afterwards re-taken by *Waldemar* king of *Denmark*, who ravaged the lands of the *Palatine*, and in the sequel concluded a treaty of peace with the confederates, in which the emperor was not included q. d

Otho *retires to* Brunswick, *where he dies.*

*OTHO*, seeing himself thus abandoned by all the princes of *Germany*, and altogether without resource, retired to *Brunswick*, where he lived four years as a private man, dedicating his time to the duties of religion, and then died after a reign fruitful of trouble and misfortune.

## *FREDERIC* II.

He was succeeded by *Frederic* II. who, being but nine months old at his father's death, had, by his mother *Constance*, been carefully educated and instructed in the knowlege of every thing that could contribute to make him a great and virtuous prince. He had learned the *Greek*, *Latin*, *German*, *French*, and *Turkish* languages, and studied above all things, to follow the footsteps of his grandfather *Frederic* I. whose name he bore, and whose conduct he proposed as a model for his own. Like him, he laid it down for a maxim, that nothing ought to be deferred till to-morrow which can be executed to-day; imagining, that nothing was done in an affair, while any part of it remained undone. He was, by birth, a prince of great power; for, besides the vast dominions he inherited from his father and mother, he, by the death of his uncle *Philip*, succeeded to the duchies of *Suabia* and *Rottenburg*, together with other dominions, which that prince had acquired. He was confirmed in the imperial dignity by the princes assembled at *Mentz*; from whom he received the oath of allegiance, as well as from the imperial cities of the *Rhine*, and was afterwards crowned at *Aix la Chapelle* with great magnificence; when, as an acknowlegement of the favours which God had hitherto bestowed upon him, he added to the other solemnities of his coronation, a vow to go in person to the *Holy Land* r. e f

Frederic *is crowned at* Aix la Chapelle. A. D. 1215.

o Krantz, Sax. l. vii. c. 35. p Archiv. de Sabern. l. x. Troph. du Brabant. q Huitf. Hist. Dan. t. ii. r Barr. t. v. p. 624.

(U) *Heiss* gives an account of two battles, but he must be mistaken; for the *French* authors mention but one, and surely they would not let slip any opportunity of magnifying the glory of their king: besides, the *German* writers describe no other than that which was fought at *Bouvines*, near *Tournay*, where *Philip*, bishop of *Beauvais*, used a large club instead of a sword, that he might kill without shedding blood; where the king of *France* was dismounted, trampled upon by horses, and wounded in the throat; and where *Otho*'s chariot was shattered in pieces, and the imperial standard taken (1).

(1) *Mezer. Abreg. Chron. t.* i. *p.* 411.

After

a AFTER the ceremony of his coronation, *Henry* count palatine of the *Rhine* was, with the unanimous conſent of the whole aſſembly, put to the ban of the empire, and his dignity beſtowed upon *Lewis* duke of *Bavaria*: a decree which was ſtrengthened by a match projected and executed between *Henry*'s daughter and the duke of *Bavaria*'s eldeſt ſon. When the aſſembly broke up, *Frederic* repaired to *Cologne*, where he was received amidſt the acclamations of the people, and made divers ſalutary laws touching the regulation of the police, and the reformation of abuſes which had crept into the management of taxes and public money.

WHILE he was thus employed in eſtabliſhing the tranquility of the empire, pope *Innocent* died, and was ſucceeded by *Honorius* III. who expreſſed great eagerneſs in forwarding the cruſade, which he ordered to be preached up through all the provinces of *Germany*, b *Sweden*, *Denmark*, *Bohemia*, and *Hungary*, and his endeavours were crowned with extraordinary ſucceſs; for although the emperor excuſed himſelf from the performance of his vow, until he ſhould have regulated the affairs of *Italy*, and received the imperial crown from the hands of his holineſs; and almoſt all the other monarchs of *Europe* were detained at home by domeſtic diſturbances; nevertheleſs an infinite number of private noblemen and their vaſſals took the croſs, under the dukes of *Auſtria*, *Bavaria*, the archbiſhop of *Mentz*, and the biſhops of *Munſter* and *Utrecht*, and *Andrew* II. king of *Hungary*, was, by the pope, declared generaliſſimo of the cruſade. While theſe cruſards of *Upper Germany* marched towards *Italy*, in order to embark at *Venice*, *Genoa*, and *Meſſina*, a fleet of three hundred ſail c was equipped in the ports of *Lower Saxony*, for the tranſportation of the adventurers of *Weſtphalia*, *Saxony*, and the territory of *Cologne*; and theſe joining the ſquadron of the *Frieſlanders*, *Flemings*, and ſubjects of *Brabant*, commanded by *William* count of *Holland*, *George* count of *Weerden*, and *Adolphus* count *de Berg*, ſet ſail for the *Straits of Gibraltar*, in their voyage to *Ptolemais* [s]. But being driven by a tempeſt into the road of *Lisbon*, they were prevailed upon to aſſiſt *Alphonſo* king of *Portugal* againſt the *Moors*, whom they defeated, and afterwards took the city of *Alcazar*, which was in poſſeſſion of the infidels. In the mean time *Andrew*, with his army, having joined the king of *Cyprus*, landed at *Acra*, where he was joyfully received by *John de Brienne*, king of *Jeruſalem*, and the knights of the temple, hoſpital, and *Teutonic* order. Their forces being refreſhed and reviewed, they marched againſt the *Saracens*, into the great valley of *Jeſrael*, with the wood of the true croſs carried before d them: but *Coradin*, ſon of *Saphadin*, ſoltan of *Egypt* and *Babylon*, who commanded the enemy, finding himſelf unable to cope with the cruſards, retired, and they undertook the ſiege of *Thabor*, in which they miſcarried. Then they ſeparated into four bodies for the conveniency of ſubſiſting: *Luſignan* king of *Cyprus* died at *Tripoli* in the flower of his age: and *Andrew* king of *Hungary* returned to his own dominions, in order to appeaſe ſome troubles which had been excited in his abſence. Yet he was not ſuffered to depart, until he had ſolemnly ſworn, that he would not invade the dominions of *Auſtria* while the duke remained in *Paleſtine*, and agreed to leave one half of his troops for the proſecution of the war againſt the infidels.

A. D. 1216. *Another cruſade.*

A. D. 1217.

*Progreſs of the cruſards in the eaſt.* A. D. 1218.

IMMEDIATELY after his departure, the fleet from the coaſts of *Spain* arriving at *Ptolemais*, e it was reſolved in a council of war to beſiege *Damietta* in *Egypt*, which was accordingly inveſted by ſea and land, and taken after a ſiege of eighteen months; during which *Saphadin* died, his ſon *Meledin*, who came to the relief of the beſieged, was defeated, the duke of *Auſtria*, with a great number of cruſards, returned to *Germany*, and a new reinforcement arrived, under the conduct of the cardinal *D'Albano*, legate of the holy ſee [t].

DURING theſe tranſactions in the eaſt, *Frederic* continued ſtill unſettled on the imperial throne; for tho' he was by this time acknowleged by almoſt all the princes and ſtates of *Germany*, and had purchaſed the friendſhip of the pope, by promiſing, in a ſolemn obliga- f tion, to emancipate his ſon *Henry*, and beſtow upon him the kingdom of *Sicily*, to be held as a fief of the church of *Rome*, as ſoon as he himſelf ſhould be crowned emperor; notwithſtanding theſe precautions, the cauſe of *Otho* was ſtill maintained in *Italy*, eſpecially by the inhabitants of *Milan* and *Placentia*, who declared war and committed hoſtilities, againſt the adherents of *Frederic*, in ſpite of the menaces and excommunication which were threatened againſt them by the pope; until the cauſe of their diſſenſion was removed by the death of *Otho*, who expired in the tenth year of his reign, after having, in his laſt moments been abſolved of the cenſures of the church [u].

*The cities of* Milan *and* Placentia *ſtill hold out againſt* Frederic.

*FREDERIC* having reduced to his obedience the provinces of *Lower Saxony* and the towns upon the *Elbe*, and exerted his beſt endeavours for repairing the damage which a long g civil war had done to the empire, convoked a diet at *Goſlar*, where he received the imperial ornaments from *Henry* count palatine, to whom they had been delivered by his brother *Otho*; and that prince, having taken the oath of allegiance, was allowed to enjoy his bro-

*Diet at* Goſlar. A. D. 1219.

[s] Ann. Paderborn. ad an. 1217. [t] JAC. DE VITRI. [u] Apolog. Othon. IV. apud MEIB. t. iii.

ther's

ther's inheritance, gratified with a ſum of money, and admitted to the emperor's friendſhip. During *Frederic*'s reſidence at *Goſlar*, which he favoured with divers immunities, *Thibaut* duke of *Lorrain* made himſelf maſter of the citadel of *Roſheim*, belonging to the emperor, and ravaged the country of *Alſace*: but he did not commit theſe hoſtilities with impunity; for *Frederic*, marching againſt him with great expedition, cooped him up in the town of *Amance*, where he was taken priſoner, and afterwards releaſed by the interceſſion of the biſhop of *Metz* [x]. a

THIS diſturbance being quelled, he ſummoned a diet at *Frankfort*, where, after having ſettled the moſt urgent affairs of the empire, he ſignified his intention of going to be crowned at *Rome*, and deſired that the princes and ſtates would, according to ancient cuſtom, make ſuitable proviſion for his equipage.

THE pope preſſed him to ſet out immediately upon this expedition, that he might no longer have a pretext for delaying the performance of his vow touching the *Holy Land*; but before his own departure, he ſent his chancellor *Conrad*, biſhop of *Spire*, with circular letters, addreſſed to all the towns in *Italy*, commanding them to receive and obey that prelate as the miniſter and repreſentative of his imperial majeſty, and to take the oath of allegiance in his preſence. Then *Frederic* committed the education of his ſon *Henry* to *Wergerus*, count *de Boland*, and appointed a council to manage the affairs of the empire in his abſence. Finally, as a mark of his regard for the *German* prelates, he iſſued an imperial decree, importing, that the effects of deceaſed biſhops ſhould devolve to their ſucceſſors; that, for the future, no emperor ſhould make any alteration in the taxes and coin; that no place of the empire ſhould afford an aſylum to fugitive ſerfs belonging to churches or biſhops; that no perſon ſhould poſſeſs the fief of an archbiſhop after his death, without the conſent of his ſucceſſor; that no man ſhould pretend to oppoſe the effects of excommunication by force of arms; that no perſon, not even the lord avoyer, ſhould build towns, caſtles, fortreſſes, or other edifices, upon ground belonging to the church, without the conſent of the titular biſhop; that no officer of the empire ſhould try cauſes, impoſe taxes, or levy duties, upon an epiſcopal town, except during eight days preceding and ſucceeding a diet convoked in that place; and laſtly, in caſe that the emperor ſhould ſtop or reſide *incognito* in any of the epiſcopal towns, he ſhould not there perform any act of juriſdiction [y]. b c

HE in the ſame aſſembly granted and confirmed ſome privileges to ſeveral ſecular princes, in particular to the duke of *Brabant*, who, by letters patent, was declared tutor of all the minors who held fiefs of the empire; and he effected an accommodation between the archbiſhop of *Cologn* and the count of *Luxemburg*, who had quarrelled and taken arms about the ſucceſſion of *Adolphus*, count *de Bergue*, who died at the ſiege of *Damietta* in *Egypt*. d

THE troubles of *Germany* being appeaſed, and the neceſſary preparations made for his journey, *Frederic* croſſed the *Alps* with a good army, halted at *Verona*, was refuſed admittance into *Milan*, an inſult which he reſolved to revenge in due ſeaſon: then he repaired to *Modena*, viſited *Bologna*, advanced to the frontiers of *Sicily*, where he was joined by the troops that were under the command of his viceroy *Thomas d'Aquini*. At length, accompanied by the deputies of almoſt all the *Italian* ſtates, he arrived at *Rome*, where he was crowned by pope *Honorius* III. and upon that occaſion he gave away large ſums of money, which, though beſtowed through pure liberality, the popes have ſince endeavoured to convert into an obligation, by way of acknowlegement for receiving the crown [z] (X). After his coronation, he received the oath of fidelity and homage from the ſtates and cities of *Italy*; then declared *Henry* his ſon king of the *Romans*, having already at *Frankfort* obtained the conſent of the princes of the empire, appointed his tutors, and betrothed to him *Margaret*, daughter of *Leopold* of *Auſtria* [a]; afterwards, having every where eſtabliſhed peace and tranquility, by means of the princes of the empire who accompanied him, he retired to his kingdom of *Naples*. There he found that *Thomas* and *Richard*, the two brothers of the late pope *Innocent*, with their adherents, had excited an inſurrection, and made themſelves maſters of one part of that realm: however, he ſoon took vengeance on the authors of the ſedition. *Richard* was apprehended, condemned, and ſent into exile in the kingdom of *Sicily*; count *Thomas*, and ſome other rebels, retired to *Rome*, where pope *Honorius* received them into his protection. e f

A. D. 1220. Frederic *crowned at* Rome *by* Honorius III.

*FREDERIC*, however, at the ſollicitation of the pope, ſent a powerful army, both by ſea and land, to the cruſards in the eaſt, who were divided by a diſpute between *John de*

[x] Hiſt. de Lorr. l. xxiii. [y] BARRE, tom. v. p. 645. GOB. PERS. Coſm. æt. vi. c. 64. [z] BARRE, t. v. p. 650. [a] Ann. Boior. lib. vii. p. 530.

(X) *Frederic* at his coronation, which was performed in the church of St. *Peter*, took an oath to defend all the rights and poſſeſſions of the *Roman* ſee, including the fiefs of the counteſs *Mathilda*, and the county of *Fonde*. He likewiſe promiſed, upon oath, to paſs into *Aſia*, with an army, at any time the pope ſhould appoint (1).

(1) *Sigon. de Reg. Ital. l.* xvii.

*Brienne*,

4

a *Brienne*, king of *Jeruſalem*, and cardinal *Albano*, legate of the holy ſee, which laſt inſiſted upon having the command of the army. This reinforcement happily arrived at *Damietta*, under the conduct of the duke of *Bavaria*, and was followed by a fleet of gallies, who fell in with a fleet of twelve *Saracens*, and took or deſtroyed the whole number. At the ſame time the emperor marched with a body of troops into *Sicily*, againſt the *Saracens* of that kingdom, who had excited diſorders and ravaged the country. At his approach they retired to inacceſſible mountains, where they were beſieged in ſuch a manner, that they could receive no ſupplies of proviſions, conſequently ſurrendered at diſcretion, and were either expelled from the kingdom, or tranſported to other ſettlements in *Apulia* [b].

THE troubles of *Italy* being appeaſed, the emperor, by letter, directed the archbiſhop of
b *Cologn* to crown his ſon *Henry* at *Aix-la-Chapelle*; and the ceremony was performed in preſence of a great number of noblemen, eccleſiaſtic and ſecular, who afterwards held a diet, in which divers laws and regulations were made, touching fiefs and the adminiſtration of juſtice in feudal courts. A. D. 1223.

FROM *Aix-la-Chapelle Henry* repaired to *Augsburg*, where he confirmed the privileges of the town of *Strasburg*; then he viſited *Haguenau*, where he regulated the polity of *Alſace*, and bridled the oppreſſive power which the nobility exerted over their vaſſals. He afterwards, by his father's direction, ſent commiſſaries to *Vaucouleurs*, to renew the treaty of alliance with *Lewis* VIII. the new *French* king, who had ſucceeded his father *Philip Auguſtus*, lately deceaſed: A treaty by which the emperor promiſed never to engage in any contede-
c racy with the king of *England*, to the prejudice of *France* (Y).

ABOUT this period, *Waldemar* II. king of *Denmark*, and his eldeſt ſon, were ſurpriſed by *Henry*, count *de Schwerin*, who, on pretence of ſome injury he had received from his *Daniſh* majeſty, apprehended him and the prince, while engaged in the diverſion of hunting, and committed them priſoners to the fortreſs of *Daneberg*. Waldemar II. *king of* Denmark *is made priſoner by the count* de Schwerin;

THE *Daniſh* ſenators were no ſooner informed of the king's captivity, than they addreſſed themſelves to the emperor and the pope, whom they ſollicited to procure the releaſe of their ſovereign. In conſequence of this application, a diet was convened at *Northauſen*, and the princes agreed that *Waldemar* ſhould be ſet at liberty, provided that he would do homage to the emperor for his kingdom: on the other hand, the pope pretended that *Denmark* was
d a fief of the holy ſee, and inſiſted upon *Waldemar*'s owning this dependence, before he would take any ſteps in his favour.

THE captive prince rejected, with diſdain, ſuch terms of enlargement; and, in the mean time, the count *de Schwerin* being furniſhed with troops by the princes of *Saxony*, *Adolphus*, count *de Schawembourg*, and the archbiſhop of *Bremen*, invaded *Nordalbingia*, took the *Daniſh* general priſoner by ſurprize, and reduced *Holſtein*, with the adjacent country on the north of the *Elbe*, and the city of *Hamburgh*. The knights of the *Teutonic* order, and the biſhop of *Riga*, took this opportunity of ſeizing *Revel*. At the ſame time the *Wandalians*, weſtern *Sclaves*, and the count *de Werle*, ſhook off the *Daniſh* yoke. *Berem* and *Watiſlaus*, princes of *Pomerania*, wreſted the town of *Demnica* from the count *de Rugen*, and *Swenteploe*
e made himſelf maſter of *Dantzick*, which had been about ſeventeen years in poſſeſſion of the *Danes*. At length, by the mediation of the pope, *Albert*, duke of *Saxony*, and ſome other princes, the king of *Denmark* and his ſon were ſet at liberty, in conſideration of 45,000 marks of ſilver, paid by way of ranſom [c]. *and releaſed on paying a ranſom.*

WHILE this negociation was on the carpet, a violent diſpute aroſe among ſeveral noblemen, who pretended to the ſucceſſion of the counteſs *de Dasbourg*, who died without iſſue, and whoſe lands were ſeized by the biſhop of *Mentz*, as reverſionary fiefs belonging to his ſee. The competitors were the biſhop of *Liege*, count *de Linangen*, whoſe brother had married the counteſs, the duke of *Brabant*, and the marquis of *Baden*, which laſt had made over his right to *Berthold*, biſhop of *Strasbourg*. Each pretender made alliances and preparations
f for doing himſelf juſtice by force of arms; hoſtilities were again commenced, and after much miſchief and bloodſhed, the affair was accommodated to the ſatisfaction of all parties, partly by the authority of the emperor, and partly by the admonitions of *Engelbert*, archbiſhop of *Cologn*, who did not long ſurvive the pacification; for he was baſely aſſaſſinated in *Weſtphalia* by the accomplices of *Frederic*, count *de Iſembert*, whom he had threatened to chaſtiſe for his exceſſes. A. D. 1224. *Diſputes about the ſucceſſion of the counteſs* de Dasbourg. Engelbert *archbiſhop of* Cologn, *is aſſaſſinated.* A. D. 1225.

[b] Hiſt. de Reb. Geſt. Fred. apud MURATOR. [c] HUITFELD. Hiſt. Dan. t. ii.

(Y) In the courſe of this year the inhabitants of *Mentz*, taking the advantage of the duke of *Lorrain*'s death, and the abſence of their biſhop, erected themſelves into a republic, and became a free town, after the example of many other cities, which had taken the like opportunities of infranchiſing themſelves, and afterwards received charters, confirming their liberty from different emperors (1).

(1) *Lithman, l.* iv. *c.* 884.

*ENGELBERT* had acquired ſuch reputation in the empire for his prudence and ſage adminiſtration, that the murderer was, by the diet of *Nuremburg*, put to the ban of the empire, a price ſet upon his head, and he afterwards underwent the ſentence of excommunication. Though he made ſhift to eſcape from *Germany* at that juncture, he was in the ſequel apprehended in diſguiſe near *Liege*, and broke alive upon the wheel in the city of *Cologn*. The vacant ſee was filled up by *Henry de Mollemare*, and *Engelbert*'s office of tutor to the young king of the *Romans* conferred upon *Lewis*, duke of *Bavaria* [d]. a

THIS prince was juſt returned from the eaſt, where the cruſards had been obliged to ſurrender *Damietta* to *Meledin*, ſoltan of *Egypt*, after having been reduced to the greateſt extremity. The king of *Jeruſalem*, and the grand maſter of the *Teutonic* order, came to *Europe* at the ſame time, in order to ſollicit ſuccours from the princes of Chriſtendom. The pope, incenſed at the loſs of *Damietta*, wrote a very ſevere letter to the emperor, taxing him with having ſacrificed the intereſts of the cruſards, by delaying ſo long to perform his vow, and threatening to excommunicate him immediately, if he would not forthwith depart at the head of an army for their relief. *Frederic*, exaſperated at theſe reproaches, renounced all correſpondence with his holineſs, renewed the authority of the legation in *Sicily*, filled up the vacant ſees and benefices, and expelled ſome biſhops that were creatures of the pope, on pretence of their being concerned in practices againſt the ſtate. b

*The emperor reduces the rebels of* Naples, *and quarrels with the pope, who threatens to excommunicate him.*

*HONORIUS* having received the complaints of the exiles, exhorted the emperor, by letters and ambaſſadors, to re-eſtabliſh them in their dignities and offices, reproaching him for his raſhneſs in preſuming to lift his hand againſt the ſanctuary, in erecting himſelf as a judge over the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and uſurping the authority of the holy ſee; for he obſerved, that if thoſe prelates and officers had given him offence, he ought to have addreſſed himſelf to the pope, who, as head of the eccleſiaſtical order, would have taken cognizance of the matter, and decided according to the merits of the cauſe. To this remonſtrance the emperor anſwered, that ſince the reign of *Charlemagne*, the emperors had always an authority and ſovereign juriſdiction over the eccleſiaſtic ſtate; that as they had promoted the biſhops and abbots to their dignities and benefices, they had likewiſe occaſionally deprived them in caſe of miſconduct or malverſation; that his grandfather *Frederic* I. and his father *Henry* VI. had maintained this juriſdiction in full force; and that he being elevated to the ſame ſtation, pretended to the ſame authority, of which he neither could nor would diveſt himſelf, to the prejudice of the empire and his ſucceſſors. With regard to his hereditary dominions, his mother *Conſtance* and her predeceſſors, who were always great benefactors to the church of *Rome*, had ever enjoyed the ſame prerogative over the clergy of *Naples* and *Sicily*; and therefore the pope could not juſtly demand that he would part with the rights of his ſovereignty, or allow his holineſs to ſit in judgment upon the eccleſiaſtics of his kingdoms. Not content with ſending this private remonſtrance to the pope, he publiſhed a manifeſto for the juſtification of his conduct, and ordered his troops to march to the frontiers of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. c d

A. D. 1225.

IT was not long, however, before *Honorius* became ſenſible of his own impolitic conduct, in thus incurring the reſentment of ſuch a powerful prince, and thought proper to deprecate his anger by ſome ſubmiſſive apologies and gentle exhortations; in conſequence of which they were reconciled, and conferred together at *Veroli*, after the emperor had, as a proof of his ſincerity and attachment to the church, publiſhed ſome very ſevere edicts againſt hereſy, which ſeem to have authorized the tribunal of the inquiſition [e]. A ſolemn aſſembly was afterwards held at *Ferentino*, where both were preſent, together with *John* of *Brienne*, king of *Jeruſalem*, who was come to *Rome* to demand ſuccours againſt the ſoltan of *Egypt*. This prince had an only daughter, named *Yolanda*, whom he propoſed as a wife to the emperor, together with the kingdom of *Jeruſalem* after his own deceaſe, on condition that *Frederic* would perform the vow he had made to go to the *Holy Land*. The pope, who paſſionately deſired to ſee all the princes of Chriſtendom engaged for the recovery of theſe ſacred places, and particularly longed to be rid of the emperor, that he himſelf might remain ſole maſter of *Italy*, readily agreed to the propoſal. *Frederic* was invited to *Rome*, where he made peace with the pope, and ſigned the marriage articles between himſelf and *Yolanda*, who was heireſs in right of her mother *Iſabel*, only daughter of *Amaury*, king of *Jeruſalem* [f]; and by theſe articles he bound himſelf to ſet out with an army in two years, for the recovery of the *Holy Land*. In conſequence of this accommodation, ambaſſadors were diſpatched into *Syria* for the princeſs, who was then at *Ptolemais*; but almoſt two years elapſed before ſhe arrived at *Rome*, and *Frederic* began in earneſt to prepare for his expedition. The pope ſent the cardinal *Conrad* into *Germany*, with letters to all the metropolitans and their ſuffragans, exhorting them to aſſiſt the emperor in ſuch a laudable enterprize: the concurrence of *Lewis* VIII. king of *France*, was alſo ſollicited; the grand maſter of the *Teutonic* order carried letters from *Frederic* to the king of the *Romans*, deſiring that prince to convoke a diet at *Frank-* e f g

Frederic *engages to marry the king of* Jeruſalem's *daughter.*

[d] BARRE, t. v. p. 669. [e] PETR. DE VINCIS, l. i. ep. 25, &c. [f] MACH. Hiſt. de Fir. lib. i.

a *fort*, in order to deliberate upon measures for sending succours to the *Holy Land*; and the duke of *Austria*, and the landgrave of *Thuringia*, signalized their zeal at that assembly; so that the preparations were carried on with extraordinary vigour, when *Frederic* was informed of a secret league, in which the towns of *Lombardy* had engaged, with a view to renounce his authority.

He forthwith sent an account of this confederacy to the pope, representing, that he could not possibly accomplish his vow, without running the risque of a general revolt in *Italy* against the empire; and *Honorius*, persuaded of the justice of this remonstrance, consented to his delaying his expedition two years longer, after he had sworn at *San Germano*, that he would certainly depart at the expiration of that term, on pain of excommunication [g]. *Confederacy of the* Lombard *towns against the emperor.* A. D. 1226.

b *FREDERIC* having obtained this reprieve, issued orders for convening a general assembly at *Cremona*, to which he invited all the towns of *Italy*, and the noblemen of the empire, by circular letters, directed to each in particular. He likewise ordered his son *Henry* to meet him at that place with a strong body of forces. The associated towns now pulled off the mask, justified their confederation by the authority of a treaty, which had been made at *Constance*, between *Frederic Barbarossa* and the cities of *Lombardy*, impowering them to make and renew alliances one with another. As their reigning emperor had refused to confirm this article, they assembled at *Bozolo*, in the territory of *Mantua*, where they renewed their association upon oath, and resolved to levy troops to guard the passes of the *Alps* against the king of the *Romans* (Z). Accordingly, when that prince advanced as far as *Trent*, in his c way to *Cremona*, he found the passage blocked up by the troops of *Verona*, and was obliged to return without seeing his father; while the confederates intimated to the *German* princes, that they had not taken arms with a view to separate themselves from the empire, but solely in order to maintain their rights and liberty against the encroachments of the emperor [h]. Frederic *convokes an assembly at* Cremona.

While *Frederic* was employed in taking measures for dispersing this dangerous cloud that seemed to gather around him, another difference arose between him and *Honorius*, touching the nomination of bishops to the vacant sees of *Sicily*. This breach was widened by the emperor's refusing to comply with the demands of *Conrad* the legate, who had proposed to the princes of *Germany*, that, in order to relieve the pressing necessities of the *Roman* church, they should grant to the pope two prebendaries in every cathedral, and two cells in each d monastery. *Frederic*, being informed of this extravagant proposal, gave the pope to understand, that, as the affair concerned all Christendom, the empire should conform to the resolutions of other Christian states, who were sollicited on the same subject. *Quarrels again with the pope.*

*HONORIUS*, piqued at this repulse, as well as at the inflexibility of *Frederic* on other occasions, resolved to prevent the assembly at *Cremona*, and actually forbad the deputies at *Spoleto* to go thither, notwithstanding the repeated commands and threats of the emperor: a contest which gave birth to a literary correspondence, replete with rancour and reproach. He taxed the pope with envy, malice, and upbraided him in particular with having granted an asylum to his rebellious subjects. *Honorius*, on the other hand, accused him of ingratitude, obstinacy, pride, and cruelty towards his father-in-law, the king of *Jerusalem*; e for by this time *Frederic*'s marriage with *Yolanda* had been solemnized with great magnificence at *Rome*; and in a little time after the ceremony, which was performed by the pope, he had extorted from *John de Brienne* a cession of his right and title to the kingdom of *Jerusalem* [i].

Notwithstanding all the engines the pope could set at work to traverse the designs of *Frederic*, that prince repaired to *Cremona* at the appointed time, where he was met by the deputies from the well-affected towns, and divers subjects of importance were discussed at the assembly, tho' nothing of consequence was decided. From thence he marched towards *Milan*, and summoned the citizens to admit him, that he might be crowned king of *Lombardy*; but he sustained a repulse, and finding himself incapable at that time of revenging f the insult, he resolved to punish them in the interests of their allies, and actually deprived *Bologna* of its university, which he translated to *Naples*, and favoured with extraordinary privileges; tho' it was afterwards restored to *Bologna* at the peace, which was effected by the mediation of the pope, whom the emperor visited at *Reati*, and reconciled to his interest [k] (A). *Holds an assembly at* Cremona. *Peace concluded with the* Lombard *towns.*

The A. D. 1227.

[g] Rainald. ad ann. 1225. [h] Antiq. Gosl. ad ann. 1226. [i] Ap. Rain. ad ann. 1226. n. 3. Sanut. l. iii. part. ii. c. x. [k] Ric. a Sanct. Germ. 1226.

(Z) The associated towns were *Milan*, *Bologna*, *Placentia*, *Verona*, *Brescia*, *Mantua*, *Vercelli*, *Lodi*, *Bergamo*, *Turin*, *Alexandria*, *Vicenza*, and several others, reinforced by *Boniface*, marquis of *Montferrat*, and *Godfrey*, count of *Romagna* (1).

(A) The pope, being chosen arbitrator, decreed, th the emperor should suppress all his resentment, revoke all the sentences he had passed, and the constitutions he had enacted, against the confederacy, which, on its part, should furnish the emperor with four hundred knights for two years, in his expedition against the *Saracens* of the east; that it should make peace with all the towns, places,

(1) *Barre*, *t.* v. *p.* 676.

THE peace was no sooner concluded, than his holiness reminded the emperor of his vow; a observed, that the time for executing his promise approached; and pressed him to take measures for his speedy departure: but he died before he could see the execution of this great design, which he had so much at heart, and was succeeded in his office, as well as his maxims, by *Gregory* IX. a kinsman of these two counts, whom, as we have already observed, *Frederic* had proscribed and banished from the kingdom of *Naples*.

A. D. 1227. *The pope dies, and is succeeded by* Gregory IX

DURING these transactions, a diet was held at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, for the coronation of *Agnes*, wife of *Henry*, king of the *Romans*, where that prince decided a difference between the town of *Verdun* and its bishop *Rodolphus*, subjecting the inhabitants to the prelate's jurisdiction; and this sentence produced an insurrection and open war between the parties, which was, however, soon terminated by accommodation.

*HENRY*, count palatine of the *Rhine*, and brother of the emperor *Otho* IV. dying at this b conjuncture without male issue, *Henry*, marquis of *Baden*, who had married his eldest daughter, sold his pretensions upon *Brunswic* to the emperor; and the king of the *Romans* attempted to take possession, but was prevented by *Otho* of *Saxony*, son of *William*, duke of *Lunenburg*, sole male heir of *Henry the Lion*, who secured the place with a strong garrison, confiding in an alliance, offensive and defensive, which he had made with the king of *Denmark*. It was in consequence of this treaty that *Otho* furnished his *Danish* majesty with troops to reduce the inhabitants of *Lubec*, who had revolted, after having privately secured the countenance and protection of the emperor.

*FREDERIC*, who repined to see that town dismembered from the empire, sent orders to c the archbishop of *Bremen*, the duke of *Saxony*, the counts *Schwerin*, *Mecklenbourg*, and *Oldenbourg*, to give all possible assistance to the citizens of *Lubec*, in case they should be attacked by the king of *Denmark*, whose garrison they had expelled. Accordingly, when *Waldemar* took the field in order to revenge this insult, those princes assembled an army to oppose him, after his irruption into *Holstein*, and an obstinate battle ensued, in which he lost one eye, and was defeated, and his nephew *Otho* of *Lunenburg* taken prisoner. This disgrace served only to animate his courage; he raised another army with incredible expedition, destroyed the country of *Dithmarsie* with fire and sword, and having ravaged the northern parts of *Holstein*, returned to *Denmark* to recruit his army. Mean while the confederates, under the conduct of the duke of *Saxony*, took *Mollen*, *Ratzeburg*, and some other places in *Lower* d *Saxony*, which the *Danes* had possessed for some time: then they invested *Lawemburg*, which was a place of such consequence, that *Waldemar* marched to its relief, and was employed in cutting off the convoys of the besiegers, when being alarmed with a false report that the king of the *Romans* was on his march to join the allies, he retreated with great precipitation to his own dominions, and the town was obliged to surrender [l].

Lawemburg *and other places in* Lower Saxony, *revert to the empire.*

*GREGORY* was no sooner raised to the chair of *St. Peter*, than he sent a legate *a latere* to press *Frederic* to the execution of the promise he had so solemnly made, or in case of refusal, to threaten him with a sentence of excommunication, which he had voluntarily incurred. *Frederic* finding he could no longer defer his departure, especially as several princes, a great number of noblemen, and others, had arrived from all the kingdoms in e Christendom, in order to accompany him in the crusade, ordered his fleet to be equipped with all expedition, and actually set sail from *Brundisi* with a most magnificent equipage, and very powerful armament. But being taken ill about three days after he put to sea, he returned with his household to the port from whence he had set out, and gave orders for his army to proceed to the *Levant*. The pope, incensed at this quick return, declared, with the consent of all the cardinals, that he had incurred the penalty of excommunication, and rendered himself incapable of the imperial dignity [m]; and in letters written to all the kings, princes, and prelates of Christendom, he explained the reasons that influenced his conduct in this affair, giving them to understand, that the emperor had voluntarily submitted to the sentence, in case he should not perform his vow, and threatning to proceed against him in a f rigorous manner.

Frederic *sets sail from* Brundisi, *and puts back.*

ON the other hand, *Frederic* published letters and manifestoes, vindicating his own conduct, promising to accomplish his vow as soon as his health should permit, and enumerating the ill offices which had been done him by the present pope and his predecessors; but whatever effect this justification had with other sovereigns in his favour, the confederated towns of *Lombardy* made this breach between him and the pope a pretence for revolting, and

[l] PONTAN. rerum Dan. Hist. [m] Ann. Boior. JOH. AVENTIN. l. vii. p. 531.

places, and persons, attached to the emperor, and annul all contrary proceedings; that it should observe all the constitutions and laws published by the *Roman* church, or the emperors, against heresy, and revoke those which had been enacted to the prejudice of the ecclesiastic liberty (2).

(2) *De Boulai, p.* 117.

endea-

a endeavouring by promiſes and threats to engage in their aſſociation thoſe cities which were affected to the emperor.

*FREDERIC*, incenſed at the inſolence and malice of the pope, who had excited all theſe commotions to the prejudice of his intereſt and reputation, reſolved to be revenged upon the ſee of *Rome*, and began by confiſcating the effects and expelling the perſons of all thoſe eccleſiaſtics within his dominions, who had treated him as an excommunicated prince. He ordered all the pope's couriers to be apprehended, ravaged the lands of *St. Peter*'s patrimony in *Apulia*, and pillaged the houſes of the templars, whom he conſidered as his inveterate enemies.

*GREGORY* was no ſooner informed of theſe proceedings, than he called a council, in Frederic *is excommunicated.*
b which the ſentence of excommunication was repeated againſt the emperor, and all prieſts forbid to perform divine ſervice in his preſence, on pain of privation.

THE emperor thinking the cauſe of his return was more than ſufficient to exempt him A. D. 1228.
from the trouble of proceeding on the voyage, left no ſtone unturned to mortify the pope, in return for the ſentence which he had twice pronounced againſt him; and ſucceeded ſo well in his endeavours, by the addreſs and power of *Frangipani*, and other rich noblemen of *Rome*, who were attached to his intereſt, that his holineſs was obliged to quit that city, and take refuge at *Perugia* [n]. It was upon this occaſion that in *Rome*, as well as in other parts *The animoſity of the* Guelphs *and* Gibellines *revived.*
of *Italy*, the animoſity between the *Guelphs* and *Gibellines* revived, after it had lain dormant
c ſince *Conrad* III. under whom it firſt appeared. Mean while *Frederic*, in order to remove the cauſe of all thoſe excommunications, was preſſed by his friends to perform his vow; beſides, the intereſt of his young ſon *Conrad*, whom he had by *Yolanda*, who was lately dead, prompted him to go and take poſſeſſion of the kingdom of *Jeruſalem*.

THUS determined, he aſſembled at *Barletta* all the grandees of *Sicily*, together with the *German* noblemen who had accompanied him to *Italy*, declared his deſign of departing immediately for the *Holy Land*, and his laſt will being read, exacted of all preſent an oath, by which they bound themſelves to ſee it executed, in caſe he ſhould die in the expedition. The pope, informed of his intention, ſent him a formal meſſage, forbidding him to proceed before he ſhould be abſolved of the cenſures of the church. Notwithſtanding this
d prohibition, he embarked and ſailed to *Cyprus*, where he ſtaid ſome time, and then proceeded for the port of *Ptolemais*. Nevertheleſs, before he went on board, he ſent a letter to the pope, giving him to underſtand, that he had left full powers with his lieutenant *Renaldo*, duke of *Spoleto*, to negociate and conclude an accommodation. But *Gregory* refuſing to treat with that nobleman, whom he conſidered as a perſecutor of the church, *Renaldo* entered *St. Peter*'s patrimony with an army, compoſed of *Germans* and *Sicilian Saracens*, and laid waſte the whole country. The pope, in revenge for theſe outrages, excommunicated the lieutenant, raiſed an army to oppoſe him, the command of which was given to *John de Brienne*, king of *Jeruſalem*, excited a new revolt againſt the emperor among the *Lombard* towns, and all *Italy* was involved in the horrors of a civil war.

e MEAN while *Frederic* met with a very cold reception in his kingdom of *Jeruſalem*; for A. D. 1229.
the patriarch, and the knights of the hoſpital, temple, and *Teutonic* order, had been prepoſſeſſed againſt him by the letters of *Gregory*, who repreſented him as a perjured and excommunicated ſinner. Nay, the grand maſters abſolutely refuſed to march againſt the enemy, while he commanded in chief; ſo that he was fain to conſent that all orders ſhould be given in the name of the duke of *Limbourg*, who was ſecond in command. This was not the only mortification he endured. *Meledin*, ſoltan of *Egypt*, had two very numerous armies in the field: the cruſard troops, including the knights, did not exceed 15,000 men; and he received diſpatches from the count *d'Acerra*, governor of *Sicily*, by which he learned that his *Sicilian* dominions were in great danger from the army of *John de Brienne*, who aſpired at the
f imperial throne, and had even laid ſnares, and contrived ſtratagems, for apprehending the perſon of *Frederic*, in his return from *Paleſtine* [o].

THESE conſiderations extinguiſhed all his hopes of making conqueſts in the eaſt, and in- Frederic *concludes a truce with the* Saracens;
duced him to grant a truce of ten years to *Meledin*, on condition that the Chriſtians ſhould retain *Jeruſalem*: having therefore been crowned in that city, and left a ſtrong garriſon in the place, as well as in ſome other towns, he returned with an empty title, which from that time hath been preſerved by the kings of *Sicily* [p] (B). On his arrival at *Naples* from the *Holy*

[n] USPERG. act. Greg. Alb. Stad. SIGON. l. xvii. AVENT. l. vii. p. 531.

[o] MATH. PARIS, an. 1229.

[p] Ann. Boior. JOH.

(B) If we conſider the articles of this peace, againſt which the pope ſo bitterly exclaimed, and reflect on the ſituation of the Chriſtians in the *Holy Land*, we can have no reaſon to think the truce was diſgraceful to the emperor, or diſadvantageous to the cauſe of Chriſtianity. The *Saracens* releaſed all the priſoners, and yielded up *Jeruſalem*, with the whole country, as far as *Joppa*, that the Chriſtians might paſs and repaſs unmoleſted between the city and the ſea: they likewiſe reſtored to *Frederic*. *Bethlem*, *Nazareth*, and all the country between *Jeruſalem*,

*Holy Land*, he found the pope had been very active againſt him in his abſence, and diſ- a
avowed the treaty which he had concluded with the ſoltan, as a reproach upon the Chriſtian name; for which reaſon he refuſed to abſolve him from the ſentence of excommunication.

*FREDERIC*, perceiving he had nothing to hope from the favour of his holineſs, put his troops in motion, and retook ſeveral ſtrong places, of which the pope had deprived him in his abſence, employing in this conqueſt the very forces he had raiſed for the *Syrian* expedition.

*GREGORY* publiſhed bulls, ſent ambaſſadors to demand ſuccours from all the princes of *Europe*, though his remonſtrances had no effect, except among the confederates of *Lombardy*, who exerted themſelves in his behalf; and, laſtly, as the ſevereſt mark of his reſentment, repeated the ſentence of excommunication, with an additional clauſe, abſolving all b
the ſubjects of *Frederic* from their oath of allegiance. At the ſame time he again excommunicated the duke of *Spoleto*, his brother *Bertholdus*, and *Theodore Comnenus*, prince of *Epirus*, who had ſollicited the friendſhip of the emperor, and even aſſiſted him with troops [q].

*FREDERIC*, after having expelled all the pope's garriſons, pillaged the towns and villages belonging to the holy ſee, and ravaged the country to the very gates of *Rome*, he was adviſed by *St. Lewis* king of *France*, to liſten to an accommodation. He accordingly ſent as ambaſſadors to *Rome*, *Berthold* patriarch of *Aquileia*, *Everhard* biſhop of *Saltzburg*, *Seifried* biſhop of *Ratisbon*, *Sibold* biſhop of *Augsburg*, and *Leopold* of *Auſtria*; but the pope received them ſo coldly and kept his pretenſions ſo high, that they returned without having come to any c
concluſion.

THIS indifference proceeded from his confidence in the talents of *Otho*, whom he had ſent as his legate to excite troubles in *Germany*. That agent tampered in ſecret with the duke of *Brunſwic*, whom he knew to be diſaffected to *Frederic*, expatiated upon the wrongs and diſgraces which his family had ſuffered from the emperors ſince the reign of *Barbaroſſa*, and promiſed in the name of the pope, that he ſhould be elevated to the imperial throne, provided he would exert himſelf in forming a party againſt *Frederic*. The duke, notwithſtanding the ſuggeſtions of his ambition and revenge, refuſed to engage in ſuch a dangerous enterprize, which he had neither troops nor money to atchieve. The legate, repulſed in this quarter, convoked, in the name of his holineſs, an aſſembly of the princes at *Wirtzburg*, d
where, after having previouſly ſounded every individual in private, he uttered a long harangue, exhorting them to elect a new emperor in the room of *Frederic*, who was excommunicated and depoſed.

HIS ſpeech was received with indignation, both by the eccleſiaſtic and ſecular princes, who broke up the aſſembly in ſuch a tumultuous manner, that the legate thought of nothing but conſulting the ſafety of his own perſon; and *Gregory* being made acquainted with the bad ſucceſs of his endeavours, became more tractable, and better diſpoſed towards a paci-
*comes to an accommodation wit the pope.* A. D. 1230. fication. He even intimated theſe ſentiments to the emperor, who next year ſent back *Leopold* with the grand maſter of the *Teutonic* order, and then concluded a treaty of peace, promiſing, in the emperor's name, to pay 20,000 pieces of gold, to repair the damage he e
had done in pillaging the towns belonging to the holy ſee. The ratifications of this treaty being exchanged, *Frederic* waited upon the pope at *Anagni*, where he was abſolved from the ſentence of the church, and magnificently entertained by his holineſs, in token of a perfect reconciliation [r].

NOTWITHSTANDING this agreement, the cities of *Lombardy*, which had withdrawn themſelves from the emperor's dominion during his quarrel with the pope, refuſed to return to
*Is employed in the reduction of* Lombardy. their duty, or liſten to any terms of accommodation; ſo that *Frederic*, in a diet held at *Aquileia*, reſolved to reduce them by force. In this undertaking he conſumed five years without great ſucceſs, becauſe his operations were often interrupted by the affairs of *Naples* and *Sicily*; and at laſt he was obliged to abandon the enterprize, in order to quell the diſ- f
turbances which had happened in *Germany* during his long abſence. He accordingly ſet out for the empire, uſing the more expedition in his journey, becauſe he underſtood his ſon *Henry* was employed in forming a conſpiracy againſt him.

THIS prince had engaged in his intereſt the cities of *Milan* and *Bologna*, the inhabitants of which hoped to render themſelves independent, by fomenting a quarrel between the father and the ſon; the biſhop of *Strasbourg*, and almoſt all the towns upon the *Rhine*, from *Baſil* to *Cologne*, declared for *Henry*, whoſe party was likewiſe eſpouſed by *Frederic*, duke of

[q] Epiſt. apud RAIN. n. 37. [r] STRUV. period. 7. ſect. 6. KRANTZ. l. viii. c. 5.

*ſalem* and *Acon*, or *Ptolemais*, together with *Tyre*, *Sidon*, and the neighbouring territories; and it was ſtipulated, that the emperor ſhould be allowed to repair all the fortifications in *Syria* and *Paleſtine*; whereas the *Saracens* were excluded from that privilege (1)

(1) *Avent. an. Boior. lib.* vii. *p.* 531.

*Auſtria.*

a *Auſtria.* Thus ſupported he convoked a diet at *Boppart*, where he explained the pretended motives of his defection, by complaining of the frequent quarrels between his father and the pope, which could not fail to be prejudicial to the empire, and of the little authority which was veſted in himſelf, who, as king of the *Romans*, ought to govern the empire in the abſence of the emperor. Theſe reaſons, though approved by great part of the aſſembly, were not ſatisfactory to the duke of *Bavaria*, and *Herman*, marquis of *Baden*, who adhering to their duty, ſent an account of this rebellion to *Frederic*, and exhorted him to come in perſon and diſpel the ſtorm.

He no ſooner received this intimation than he began his journey, and on his arrival in *Germany* held a diet at *Mentz*, where he employed his whole care and attention in repairing
b thoſe diſorders. He, in concert with the princes and ſtates of the empire, enacted ſeveral laws and conſtitutions for the adminiſtration of juſtice, and the re-eſtabliſhment of diſcipline and policy, both with regard to ſeculars and eccleſiaſtics; and, in a word, omitted nothing which could contribute to the public tranquillity. His ſon *Henry* having been convicted of rebellion, and of having entered into a confederacy againſt the emperor, inſtead of being puniſhed according to his demand was ſent to *Sicily*, that he might be removed at a good diſtance from the dangerous connections he had made.

*His ſon* Henry *is convicted of rebellion.* A. D. 1235.

Among other regulations made at this convention, the difference was terminated between the emperor and *Otho* of *Lunenburg*, who had ſeized by force of arms the caſtles and towns of *Brunſwic* and *Lunenburg*, on pretence of being heir to his grandfather *Henry the Lion.*
c *Frederic* erected theſe into duchies, of which he beſtowed the inveſtiture upon *Otho*, together with an authentic patent or charter, by which the mediate nobility, the citizens of *Brunſwic*, the inhabitants of its territory, and of *Staden*, were commanded to receive *Otho* as their duke, to take the oath of allegiance to him, and obey him as their lord, according to the laws and cuſtoms of the empire[s].

Mean while he carried on levies for raiſing a ſtrong army, that he might once more return to *Lombardy*, and ſubdue the cities which were aſſociated againſt him. About this time too he married the princeſs *Iſabella*, daughter of *John*, king of *England.* The pope being apprehenſive of the emperor's return into *Italy*, ſent a nuncio to diſſuade him from that expedition, and even proffered, if he would leave the affair of the revolted towns to his holi-
d neſs, he would engage they ſhould return to their duty and dependence upon the empire. *Frederic*, however, looking upon this promiſe as a ſnare laid for him, refuſed to accept the mediation propoſed, and continued unſhaken in his reſolution. He therefore ſet out upon this expedition, and when he entered *Lombardy* ſome ſtates ſubmitted of their own accord, and others were reduced by force; but the principal cities ſtill held out againſt him, confiding in the ſuccours which they had received from the *Venetians*, and in the ſupport which they and their confederates expected from *Henry*, king of the *Romans*, who had engaged in their cauſe at the inſtigation of the court of *Rome.* Nay, that prince, beſides this rebellious engagement, had continued his ſecret practices with ſeveral princes of *Germany*, who had promiſed to aſſiſt him on any emergency, and among others with the duke of *Auſtria*, upon
e whom the emperor had conferred the title of king.

A. D. 1236. Frederic *returns to* Italy.

*FREDERIC*, being apprized of this new conſpiracy, conceived ſuch indignation againſt his ſon as intirely ſwallowed up the grudge he bore the pope, to whom he now made ſuch advances, as prevailed upon his holineſs to declare againſt *Henry*, and to prohibit the princes and ſtates of the empire, under pain of excommunication, to yield him ſuccour or obedience. This ſpiritual authority effectually retained the ſubjects in their duty; and the emperor, having ordered his ſon to be narrowly watched, at length found means to apprehend and confine him in a caſtle of *Apulia*, where he afterwards died[t].

*Confines his ſon* Henry.

f That the remains of this conſpiracy might be extinguiſhed, he ordered the dukes of *Bohemia* and *Bavaria* to take arms againſt *Frederic* duke of *Auſtria*, prince *Henry*'s accomplice, until he himſelf ſhould be able to come and chaſtiſe him in perſon. It was not long before he enjoyed that opportunity; for having in ſome meaſure ſettled the affairs of *Italy*, and left the pope in terms of peace, he returned to *Germany*, ravaged the *Auſtrian* dominions with fire and ſword, and at laſt made himſelf maſter of the city of *Vienna*, where he founded the univerſity that now ſubſiſts[u]. After this expedition he aſſembled the ſtates of the empire, that they might elect his ſon *Conrad* king of the *Romans*; and that young prince was accordingly confirmed the ſame year, at another aſſembly held in the city of *Spire*[x]. The affairs of *Germany*, and the ſucceſſion, being ſettled in this manner, he forthwith reſolved to
g repair again into *Italy*, having ſtill at heart the reduction of thoſe cities of *Lombardy*, which ſtill remained in arms, on pretence of defending thoſe privileges which were granted to them by *Frederic Barbaroſſa.* The army, which he now led into *Italy*, being very numerous and formidable, the city of *Padua* immediately ſurrendered; ſome other places, that made reſiſ-

Conrad, *his ſecond ſon, is elected king of the* Romans.

[s] Erect. Ducal. Brunſw. apud Meibom, t. ii. [t] Heiss Hiſt. l. xi. c. 16. [u] Sazius, l. iii. c. 5. [x] Chron. Auſt. p. 323.

tance,

tance, he ſacked, in order to intimidate the reſt; and all of a ſudden turned his whole forces againſt *Milan*, which was the centre of the league, and where all their troops were joined; ſo that, ſeeing their army equal in number to that of the emperor, they reſolved to wait him in the field. Accordingly a furious battle enſued, the event of which was long doubtful; but after it had raged for ſeveral hours with great carnage, the victory declared for the emperor [y]. Their general, *Petro Tiepolo*, ſon of the doge of *Venice*, together with their other chiefs, being taken priſoners, *Frederic* ordered them all to be put to death by the hand of the common hangman; and purſuing his advantage, attacked ſeveral places, ſome of which he pillaged and burnt, reſerving *Milan* for the laſt monument of his reſentment. This battle would have been deciſive, and the *Lombard* cities intirely ſubdued, had *Frederic* made a proper uſe of his victory, and proceeded with his warlike operations; but, inſtead of exerting himſelf in this manner, he continued inactive at *Cremona*, and allowed his enemies to reſpire. In the ſpring he marched into *Piedmont*, and exacted the oath of allegiance from the inhabitants of *Verceil*, *Turin*, and other towns in that province. He afterwards convoked an aſſembly at *Pavia*, in which he confirmed the privileges and revived the antient laws of the *Lombard* towns which were attached to his intereſt. The citizens of *Milan* ſued for peace by the interceſſion of the pope; but, as *Frederic* inſiſted upon their ſurrendering at diſcretion, they reſolved to periſh rather than ſubmit to his mercy, and made all the neceſſary preparations for continuing the war [z].

*The emperor obtains a victory over the league.*
A. D. 1237.

Pope *Gregory*, ſenſibly touched with the ſucceſs of *Frederic*'s arms, and particularly piqued at an edict which he had publiſhed to reform the abuſe of eccleſiaſtic tribunals; incenſed, moreover, at his ſeizing the revenues of vacant biſhoprics in *Sicily*, and beſtowing upon his natural ſon *Entius* the kingdom of *Sardinia* as feudatory of the empire, whereas he (*Gregory*) pretended it was a fief of the *Roman* church; the pope, I ſay, inſpired by theſe concurring motives, aſſociated himſelf with the *Venetians* and the cities of *Lombardy*, and was reconciled with *Rome*, from whence he had long ago been obliged to retire. On his return to that city, he ſent a nuncio to the emperor, exhorting him to deſiſt from thoſe violences, in conſideration of the favours he had received from the holy ſee; but *Frederic*, who had been informed of his ſecret connections with the league, diſmiſſed the nuncio without an anſwer; upon which his holineſs ſent back three cardinals upon the ſame errand, who being treated with the ſame diſregard, he had recourſe to thoſe weapons which he had formerly uſed againſt him. A new excommunication [a] was fulminated, and a bull ſent into *Germany* to ſow diviſion between the emperor and the princes and ſtates of the empire, who were ſubjected to the ſame ſentence, provided they ſhould perſiſt in their allegiance and attachment to *Frederic* (C). He likewiſe endeavoured to engage *Saint Louis* in his intereſt, and ſent a legate to prejudice him againſt the perſon and religion of the emperor, as well as to make a proffer of the imperial crown to his brother prince *Robert*, count of *Artois* [b]. But *Louis* would have no hand in ſuch violent proceedings; and plainly gave him to underſtand, that, granting he was diſpoſed to embrace the propoſal, the pope had no power or authority, either to dethrone the emperor, or give away the empire.

*Is again excommunicated by the pope.*

*FREDERIC*, who was at *Padua* when he received the news of this excommunication, ordered *Peter de Vineis*, his chancellor, to read an anſwer to it before the whole army, in which he refuted the calumnies which were invented and propagated to his prejudice [c]; and this anſwer he ſent into *Germany*, for the vindication of his honour and integrity. There it pro-

[y] Sigon. l. i. c. 8. [z] Petr. de Vineis, Ep. 7. [a] Barre, l. v. p. 745. [b] Mez. Abr. Chr. t. i. p. 443
[c] Krantz, l. viii. c. 7. Heiss, l. xi. c. 16.

(C) In order to give the reader a juſt notion of the charity and Chriſtian forbearance of the popes, we ſhall tranſlate part of *Gregory*'s bull againſt *Frederic*, which he ſent to the archbiſhop of *Mentz*.

" A beaſt of blaſphemy, replete with names, is riſen " from the ſea, with the feet of a bear, the face of a " lion, and members of other different animals; which, " like the pard, hath opened its mouth in blaſphemy " againſt the holy name; not even fearing to throw " the arrows of calumny againſt the tabernacle of God, " and the ſaints that dwell in heaven. This beaſt, de" ſirous of breaking every thing in pieces with its iron " teeth and nails, and of trampling all things under his " feet, hath already prepared private battering rams " againſt the wall of the Catholic faith; and now raiſes " open machines, in erecting ſoul-deſtroying ſchools of " *Iſhmaelites*; raiſing, according to report, in oppoſi" tion to Chriſt the Redeemer of mankind, the tables of " whoſe covenant he attempts to aboliſh with the pen of " wicked hereſy:---be not therefore ſurprized at the " malice of this blaſphemous beaſt, if we, who are the " ſervant of the Almighty, ſhould be expoſed to the ar" rows of his deſtruction."

This king of plagues was even heard to ſay, " That " the whole world had been deceived by three mounte" banks; namely Jeſus Chriſt, *Moſes*, and *Mahomet*;" and openly affirmed " That two of them ſupported their " glory to the laſt; but the third was diſgracefully cru" cified "

Nor does *Frederic* ſeem to have been deficient in epithets of the ſame nature; for, in his apology to the princes of *Germany*, he calls the pope, " That wild beaſt " of which it is written;" and, " Another red horſe " aroſe from the ſea, and he that ſat upon him took " peace from the earth:---this great dragon, which ſe" duced the whole earth, is antichriſt, whoſe forerunner " he affirmed us to be (1)".

(1) *Gol. Perſ. Coſmod. æt.* vi. *c.* 64.

produced all the effect he could desire in the minds of the princes, and kept all the members of the empire firmly united to their chief. *Frederic*, finding he had nothing to fear from that quarter, resolved to be amply revenged upon the *Romans*, and suspended all his other operations in order to march to *Rome*, where he thought his party was strong enough to procure his admission; but the pope, seconded by his clergy, bestirred themselves so artfully among the people, that this his favourite design proved abortive. It was upon this occasion that they engaged in a crusade against him as an enemy of the Christian faith; a step by which he was incensed to such a degree, that he ordered all the prisoners who wore the cross to be exposed to the most cruel tortures [d].

*Makes an attempt upon Rome, and miscarries. A. D. 1239.*

The emperor, baffled in his favourite scheme, ravaged the march of *Trevisano*, and entered the *Milanese*, in order to besiege the capital; but the inhabitants, having assembled all their own troops and those of their allies, engaged him in the open field, where, after a very obstinate and bloody dispute, his army was intirely routed; though, by favour of the night, he made shift to retreat into the territory of *Placentia*. There he ordered the bridge to be broken down, to prevent the pursuit of the enemy; and, in consequence of this expedient, he had time to reach *Tuscany*, where his troops enjoyed some repose.

Mean while all *Italy* became a prey to the two factions of the *Guelphs* and the *Gibelines*, which involved cities, relations, and even private families, in troubles, divisions, and civil butchery, where no quarter was given on either side. *Frederic* was looked upon by the *Guelphs* as a *Mahometan*, and an enemy to the Christian name; and he, on the other hand, treated the *Guelphs* with the utmost cruelty and contempt. After the miscarriage of his attempt upon *Rome*, he took the road to *Naples*, and took vengeance upon all the *Guelphs* that fell in his way, giving quarter to none who were found in arms, but expelling, exiling, or imprisoning, the ecclesiastics, and even the cardinals; some of whom happened to fall into his hands. The pope having called a general council in *Rome*, many prelates from *France* and other countries assembled at *Genoa*, where five and twenty gallies being armed for their defence, and joined with those belonging to the pope, they set sail for *Rome* under that convoy; but being met by the gallies of the *Sicilians* and *Pisans*, who were in the emperor's service, a battle was fought, in which three of the *Genoese* gallies were sunk, and the rest taken, with three cardinals, and a great number of archbishops, bishops, and other ecclesiastics [e]. In a word, this animosity raged with incredible obstinacy and rancour on both sides till the pope's death; and he being succeeded by *Celestin* IV. who enjoyed the papacy but eighteen days, the holy see remained vacant for twenty months, during which *Frederic* sollicited the cardinals to a new election, though he still refused to release those he had taken prisoners; but they as absolutely insisting upon the enlargement of their brethren before they would fill up the vacancy, he was at length prevailed upon to set them at liberty; and the whole college repairing to *Anagni*, elected *Innocent* IV. the cardinal who of all others had expressed the greatest regard for the emperor and his interest. Accordingly that prince was congratulated upon his promotion; but *Frederic*, who had more penetration, replied, that he had no reason to rejoice at an event which deprived him of the friendship of a cardinal, and intailed upon him the hatred of a pope [d]. Nor was he deceived in his prognostic.

*Takes vengeance on the Guelphs.*

*Innocent IV. is elected pope, A. D. 1243.*

The chief care of the new pope and his cardinals was to procure peace for *Italy*, which the emperor would not grant, but on condition of keeping what he possessed; whereas his holiness demanded restitution of the towns which had been taken from the church, as the only basis of a sincere and solid accommodation; and insisted upon his doing homage for the kingdom of *Naples*. Though the emperor refused to comply with these demands, he offered to refer the dispute to the decision of the kings of *France* and *England*; but *Innocent* would not submit to this arbitration. At length they agreed to an interview in the city of *Castello*, in order to discuss these points, and compromise the affair; but whether the pope had been really apprized of the emperor's intention to seize upon his person, as he affected to give out, or only spread that report as a specious pretext for declining the interview, certain it is he would not keep the appointment; and understanding that *Frederic* was incensed against him for that reason, he resolved to elude his resentment by flying for refuge into *France*. With this design he privately sent for the *Genoese* gallies, in which he embarked for *Civita Vecchia*, and was convoyed to *Genoa*; from whence, passing through *Savoy*, he arrived in safety at *Lyons*, where he immediately took measures for convoking a general council; sending his bulls to the archbishops, bishops, and prelates of *Germany*, *France*, *Italy*, and other kingdoms, that they might assemble at *Lyons* on the twenty-fourth of *June*, to deliberate on the measures which should be taken for the security and advantage of the church. In consequence of this call a great many prelates repaired to *Lyons*, where the emperor was summoned to appear, in order to purge himself of what was laid to his charge, and threatened with the thunder of the church, in case he should fail in his obedience. Tho'

*flies into France; convokes a council at Lyons;*

[d] Krantz, ubi supra. [e] Mezerai Abrege Chronolog. t. i. p. 442. [d] Krantz, l. viii. c. 9.

this citation appeared very ſtrange to the emperor, who obſerved that the pope had erected himſelf into a ſovereign judge, whereas all the councils of old had been convoked by the emperors, where the popes and prelates did homage, and obeyed them as their natural lords, he did not fail, however, to ſend ambaſſadors to *Lyons*, who fairly refuted all the accuſations of the pope, and juſtified him with ſuch ſucceſs, that ſeveral members of the aſſembly declared in his favour. Nevertheleſs, he was excommunicated [c] (D): but he was very little concerned at this ſentence; which, when he heard, "I was, ſaid he, before this "excommunication, obedient to the pope and the laws of the church; but now, that he "has diſpenſed with my duty in that particular, I neither owe him obedience nor reſpect, and "continue emperor notwithſtanding." The pope was very much chagrined at this contempt, and repented of having carried matters to ſuch extremity; but finding himſelf engaged too far to retract, he exerted himſelf ſo induſtriouſly by his emiſſaries, that ſome princes of the empire were prevailed upon to proceed to the election of a king of the *Romans*. Accordingly, the three eccleſiaſtic electors, together with the biſhops of *Bremen*, *Strasbourg*, *Metz*, and *Spire*, the duke of *Brabant*, and *Henry* landgrave of *Thuringia*, aſſembled on *Aſcenſion-day* at *Frankfort*, and elected this laſt king of the *Romans*, who was afterwards ſurnamed *The king of Prieſts*. In favour of this election the pope ſollicited ſuccours from all quarters, and preſented the new king with five and twenty thouſand marks of ſilver, to enable him to ſupport the war againſt *Conrad*, whom the emperor had left as his lieutenant in *Germany*; ſo that *Henry*, being in a condition to take the field, gave him battle, and obtained a conſiderable advantage. He afterwards made an irruption into the duchy of *Suabia*, part of the emperor's hereditary dominions, and made an attempt upon *Reutlingen*, which was ſo valiantly defended by the burghers, that he was obliged to retire. He likewiſe attacked the city of *Ulm*, where he received a wound from an arrow, of which, in a few days, he died.

*and excommunicates the emperor.* A. D. 1245.

Henry *landgrave of* Thuringia, *elected king of the* Romans.

THE emperor, underſtanding the bad ſituation of his affairs in *Germany*, reſolved to go in perſon to *Lyons*, and ſollicit an accommodation with the pope. For this purpoſe he had obtained a ſafe-conduct from the king of *France*; and leaving his *Italian* affairs to the direction of his natural ſon, *Entius* king of *Sardinia*, he actually ſet out for that kingdom; but, on his arrival at *Piedmont*, he received the news of *Parma*'s being ſurpriſed by the troops of his holineſs, while *Entius*, with a part of the garriſon, was employed in the attack of *Breſcia*. This information obliged him to abandon his firſt deſign, and return with all expedition into *Italy*, where he obſtinately attached himſelf to the ſiege of *Parma*; which, being well fortified, made ſuch a vigorous defence, that he reſolved to reduce it by famine. He accordingly ſurrounded it with a high wall, and built hard by a new city, called *Victoria*, which in a little time was as well inhabited as any other town in *Italy* [f].

*The emperor ſets out for* Lyons, *but returns on account of* Parma's *being ſurpriſed.* A. D. 1247.

*FREDERIC* perſiſting in his deſign upon *Parma*, ſeveral months were ineffectually conſumed before it, during which he took no ſtep to remedy the bad ſituation of his more important affairs; and this ſupine neglect gave the pope and his partizans ſuch a handle over him, that they found no difficulty in convoking at *Nuitz* an aſſembly of ſeveral princes of the empire, eccleſiaſtic as well as ſecular, where, in the room of the landgrave of *Thuringia*, they elected *William*, count of *Holland*, king of the *Romans* [g]. The cities of *Cologn*, *Mentz*, and *Strasbourg*, approved of this election; but thoſe of *Worms*, *Spire*, *Landau*, and *Weiſſenbourg*, together with others of *Suabia* and *Bavaria*, preſerved their fidelity to the emperor and *Conrad*, in ſpite of all the excommunications of the pope. Mean while the emperor, ſtill attached to the ſiege of *Parma*, lived in the midſt of enemies and traitors, who, as they could not execute their revenge upon him in open war, had recourſe to poiſon, during an indiſpoſition which confined him to his bed. For this purpoſe, they bribed not only his firſt phyſician, but alſo *Peter de Vineis*, a native of *Capua*, who was his chancellor and intimate friend, who undertook his deſtruction by means of a poiſoned draught; but

William, *count of* Holland, *choſen king of the* Romans, *in the room of the landgrave of* Thuringia.

*An attempt by poiſon on the emperor's life.*

[c] GOB. PERS. Coſm. ætat. vii. cap. 64. KRANTZ, Sax. l. viii. cap. 12. [f] KRANTZ, Sax. l. viii. c. 13. HEISS, l. ii. c. 17. [g] Ann. Boior. Jo. AVENT. l. vii. p. 549.

(D) The pope declared *Frederic* attainted and convicted of ſacrilege and hereſy, excommunicated, and dethroned; commanded the electors to proceed to the election of another emperor, and reſerved to himſelf the diſpoſal of *Sicily*. This ſentence being pronounced, the pope ſung *Te Deum*; and all the prelates anathematized *Frederic*, extinguiſhing their tapers by holding the flames downwards.

If we may believe *Matthew Paris*, the emperor, who was then at *Turin*, received the news of this ceremony with tranſports of rage very unbecoming a prince of his dignity. He called for the caſket in which the imperial ornaments were kept; and putting the crown upon his head, "*Innocent*, cried he, has not yet deprived me of "this, nor will I give it up without abundance of bloodſhed; but we ſhall ſee how he and his adherents will "ſupport this inſtance of audacity."

Certain it is, he wrote to almoſt all the princes of Chriſtendom, vindicating his own conduct, expatiating upon the pope's violence and injuſtice, complaining of their indifference, and ſolliciting their aſſiſtance (1).

(1) *Matth. Paris, p.* 702.

*Frederic,*

a *Frederic*, being luckily apprized of their purpoſe, refuſed the cup when it was preſented to him; though *Peter de Vineis* intreated him to take the medicine, of which, he ſaid, he would ſoon feel the good effects. The phyſician likewiſe joining in the remonſtrance, the emperor fixed his eyes upon him, and ordered him to drink one-half of it to his health. Confounded at this command, he pretended to ſtumble, as if by accident, and ſpilt one-half of the medicine. This expedient, however, was not ſo artfully executed, but that all who were preſent perceived his guilt and confuſion; upon which he and his accomplice the chancellor were immediately put under arreſt, and what remained in the glaſs given to a condemned malefactor, who inſtantly died of the doſe. This being a convincing proof of their treacherous intention, the phyſician was ſtrangled; and the chancellor's eyes being put out,
b he was abandoned to the reſentment of the *Piſans*, who were his mortal enemies [h]. But this miſerable traitor daſhed out his own brains againſt a pillar, in order to anticipate their ridicule and reſentment.

A. D. 1248. Frederic *is defeated by the* Parmeſans.

Not long after this event, fortune, which had hitherto favoured *Frederic*, all at once declared againſt him. He ſtill continued his operations before *Parma*; but as, in thoſe tedious ſieges, the troops are apt to relax in their vigilance and diſcipline, and ſink into a dangerous ſecurity, the beſieged took the advantage of *Frederic*'s careleſſneſs and neglect; and making a furious and unexpected ſally, cut in pieces the greateſt part of the imperial troops; and purſuing thoſe that fled, entered with them pell-mell into their camp and city, and put all they found to the ſword. It was impoſſible to reſiſt the torrent; ſo that the emperor,
c who was altogether unprovided for reſiſtance, mounted his horſe unarmed, and eſcaped to *Cremona*; while the *Parmeſans* pillaged his palace and camp, and razed his new city of *Victoria* to the ground. The report of this victory, being ſpread over all *Italy*, not only raiſed the ſpirits of the *Guelphs*, and the reputation of the legate, *Gregory Montelongo*, who had conducted the enterprize, but likewiſe overwhelmed the *Gibelines* with diſmay and deſpondence. The emperor, indeed, without allowing himſelf to be dejected at this overthrow, re-aſſembled all his ſcattered troops, and reinforced them with the *Gibelines*, who flocked to him from all quarters: but his reputation being greatly diminiſhed by this defeat, no town of any conſideration would receive him; and to crown the misfortune, he learned, while he remained in *Tuſcany*, that his natural ſon *Entius*, king of *Sardinia*, with whom he had in-
d truſted the command of his troops, had marched againſt the *Bolognians*, by whom he was defeated and taken priſoner; and what added to his affliction on this occaſion, was their refuſing all the offers of ranſom which he made in behalf of that prince, who ended his life among them, after a captivity of twenty years.

*His natural ſon* Entius *is taken priſoner by the* Bolognians.

The emperor, being thus deſtitute of all other reſource, reſolved to return to his kingdom of *Naples*, in order to recruit his army; for which purpoſe he carried on levies with great diligence. Mean while he ſettled his private affairs with reſpect to the partition of his dominions, which he regulated in this manner: To his natural ſon, *Mainfroy*, he bequeathed the principality of *Tarentum*, together with the government of his hereditary dominions in *Italy*, for the term of ten years. *Entius* had been already ſettled in the kingdom of *Sar-*
e *dinia*; to *Henry*, his third ſon, he gave the kingdom of *Sicily*, and *Auſtria* to *Frederic*, his grandſon, by the late *Henry*, his firſt-born of the firſt marriage; to *Conrad* he left the kingdoms of *Naples*, *Jeruſalem*, and *Italy*, together with the duchy of *Suabia*, and the empire. As for his two daughters, one of them was already married to *Albert* landgrave of *Thuringia* (E), and the other to the landgrave of *Heſſe*. In a few days after this diſtribution, he died of a fever, in the fifty-fifth year of his age [i] (F).

*He retires to his kingdam of* Naples, *and dies.*

*FREDERIC* was certainly a prince of great genius, erudition, courage, and fortitude, and might be juſtly ranked amongſt the moſt accompliſhed princes, if the violence of his temper, the cruelty of his revenge, and his exceſſive appetite for women, had not contributed to tarniſh the glory of his reputation (G).

*IN-*

[h] Danæus, in Aph. Pol. Chr. Relig. [i] Krantz, Sax. l. viii. c. 18. Heiss, l. ii. c. 17.

(E) His eldeſt daughter, *Margaret*, was very unhappy in her marriage with *Albert*, landgrave of *Thuringia*, who, at the inſtigation of one of his miſtreſſes, reſolved to make away with her in the caſtle of *Wartburg*, near *Eiſenac*; but thoſe who were employed to execute his barbarous deſign reſpected the princeſs ſo much, as to give her an opportunity to eſcape into a convent in *Frankfort*. She had two ſons by him, *Frederic* and *Dietmann*; at parting with whom ſhe bit a mark in the cheek of the eldeſt, that he might remember, ſo long as he lived, the wrongs of his mother, and revenge them with the firſt convenient opportunity. Accordingly *Frederic*, when he came to be of age, expelled his father from his dominions, and compelled him to fly for ſhelter to *Erfort*, where he died in miſery (1).

(F) *Mezeray* and ſome other hiſtorians affirm, that he was ſtifled with a pillow by his own natural ſon *Mainfroy*.

(G) Though it cannot be denied that *Frederic* II. exerciſed extraordinary cruelties againſt thoſe who incurred his reſentment, it muſt likewiſe be owned, that his provocation was very great; for the popes were indefatigable in ſowing the ſeeds of ſedition through all his dominions, and in propagating calumnies to the prejudice of his character. By the intrigues of the clergy, the empire was ſplit into ſuch diviſions and quarrels, as ren-

(1) *Remarq. ſur Heiſs, l.* ii. *c.* 113.

dered

## *INTERREGNUM.*

a

A. D. 1250. *Is succeeded by* Conrad, *who had narrowly escaped assassination.*

WE have already seen that *Conrad*, when he was no more than eight years of age, had been elected and crowned king of the *Romans* in the room of his elder brother; but we have not yet observed, that ten years after his election, he married *Elizabeth*, daughter of *Otho*, king of *Bavaria*, nor mentioned an accident that happened to him after his defeat by *Henry* of *Thuringia*, commonly called *King of Priests*. This was an attempt upon his life by the bishop of *Ratisbon* and the abbot of *St. Emeran*. *Conrad*, after the battle, had retired into the city of *Ratisbon*, of which some time before he had made himself master, and with a small retinue went to lodge at the aforesaid abbey. The bishop, looking upon this as a favourable opportunity for his execrable design, sent thither in the night some soldiers to assassinate *Conrad*, when he should be asleep: but he having happily changed his apartment, the murderers killed two of his attendants by mistake, and retired upon a supposition that they had done their business; while *Conrad*, waked by the noise, escaped to his army, which was encamped under the city walls. Next day he ordered the bishop and abbot to be apprehended, and the abbey to be demolished. The bishop was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, the abbot was deprived of his benefice, and *Hochfels*, who had murdered the two attendants and fled, was in a few days struck dead with thunder [h].

b

*He sets out for his* Italian *dominions, quarrels with the pope, and dies.* A. D. 1254.

*CONRAD* no sooner received the news of his father's death, than he assumed the quality of emperor, and set out for *Germany* to take possession of his hereditary dominions; but the cities of *Naples*, *Capua*, and *Aquina*, had put themselves under the protection of the holy see. He therefore marched towards *Naples*, which he invested and took after a siege of eight months. But he did not long enjoy this conquest in peace; for he was engaged in several quarrels with the church of *Rome*, and in a little time fell sick and died, leaving by his wife, *Elizabeth* of *Bavaria*, an only son, called *Conradin*, at that time in the third year of his age. His brother prince *Henry*, who had come to congratulate him upon the success of his arms, did not live to see his untimely fate; but was cut off in the blossom of his youth, not without suspicion of foul play. Some authors affirm, that *Conrad* was poisoned by his natural brother *Mainfroy*, prince of *Tarentum*, who taking the advantage of the minority of young *Conradin*, whom his father had left in *Germany*, seized upon the kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily* [i].

c

d

William *count of* Holland, *crowned at* Aix-la-Chapelle, *and favoured by the pope.*

*WILLIAM* II. count of *Holland*, son of *Florentinus* IV. had been, in the twentieth year of his age, elected king of the *Romans*, in an assembly near *Cologn*, by several princes of the empire, who were in the interest of the pope, and declared enemies of *Frederic* and his son *Conrad*. As his coronation at *Aix la Chapelle* was supposed to be a matter of great importance, and that city had declared for his competitor, it was taken after a long siege [k], when he was crowned in it with the usual solemnity; and some time after that ceremony, he had engaged and defeated *Conrad* in a severe battle.

e

AT the death of the emperor *Frederic*, he assumed all the ensigns of the imperial dignity, which was confirmed to him by the pope. In order to support himself against the party of *Conrad*, he entered into an alliance with *Otho*, duke of *Brunswick*, whose daughter he espoused, and a very remarkable accident happened to him on his wedding-night.

SOME tradesmen being at work in a chamber near the apartments of the new-married couple, a candle's end happened to fall among straw, which it immediately kindled; and the flames raged with such violence, that the miserable workmen perished, and *William*, with his bride, were obliged to run out of the palace naked, with such precipitation, that their jewels, furniture, and apparel, were left to the mercy of that devouring element.

f

THIS was not the only hazardous accident which this unfortunate emperor escaped; for being that same year at *Utrecht*, to which city he had repaired in order to concert measures for his journey to *Rome*, whither he was invited by the pope, to his coronation, he was

[h] HEISS, l. ii. c. 18. Ann. Boior. AVENT. l. vii. p. 551.
[i] Vide MORERI, sur l'Article de Conr. IV.
[k] AVENT. Ann. Boior. l. vii. p. 549.

dered it a scene of rapine, misery, and blood: they raised up two competitors against his son *Conrad* in *Germany*; they supported the league of the *Italian* cities against himself; they denounced excommunications, and even preached up crusades, as if he had been an enemy of the Christian name; and, lastly, employed all their industry and invention, in order to murder his reputation. For this reason we ought to be upon our guard, when we read the accounts of him written by monks, bigotted to the church of *Rome*, with which he was always at variance.

Certain it is, he was a great encourager of learning: he set up schools at *Naples*, and caused *Aristotle* and other antient authors, to be translated from the *Greek* and *Arabian* languages; and with regard to his settling a colony of *Saracens* at *Nocera*, for which he hath been much exclaimed against, the malice and rancour of the *Guelphs* are sufficient excuses for his having taken any step of that kind, which might contribute to his own safety and advantage.

a. ſo terribly wounded with a ſtone from an unknown hand, that he had almoſt loſt his life.

THE party of this young prince did not make much progreſs in *Germany* againſt the noblemen who refuſed to acknowlege him as king of the *Romans*; nor was he ſtrong enough to ſubdue them by force, involved, as he happened to be, in a war with *Margaret* counteſs of *Hainault*, who wanted to defraud her eldeſt ſon by her firſt huſband of his inheritance, that ſhe might beſtow it upon the ſons of her ſecond marriage. The diſpute had been referred to the arbitration of *Lewis* king of *France*, and *Eudes*, the pope's legate; but *John d' Avenes*, the eldeſt ſon, being diſſatisfied with their deciſion, had recourſe to arms; and with the aſſiſtance of *William* king of the *Romans*, who was his brother-in-law, reduced the mother and her younger ſons to ſuch extremity, that ſhe was fain to cede the county of b *Hainault* to *Charles* count of *Anjou*, the *French* king's brother, on condition that he would aſſiſt her with his forces. Thus ſupported, ſhe renewed the war with various ſucceſs, until it was terminated by a treaty at *Bruſſels*, effected by the mediation of *France* [l].

*William count of Holland, engaged in a war with Margaret counteſs of Hainault.*

WHILE this affair was in agitation, *William* neglected no opportunity to conciliate the affection of the *German* princes and ſtates. He gratified *John* and *Otho*, marquiſſes of *Brandenburg*, with the reverſion of the imperial fiefs in *Saxony*; he beſtowed on *Thomas* of *Savoy* the inveſtiture of *Turin*, *Montealier*, *Ivrea*, and ſeveral other fiefs that conſtitute the power and greatneſs of the houſe of *Maurienne*; and confirmed the rights and privileges which had been granted to *Thomas* of *Savoy* by the emperor *Frederic* II. He likewiſe pac tronized and protected a league, or aſſociation, formed by the cities of *Frankfort*, *Mentz*, *Cologn*, *Worms*, and *Spire*, for the defence of their commerce, which in thoſe times of confuſion had ſuffered grievouſly from a number of little petty noblemen, poſſeſſed of caſtles, who lived upon plunder and rapine; and the effects of this ſociety were ſo viſibly advantageous to the public, that almoſt all the trading towns of *Germany* and *Flanders* ſued for admiſſion; ſo that, in one year after the inſtitution, the confederacy included above threeſcore towns, together with a good number of noblemen, zealous to encourage the commerce of their ſubjects. This, in all probability, is the true epocha of the general union among the hans towns [m]; tho' ſuch a treaty had long before ſubſiſted between *Lubec*, *Hamburgh*, and *Bremen*; in conſequence of which, veſſels of war were maintained at the comd mon charge, in order to protect their commerce; their bills were negotiated without difficulty, and a firm credit was mutually eſtabliſhed among them.

*He conciliates the affection of the German noblemen, and patronizes the union of the hans-towns.*

AT this period, however, neither theſe three cities, nor the noblemen of *Lower Saxony*, could engage in this aſſociation, becauſe the war, in which they were involved by the *Danes*, would not permit them to contract new engagements. *Lubec* had fitted out a fleet againſt *Eric* king of *Denmark*, who had quarrelled with his three brothers; and they, finding themſelves unable to cope with ſuch an antagoniſt, had ſollicited aſſiſtance of the regency of this town, as well as of the dukes of *Saxony*, and the marquis of *Brandenburg*. By means of theſe allies, the brothers *Abel*, *Canut*, and *Chriſtopher*, maintained the war for ſome time, though with indifferent ſucceſs, until a reconciliation was effected by the mediation of *Jean* e of *Brandenburg*, and the dukes of *Saxony* and *Brunſwick*. After this accommodation, king *Eric* was betrayed and murdered by the accomplices of his brother *Abel*, who immediately mounted the throne, and reigned with the moſt arbitrary ſway. In particular, he impoſed grievous taxes upon the *Friezelanders*; and they being incapable of raiſing the ſums which he demanded, he laid waſte their country with fire and ſword, oppreſſing them to ſuch a degree, that they became deſperate, ran to arms, attacked him in his camp, routed his forces, and purſued him into a moraſs, where he periſhed.

*Inteſtine troubles of* Denmark.

HIS eldeſt ſon, *Waldemar*, being at that time priſoner to the archbiſhop of *Cologn*, his brother *Chriſtopher* took the advantage of his nephew's abſence to ſeize the crown of *Denmark*; and, under pretence of being guardian to *Abel*'s children, took poſſeſſion of the duchy f of *Sleſwic*, which they inherited by the death of their father. The counts of *Holſtein*, who were uncles to the children of *Abel* by the mother's ſide, after having made fruitleſs remonſtrances to *Chriſtopher* on the ſubject of this unjuſt encroachment, ſollicited aid of *John* and *Otho*, marquiſſes of *Brandenburg*, whoſe troops enabled them to retake the town of *Sleſwic*, and reduce the reſt of *Holſtein* under their power; while the fleet of *Lubec* ravaged the coaſts of *Scania*, and a rebellion broke out in the heart of *Denmark*.

*CHRISTOPHER*, thus hampered on all hands, gladly liſtened to propoſals for an accommodation, which was concluded by the good offices of the dukes of *Saxony*, on condition that *Chriſtopher* ſhould reſtore the duchy of *Sleſwic*, to his nephews, and that they ſhould renounce all pretenſions to the crown. This affair being ſettled, young *Waldemar* was, g after having been a priſoner four years, ſet at liberty, in conſideration of a ranſom paid to the archbiſhop of *Cologn*, by whom he had been arreſted at *Bonn*, without any cauſe aſſigned [n].

[l] Chron. Fland. p. 59. DUMONT. Corp. Diplom. t. i. p. 205. [m] STRUV. per. vii. [n] PONTAN. rer. Dan. Hiſt. BARRE, t. vi. p. 27 & ſeq.

*A crusade against the* Prussians.

DURING these transactions, an army of *German* crusards, under the command of *Ottocarus* king of *Bohemia*, marched into *Prussia* to the relief of the *Teutonic* knights, who had been deprived of several towns, and cooped up in others, by the infidels of the country, reinforced with a body of *Tartars*. The *German* auxiliaries, being joined by the knights, worsted these idolaters in several encounters, and at last defeated them in a pitched battle; after which the town of *Elburg* surrendered at discretion, the *Prussian* generals were baptized, and, upon this occasion, the town of *Konigsberg* was founded by the *Teutonic* knights [o].

*The affairs of* Italy.

WHILE *William* endeavoured to establish himself in *Germany*, great part of *Italy* was involved in war and confusion. The young *Conradin*, who still remained in *Germany* with his mother, *Elizabeth* of *Bavaria*, had been recommended by his father to the protection of the holy see; and *Mainfroy*, who acted as regent for the kingdom of *Sicily*, sent his ambassadors to pope *Innocent* to signify this request. His holiness accordingly promised to defend his ward, and preserve for him the kingdom of *Jerusalem*, the duchy of *Suabia*, and the other great fiefs that belonged to the emperor *Frederic*; but, at the same time, he commanded *Mainfroy* to leave the administration of *Sicily* to the holy see, of which it was a fief, and excommunicated him from non-compliance. *Mainfroy*, who harboured the design of seizing the kingdom for himself, finding the pope's party very strong in *Sicily*, thought proper to temporize, and deprecate the wrath of *Innocent*, who, in consequence of this submission, freed him from the censure of the church, confirmed him in the principality of *Tarentum*, and appointed him his lieutenant for a great part of the kingdom. But this harmony was not of long duration: a nobleman of the pope's court being assassinated, *Mainfroy* was suspected of having contrived the murder, because he had been at enmity with the defunct; and though he exerted all his endeavours to acquit himself of the imputation, he could not vindicate his character to the satisfaction of the pope, who resolved to arrest and punish him as a malefactor. *Mainfroy*, apprized of his intent, retired to *Lucera*, where he was received with open arms by the *Saracen* inhabitants, who supplied him with money to raise an army; then, taking the field, he marched towards *Troja*, where he defeated the ecclesiastical troops commanded by the pope's legate. *Innocent* did not long survive this misfortune; and dying at *Naples*, was succeeded by *Alexander* IV. whose first care, after his elevation, was to check the progress of *Mainfroy*. He appointed a new legate to command the troops in the room of the cardinal *de Fresque*, who was lately dead, and bestowed upon the marquis of *Honebruc* the post of high-steward of the kingdom of *Naples*: but this new general, finding himself inferior in strength to *Mainfroy*, sued for peace, and an accommodation was effected, though the pope refused to ratify the treaty; and holding the throne of *Sicily* as vacant, offered it to *Edmund*, second son of *Henry* III. king of *England*: nay, he ordered a crusade to be preached up in that kingdom against *Mainfroy*; and, borrowing great sums of money upon the credit of the *English* monarch, reinforced his army commanded by cardinal *Octaviano Ubaldini*, and ordered him to besiege *Mainfroy* in *Nocera*. The prince of *Tarentum*, however, saved him that trouble, by attacking him in the field with such fury, that the papal forces were intirely routed, and the victor made himself master of *Capua*, *Labour*, *Apulia*, and the greatest part of *Calabria*; thence he transported his army into *Sicily*, which he soon reduced to his obedience; while his holiness retired to *Viterbo*, to wait for a reinforcement from *England* [p].

*Pope* Innocent *dies, and is succeeded by* Alexander IV.

*whose troops are defeated by* Mainfroy. A. D. 1255.

*The king of the* Romans *exposed to unfortunate accidents, and slain by the* Frizelanders. A. D. 1256.

MEAN while *William* king of the *Romans* undertook an expedition against the *Frizelanders*, who had revolted; because he not only exacted homage of them to the counts of *Holland*, but also wanted to abrogate their antient laws and privileges, which had been granted and confirmed by *Charlemagne*. In the prosecution of this design, he met with a misfortune which proved his last; for attempting to pass over the morasses, which were frozen, in order to reconnoitre the burgh of *Hochwend*, without any attendants, the ice broke, and he and his horse stuck fast in the mud. The *Frizelanders*, seeing him in this situation, killed him [q], without knowing who he was, and carried his body into the burgh; but afterwards, understanding it was the emperor they had slain, they privately buried him in a burgher's house, being afraid of a severe chastisement from the princes of *Germany* for having shed the blood of their sovereign. Thus perished that unfortunate young prince, who, by his courage and accomplishments, was worthy of a better fate.

*The empire involved in troubles and confusion.*

THE election of the landgrave of *Thuringia*, and that of the count of *Holland*, both of which were effected by the practices of *Rome* against *Frederic* II. had divided *Germany* into such violent factions, as entirely destroyed public peace and good order. The clergy took arms against the laity, the weak were oppressed by the strong, and laws divine and human were disregarded; nay, to such a degree of disorder did those disturbances rise, that, as we have already observed, the towns of *Spire*, *Frankfort*, *Bingen*, and *Oppenheim*, were obliged

[o] DUBRAV. l. xvii. p. 137. [p] RAIN. ad ann. 1255. [q] KRANTZ, & GOB. PERS. ibid. HEISS, l. ii. c. 20.

TO

a to enter into an association for the security of commerce and the public roads; and *Louis*, count palatine, seeing the good effects of this confederacy, desired to be included in the league: which, by his example, was reinforced by a great number of other towns and noblemen (H). These confederates abolished the toll upon rivers, which had been introduced and augmented during the troubles; by which means, the tranquillity of those countries was restored, though it was soon destroyed by the villainy of those, who wanted to convert the public disorder to their own private advantage.

After the death of the emperor *William*, the princes several times assembled, in order to elect a successor; but these meetings produced no effect, because no prince would undertake such a weighty charge. At length, however, *Conrad*, archbishop of *Cologn*, made a b proffer of it to *Richard*, duke of *Cornwall*, brother to *Henry* III. king of *England*, who accepted the proposal, and repaired to *Germany* [r]. It is remarkable of this prelate, who was devoted to the court of *Rome*, that by his address he had, since the excommunication of the emperor *Frederic* II. raised three princes successively to the dignity of the king of the *Romans*, namely, *Henry*, landgrave of *Thuringia*; *William*, count of *Holland*; and this *Richard*, duke of *Cornwall*. With regard to this last, indeed, foreseeing the difficulty he should have in elevating him to the imperial throne without the archbishop of *Mentz*, who had been kept prisoner a whole year by *Albert* of *Brunswic*, he engaged *Richard*, over and above the vast presents he had already made him, to pay eight thousand marks of silver for the ransom of that prelate, on condition he should assist him with his vote and interest for obtaining the c crown. Accordingly the archbishop of *Mentz*, being released, convoked a diet at *Frankfort*, where *Richard* was elected by the two archbishops, *Louis*, count palatine, his brother *Henry*, and some others, who had been influenced by their advice [s]. On the other hand, the archbishop of *Triers*, and some other princes, who refused to appear at this election, held another assembly, in which they declared for *Alphonso*, king of *Castile*, surnamed *the Astrologer*; and the archbishop having obtained, by proxy, the votes of the king of *Bohemia*, the duke of *Saxony*, and the marquis of *Brandenboug*, in favour of that prince, dispatched into *Spain* the bishops of *Spire* and *Constance* to inform him of his election [t]. *Alphonso* accepted this honour with many acknowlegements; but as his war against the *Moors* hindered him from repairing into *Germany* at that time, he dismissed the ambassadors, after having treated d them with great magnificence, and loaded them with presents for the electors, and other princes of *Germany*. Nevertheless, those who had espoused the cause of *Richard* did not desist from their enterprize: he was conducted to *Aix-la-Chapelle*, and, with his empress *Sanctia* (I), crowned on the *Ascension-day*, by the hands of the archbishop of *Cologn*. This ceremony being performed, he visited the towns situated upon the *Rhine*, namely, *Cologn*, *Bopport*, *Wesel*, *Mentz*, *Oppenheim*, *Frankfort*, *Worms*, and *Spire*, from which he received the usual homage. But this was no more than a fire of straw; for this prince being exhausted by the great largesses he was obliged to make in purchasing votes for his election, and finding himself without credit (K), friends, or resource, to maintain the imperial dignity, was obliged to abandon the empire, and retire into *England*, where he ended his days. But he e did not abandon *Germany* before he committed the care of the empire to three vicars, namely, *Werner de Falkenstein*, archbishop of *Mentz*, who governed *Alsace*; *Philip de Falkenstein*, who

Richard, *duke of* Cornwall, *is elected emperor by one party*;

*and* Alphonso, *king of* Castile, *chosen by another*. A. D. 1257.

Richard *is crowned at* Aix-la-Chapelle;

*and soon abandons the empire* A. D. 1258.

[r] Vide Auct. sup. citat. Mezer. Abr. Chron. t. i. p. 452. ibid. Gob. Pers. Cosm. æt. vi. c. 65. Krantz. Sax. l. viii. c. 22. [s] Ann. Boior. l. vii. p. 559. [t] Idem

(H) In this association were likewise engaged *Gerhard*, elector of *Mentz*; *Conrad*, elector of *Cologne*; *Arnold*, elector of *Triers*; *Jacob*, bishop of *Metz*; the abbot of *Fulde*; *Conrad Wilgraf*; *Richard*, count of *Catzenelnbogen*; *Frederic*, count of *Luningen*; *Berthold*, count of *Zeigenhagen*; *Ernich* and *Galtfrede Wiltgraves*; *Pappo*, lord of *Tubingen*; *Ulrich*, count of *Baor*; the count of *Wirnberg*; *Sophia*, landgravine of *Thuringia*; *Adelbert*, countess of *Leinengen*; the lords of *Tireberg*; *Ulrich* of *Mentzenber*; *Gerlach* of *Limberg*; *Philip* of *Henckenfelt*; *Philip* of *Falckenstein*; the lord of *Starenberg*; the cup-bearer of *Erbach*; the steward of *Altzey*; *Henry Ermberg*; *Runbost* of *Steinbach*; the cities of *Cologne*, *Strasbourg*, *Basil*, *Zurich*, *Fribourg*, *Brisac*, *Colmar*, *Schelestat*, *Haguenau*, *Weissenbourg*, *Neustadt*, *Wimpfen*, *Heidelbourg*, *Lauterbourg*, *Freideberg*, *Witzlar*, *Gleinhausen*, *Marburg*, *Altzfelt*, *Fulde*, *Mulhausen*, *Achuffenburg*, *Seligstadt*, *Diebach*, *Bacharach*, *Wesel*, *Boppart*, *Andernach*, *Bonn*, *Neus*, *Aix-la-Chapelle*, *Munster*, *Bremen*, *Bravenberg*, and *Hirchsfelt* (9).

(I) *Richard*'s wife *Sanctia*, or *Senchia*, was sister of *Philip*, count of *Falkenstein*. She was counted the most beautiful woman of her time, and captivated *Richard*, who married her at *Worms*, where their nuptials were celebrated with extraordinary magnificence (1).

(K) *Richard*'s money entirely failing in the city of *Basil*, the princes of *Germany* took that opportunity of abandoning him; giving out, that they had not elected him for his personal merit, but solely for his riches; so they sent to him a formal act, by which they renounced the oath of allegiance they had taken, and he was fain to make the best of his way into his own country (2).

One may judge of these largesses by which he was exhausted, by the immense sums he possessed before his election. Such were his treasures, that he was in a condition to spend an hundred marks a day for the space of ten years, without touching the revenues he drew from *Germany* and *England* (3).

(9) *Heiss, Hist. de l'Emp, l.* xi. *c.* 19. (1) *Trithem. Chron. Hirsang. ad ann.* 1257. (2) *Frag. Hist. p.* 93. (3) *Matth. Paris, p* 809

held

held the administration of *Wetteravia*; and *Philip de Hohenfels*, who enjoyed the vicariate of *Worms*, *Mentz*, *Openheim*, and other cities. a

*RICHARD*, at his coronation, invested *Ottocarus* with the kingdom of *Bohemia*, and the duchy of *Austria*. In passing thro' *Flanders*, he received homage for the county of *Hainault* from *Guy de Dampierre*, whom he created a prince of the empire; together with the renunciation of prince *Henry* to the duchy of *Brabant* in favour of his brother *John*; and performed many other acts of sovereignty before he returned to *England*, where he still preserved the title of king of the *Romans*, tho' he did not concern himself much with the affairs [u] of the empire (L).

AFTER *Richard*'s abdication, *Alphonso* might have peaceably enjoyed the empire, had not his wars with the *Moors* rendered it impossible for him to quit his own dominions. Nevertheless he likewise exercised the imperial authority with respect to *Frederic*, duke of *Lorraine*, who brought the news of his election: he gave him the investiture of his duchy in the most solemn manner, and assigned to him an annual pension of a thousand marks upon the city of *Burgos*, in consideration of the homage which he rendered to *Alphonso* in the market-place of *Toledo*, according to the custom of *Castile*. b

EACH competitor sollicited the pope to confirm and support his election, and annul the pretensions of his antagonist. However, they received nothing but evasive answers from his holiness, who thought proper to observe a strict neutrality, that he might not, by espousing either party, give offence to one of the two princes whose friendship was of such consequence to the *Roman* church. From the kingdom of *England* he drew very large subsidies, and the arms of *Alphonso* were necessary to curb the insolence of the infidels in *Spain*, over whom the king of *Castile* had obtained several complete victories. c

*which is involved in trouble and confusion.*

FROM the departure of *Richard*, therefore, to the election of *Rodolphus*, the empire may be said to have been without a chief, and, during that inter-regnum, suffered all the miseries of a country abandoned to destruction: no laws were observed, no order was maintained; murder, theft, and all sorts of license, were committed with impunity; the poor and weak subjected to the most miserable oppression; and the constitutions of the empire utterly neglected and laid aside. These disorders were not confined to *Germany*; they passed the *Alps*, and the greatest part of the cities and states of *Italy*, which depended upon the empire, either erected themselves into independent republics, or chose princes from the number of their own citizens. In short, universal confusion prevailed, and the accounts we have of these times partake of that confusion; for they generally content themselves with lamenting the deplorable condition of their country, without giving a regular detail of the incidents that constituted its distress. Bishops and prelates had recourse to arms, and shed each other's blood for the defence or augmentation of their benefices; implacable quarrels, and incessant wars were kindled, and raged with great violence among private noblemen, on the most trivial disputes; nothing but rapine and robbery prevailed; travelling was become unsafe; commerce almost altogether extinguished; and anarchy reigned in full despotism. d

IN vain did the princes convoke assemblies to remedy these evils: as there was no supreme authority to influence and direct their deliberations, they produced nothing but fruitless debate and altercation; and sometimes the disputes of individuals terminated in open defiance and bloodshed. e

HARRASSED by these miseries, the princes of *Germany* resolved to proceed to a new election; and *Werner*, archbishop of *Mentz*, convoked a diet, at which it was supposed that young *Conradin* would be elevated to the imperial throne; but pope *Urban*, being apprized of their intention, forbad them to chuse the grandson of *Frederic* II. on pain of excommunication; and at the same time undertook to determine the difference between *Alphonso* of *Castile* and *Richard* of *England*, within a limited time; before the expiration of which he died; and *Clement* IV. his successor, left the dispute still undecided.

IN the mean time, the empire continued to groan under the most severe oppression; and the people, instead of exercising their endeavours to re-establish the peace of their own country, were so infatuated as to take up the cross, and form an expedition against the *Prussian* pagans, who had once more quarrelled with the *Teutonic* knights. f

AT length the miseries of *Germany* became so intolerable, that leagues were formed between cities and states for their mutual security; noblemen engaged in contracts of confraternity, in consequence of which they obliged themselves to assist one another with their

[u] GOLDAST. t. i. p. 311. Hist. de Hainault, l. x.

(L) Tho' we follow the most authentic historians in saying, that *Richard* did not meddle with the affairs of the empire after his first return to *England*, *Thomas Wick*, in his chronicle, affirms, that he repaired at three different times to *Germany*, and even governed the empire till his dying day (3).

(3) *Wic. Chronica Compendios. ad ann.* 1269.

a lives and fortunes; and in caſe either party died without male iſſue, his lands and ſuperiorities devolved to the ſurvivor. This kind of *pactum*, or covenant, was afterwards much practiſed in the empire, but could not take place without the ſanction of the diet, and the conſent of the ſtates belonging to the contracting parties [x].

It was alſo during this inter-regnum that ſome princes, and a good number of cities, ſeeing their laws without force, and the empire without a chief, or judge, for the adminiſtration of juſtice, inſtituted certain arbitrators, whom they called *Auſtreques*, inveſted with ſovereign power, to decide all differences and ſuits that might happen among the conſtituents. Their office laſted but ſix months, at the end of which others were choſen; and this tribunal continued in force till the reign of *Maximilian* I. who ſubjected their juriſdiction
b to the diet of the empire [y].

But, waving the particular ſcenes of violence, injuſtice, and uſurpation, we ſhall proceed to the relation of an event, which, tho' it does not immediately regard the empire, is yet naturally connected with it, being an account of the laſt prince of one of its moſt powerful families.

*MAINFROY*, the emperor *Frederic*'s baſtard ſon, ſeeing the whole houſe of *Suabia* reduced to *Conradin*, who was an infant, had ſeized upon the kingdom of *Naples*, and become ſo powerful as to rouſe the jealouſy of pope *Urban* IV. who, that he might not have a maſter ſo near him, made an offer of the kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily* to *Charles*, brother of St. *Lewis*, and count of *Anjou* and *Provence* [z]. The propoſal was embraced; but *Urban* dying
c about the end of the year, was ſucceeded by *Clement* IV. who confirmed the choice of his predeceſſor, and preſſed *Charles* to come without delay, and take poſſeſſion of his kingdoms. In conſequence of theſe ſollicitations, that prince put himſelf at the head of a powerful army, marched directly to *Rome*, and the pope, who was not then in that city, having impowered five cardinals to perform the ceremony of his coronation, he, with his wife *Beatrice*, was crowned and conſecrated, on condition of holding his kingdoms of the holy ſee, and of paying to it annually the ſum of ſixty thouſand ducats, as a mark of acknowlegement. He then put himſelf at the head of his army, being reinforced by the *Guelphs*, who flocked to him from all quarters; and after having gained ſeveral advantages, at laſt obtained a com-
d plete victory near *Benevento*, in which *Mainfroy* was ſlain, ſo that he found very little difficulty in making himſelf maſter of the *Two Sicilies* [a]. But, far from enjoying his good fortune with humanity, he let the wife and children of *Mainfroy*, together with ſeveral noblemen of that party, die in priſon, and allowed his army to commit enormous cruelties when the city of *Benevento* was taken.

A. D. 1263. *The pope makes an offer of the kingdom of* Naples *to* Charles, *count of* Anjou.

*Who defeats* Mainfroy, *and makes himſelf maſter of the* Two Sicilies. A. D. 1266.

Mean while *Conradin*, duke of *Suabia*, and ſon of the emperor *Conrad*, at that time no more than ſixteen years of age, who lived at the court of *Lewis the Severe*, duke of *Bavaria*, his own uncle by the mother's ſide, hearing the news of *Mainfroy*'s death, aſſumed the title of king of the *Two Sicilies*, which belonged to him by right of inheritance; and being excited by the *Gibelines*, who were afraid that the *Guelphs* would grow too powerful by the ſupport of *Charles* of *Anjou*, he reſolved to hazard every thing for a crown, to which he had ſuch an
e indiſputable claim. Accordingly he levied forces, with which he marched into *Italy*, defeated one of the lieutenants of *Charles*, and, fluſhed with this victory, began to flatter himſelf with the hopes of being proclaimed emperor, eſpecially when he had brought over to his party a *German*, named *Honorius*, his own relation, and a ſenator of *Rome*. With this expectation he marched towards that capital, and was received with great magnificence, as emperor, by Don *Henry* of *Caſtile*, governor of the city, who, having been expelled from his own country by his brother *Alphonſo*, the nominal emperor, had thrown himſelf into the arms of the pope, and was now become an enemy to *Charles*, becauſe he thwarted him in his deſigns upon the kingdom of *Sardinia*.

Conradin, *duke of* Suabia, *takes the field againſt him.*

*Is received at* Rome *by Don* Henry *of* Caſtile.

*CHARLES*, on *Conradin*'s arrival in *Italy*, had repaired to *France* for a reinforcement, by
f which he found himſelf at the head of a very powerful army when he returned to *Italy*, and encountering *Conradin*, who had by this time made himſelf maſter of *Sicily*, gave him battle near *Alva*, where he thought he could avail himſelf of an advantageous poſt which he had taken. He concealed ſome of his beſt troops behind a riſing ground, and after the battle had continued upwards of three hours with equal fury on both ſides, he ordered them to quit the place of ambuſh, and charge the forces of *Conradin*, who, being already fatigued, were utterly defeated. *Conradin*, his couſin *Frederic* of *Auſtria*, who had accompanied him in this expedition, and *Henry* of *Caſtile*, betook themſelves to flight, but were apprehended on the road, in the diſguiſe of grooms, and by *Charles* committed to cloſe priſon. Some
g time after, reſolving to accompany his brother St. *Lewis* in his expedition to *Africa*, and being afraid to leave theſe priſoners behind in a kingdom full of faction and revolt, he or-

*Defeated by* Charles, *and taken in diſguiſe, together with* Frederic, *duke of* Auſtria.

[x] Killingerus de Garnebiis Caſtrorum Syntagma Juris pub. c. xxviii. parag. 21, 22, 23. [y] Corringius de Indic. Germ. parag. 53. [z] Ann. Boior. lib. vii. p. 363. [a] Id. p. 564. Mez. Abr. Chron. tom. i. p. 457. Mach. Hiſt. di Fir. l. i.

*Beheaded in the city of Naples. A. D. 1268.*

dered them to be tried by the syndics of all the cities of the realm; and these judges condemned *Conradin* and *Frederic* to death as perturbators of the repose of the church (M). They were accordingly beheaded on a scaffold in the middle of the city of *Naples*, to the eternal reproach of *Charles*, and the scandal of humanity; for *Conradin* had been guilty of nothing but endeavouring to retrieve his inheritance; and *Frederic* of *Austria* had assisted him out of pure friendship and generosity. Much about the same time *Conrad*, prince of *Antioch*, son of *Frederic*, who was a bastard of the emperor *Frederic* II. having come from the east to the assistance of *Conradin*, was taken by *Charles*, and hanged like a malefactor. Thus perished, by the hands of the common hangman, the last of that glorious race of *Suabian* princes, which had produced so many kings and emperors. By this execution also the family of *Austria* was extinct [b] (N). a b

Pope *Clement* IV. survived this barbarous homicide but one month; and his death was succeeded by a vacancy in the papal chair, that lasted two years and nine months before it was filled by *Thibaut* of *Placentia*, who assumed the name of *Gregory* X. As for the desolation of *Germany*, it continued till after the death of *Richard* of *England*, when the princes assembled, and, notwithstanding the remonstrances of *Alphonso*, and the intrigues of *Ottocarus*, king of *Bohemia*, raised the count of *Hapsburg* to the imperial throne.

[b] Ann. Boior. l. vii. p. 566. Mez. Abr. Chron. tom. i. p. 459. Mach. Hist. di Fir. l. i.

(M) Pope *Clement* is said to have advised *Charles* to this barbarous step, by saying on his death-bed, *Conradi vita, Caroli mors: Caroli vita, Conradi mors.*

(N) *Conradin*, when he appeared upon the scaffold, pulled off one of his gloves, and threw it among the crowd, as a mark of investiture to his heir, whom he declared to be *Frederic* of *Castile*, the son of his aunt. The glove was taken up by a gentleman called *Henry Trasches de Walpurg*, who carried it to the king of *Arragon*. The duke of *Austria*'s head being separated from his body, *Conradin* took it up, and kissed it with great tenderness, bewailing the unhappy fate of that prince, and upbraiding himself as the cause of his death. Then he, kneeling, submitted to the fatal stroke; and the executioner was afterwards put to death, that he might not live to boast of having shed such noble blood (1). This cruel execution was performed in the market-place of *Naples*, before the church of the *Carmelites*, in which *Conradin* lies interred (2).

(1) *Brant. la Discours sur la mort de Marie Reine d'Ecosse. liv.* ii. *c.* 21. *See the History of Naples.*

(2) *Remarq. sur l'Hist. de l'Empire, par Heiss,*

## *End of the* Tenth Volume.